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MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

BY

KENELM H. DIGBY.

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SUMMARY

BOOK X.

CHAPTER I.

Survey of the ages of faith in relation to the love of peace resumed—The monasteries—Their diffusion, proof of the pacific spirit—Some of the most eminent enumerated—The monks truly pacific men—Therefore a review of the monasteries essential to the completion of the history commenced in the ninth book . . . . . p. 9

CHAPTER II.

What was monastic life in general ?—The question answered . . . p. 29

CHAPTER III.

What was the use of monasteries ?—A brief reply given . . . p. 37

CHAPTER IV.

Journey to the monasteries—The site generally beautiful and favorable to peaceful impressions—Advantages from the locality—The monks loved mountains, islands, forests, and, in general, the beauties of nature around them, which they sought to sanctify p. 57

CHAPTER V.

The journey continued, and beguiled by narratives relative to the origin of some monasteries—Arrival at the abbey . . . . . p. 83

CHAPTER VI.

The monastic buildings described—The gate—The exterior—The offices, gardens, enclosures for herbs—The fortifications of some abbeys explained—Architectural beauty of many—Simplicity and poverty of the ancient—The refectory—The halls for hospitality—The charity of the monks to strangers—The interior decorations, paintings, images, inscriptions p. 101

CHAPTER VII.

The treasury—Jewels, plate, sacred vessels, antiquities, charters, holy relics p. 126

CHAPTER VIII.

The church—The monastic churches peculiarly impressive—Their characteristics—Splendor and regularity of their offices—Advantages resulting from them to the people—The tombs—Their prodigious number in the monastic churches accounted for . . p. 138

CHAPTER IX.

The library—Remarks and narratives relative to the monastic collections—The scriptorium—The employment of the monks connected with it—The schools—Historical notices relating to them—Remarks on the universities, and the relation in which they stood to them. p. 171

CHAPTER X.

Discipline of the monastery—The rule, in what it essentially consisted—The exterior observance—Obedience—The habit—The fasts and abstinence—The silence—The nocturnal vigils—Study—Manual labor . . . . . p. 212

CHAPTER XI.

Reforms sometimes required—Origin of abuses—Influence of the world—Interference of the State—The royal prisons within some monasteries—Testimonies from ancient writers to the great sanctity of the monasteries in the middle ages—General and special attestations . . . . . p. 232

CHAPTER XII.

The visitors to abbeys—What great scenes monasteries witnessed—Different classes of guests described—Some came to die, others to fly the desolations of war, others to seek peace of mind . . . . . p. 258

CHAPTER XIII.

The convertites—The call of men to a monastic state in ages of faith illustrated by the sayings of the monks and by histories of memorable conversions . . p. 284

CHAPTER XIV.

The community in general—The peculiar attributes of the monastic character—Its simplicity, cheerfulness, benignity, liberality, charity—Its opposition to the literary and social character of secular authors, philosophers, and politicians—Remarks on memory and old age in the cloister—The unity and self-consistency of the monastic character—Its affectionate piety . . . . . p. 333

CHAPTER XV.

The monastic occupations—Monks not idle men—Idleness distinguished from the ability and desire to enjoy sanctified leisure—The labors of the monks as missionaries, as redeemers of captives, as ministers to the public in times of calamity—The regular occupations—Agricultural and public works—The monks as poets, musicians, and painters . p. 359

CHAPTER XVI.

Conversation in the cloister—The ascetic wisdom of the monks—Mysticism in the cloister—Narratives of miraculous events—Visions—Familiar discourses and stories of the monks . . . . . p. 379

CHAPTER XVII.

The peace of cloistral life—Testimonies of monks—Their friendship within and without the monastery—Their attachment to their respective cells, houses, and orders—The monastic diaries indicate contentment—Monks of one order loved and revered those of another—The peace and affection which subsisted between monks and the secular clergy—Interruptions to this harmony—Cases of exception—The love evinced by bishops for religious orders—The monastic exemptions explained—Hostility to the monastic orders incompatible with faith. p. 408

CHAPTER XVIII.

The influence of the religious orders—The monks were the friends of the poor—Their services to the great and to the whole community . . . . . p. 451

CHAPTER XIX.

A survey of the charters, to discover the sources of monastic wealth—The motives of founders and benefactors—Monasteries regarded as instruments of spiritual, social, and political peace—The men who founded and protected them were of the number of the pacific—Conclusion—that in monasteries the world has seen a type of peace . . . p. 468

CHAPTER XX.

Return from the monastery—Visit hermits by the way—The eremitical a distinct branch of the pacific family—Hermits from earliest times—The sites which they generally inhabited—Their lives—Employment and office in the Church—The peace which they enjoyed with all creatures—Descent from their mountain to the scenes to be presented in the next book, where the faithful suffer persecution for the sake of justice . . . . . p. 497

SUMMARY.

BOOK XI.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction to the subject of the eighth beatitude—How far the just were exempt from persecution in Ages of faith—The old experience of the world however still verified—The true spirit of martyrdom prevailed in the middle ages—The earnestness, resolution and courage of men—Their fortitude; their chivalrous constancy—Their rejection of the spirit of false peace and of selfish enjoyment—Their detachment from earthly treasures; they were indefatigable to act and to suffer like the primitive martyrs—Many desired martyrdom—Distinctions laid down—They were to be actuated by the desire of pleasing God—Their sacrifice was to be voluntary—There was to be no needless defiance of danger—They were to be pacific and obedient as far as was compatible with duty to God—Contrast between the Catholic and Protestant spirit in this respect—The obligation of patience enforced—Charity was the root of their fortitude, men sought to imitate the passion of Christ—Hence it was a supernatural heroism—The spirit of martyrdom in the women of the middle ages—And in youth and childhood. p. 543

CHAPTER II.

Doctrine of the Ages of Faith respecting qualifications and distinctions required to constitute martyrdom—Security then against the modern errors as evinced in new martyrologies, and in the English regicides—The cause was to be just, and not dependent on the judgment of man: but any cause of natural justice was deemed sufficient: hence men were deemed martyrs for justice in government; for wisdom and fortitude in the administration of states; for loyalty to the legitimate sovereign; for fidelity to the duty of protecting religion; for rejecting the temptations of ambition—For justice, as ministers of kings, and as magistrates, as public men, as scientific discoverers, as simple Catholics in the common walks of life, as children and youths from the harshness of parents and masters, as the poor from the cruelty of the rich, as artisans from the tyranny of their employers, as servants from the harshness of masters, as subjects from unjust laws . . . . . p. 582

CHAPTER III.

Doctrine of the Ages of Faith respecting the necessity of enduring persecution—Testimony of the ancients—Reflections of the schoolmen—History of the Christian persecution from the

birth of Christ—That of the primitive Church familiar to the memory of men in the middle ages—Conflicts with paganism, with heresy in the second period of the Church; these were their familiar themes . . . . . p. 606

CHAPTER IV.

Persecutions continued in the middle ages from pagans—In two modes protracted—By lingering opposition, by invasion, by slavery, and by resisting missions—Persecution from Mahometans—Caused the Crusades—Persecution of the slaves in Africa and Asia, and of the religious men who labored to redeem them—Persecution of the Christian population by the descent of pirates, and of the missionaries who preached to the Moors—Persecutions of the Christians by the Jews—By the Manichæans—Traditions of their cruelty . p. 618

CHAPTER V.

Persecution incurred by admonishing wicked Christians—All were bound by this duty—Danger of correcting them—Doctrine of the middle ages on this point—Friends were to give each other free counsel—Character of the great—Vigilance of the popes and of the bishops in regard to them—Examples of the sufferings of holy men in consequence of endeavors to correct wicked princes—Persecution incurred by preaching, and by the ordinary offices of the pastoral care . . . . . p. 639

CHAPTER VI.

Persecutions suffered by all Christians generally, when evincing eminent sanctity—Writers of the middle ages show that this was a necessary consequence—Testimony of the ancients concurs—In the Church the chaff must seek to oppress the wheat—Examples of holy persons suffering for being holy, for observing the commands of the Church, for doing what was right; for being just; for showing an example of Catholic manners, even in retirement, in consequence of which they are shunned and disliked—Examples of such treatment—On what grounds it amounts to persecution—Persecution on account of sanctity followed men even within the cloister—Tepid and unworthy monks persecute their holy brethren for being more holy, and for seeking to reform their own monasteries or orders—Examples—Persecutions incurred generally in consequence of great spiritual wisdom—Those who possessed it were despised as visionary and insane—Experience and testimony of the ancient world—Examples from Christian history—Persecution of the holy by the just—Examples—Its origin and effects explained . . . . . p. 659

CHAPTER VII.

Persecution of the Church collectively by the world—Sufferings of holy men incurred by defending its liberty—The chief epoch distinguished—Justice of this cause considered, in early times, in the case of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the case of holy men defending the Church property—Testimony of the contemporaries of St. Thomas—Judgment of persons not involved in the contest—Judgment of the people . . . . . p. 691

CHAPTER VIII.

The general character of the persecutors—The kings; their instruments—Legists, unworthy

priests, men of blood—Examples—Their policy the same in all ages—Their hatred of Rome Their arts to impede its action . . . . . p. 717

CHAPTER IX.

The heroic patience of those who defended the Church—The moderation of the Holy See—Its indulgence appears excessive—Complaints in consequence during the struggle with Hen. II. in England—Its pacific exercise of authority—Examples—Courage of episcopacy—Bishops encourage each other—The meekness and humility of their deportment . p. 747

CHAPTER X.

The sufferings of the clergy for maintaining ecclesiastical liberty—Persecution of the Holy See in consequence, and of the Church generally—SS. Lanfranc, Anselm, Thomas, and his companions—Spirit of these sufferers—Their consolations—Martyrdom of St. Thomas, and its results . . . . . p. 779

CHAPTER XI.

The combined action of all elements of persecution for justice, in the rise and progress of the heresy of the sixteenth century—At all times heresies united in attacking the Catholic Church—The persecution by the followers of Luther and Calvin—Various causes of the hostility of heresy pointed out—Its destructive action—Its persecution of the intelligence—The calamitous results of its progress—Horrors of the persecution—The spirit of mockery—Its sanguinary form—Its legal form—Heresy introduces discord and disturbs the pacific order of states—The confusion consequent on its propagation—Heresy causes wars, religious, civil, and national wars—Contrasts . . . . . p 796

CHAPTER XII.

The sufferings of the monks especially for justice—The religious orders sprung from persecution—The hatred of them evinced by the pagans, Arians, and Iconoclasts, by the profane society of the middle ages, by the violent and unjust, by the Protestants—Destruction of the monasteries—The work pursued in our age—Persecution still assails the Church, as it must continue to do till the end of time—In heaven the consummation . p.829

CHAPTER XIII.

The epilogue p.866

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE TENTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

THE ancients used to say, as we find from the Gorgias of Plato, that it was not lawful to break off in the middle of a narrative, and leave it without a head, lest it should wander about spectre-like in that condition. In accordance with this Athenian fancy, which happens here to coincide with graver motives, we must proceed to place, as it were, the head on our last history, by commemorating a particular class of persons, who in a still more peculiar manner fulfilled the divine prophecy, "Sedebit populus meus in pulchritudine pacis, in tabernaculis fiduciæ, et in requie opulenta,"* and whose lives seem to have been especially foreshown by the same great voice, declaring, "Opus justitiæ pax: cultus justitiæ silentium et securitas usque in sempiternum." My theme pursuing then, I have to speak of the multitudes whose steps the cloister guarded during ages of faith; for without an intimate acquaintance with their lives and customs, our history would be incomplete, and as it were headless; since, after all, it was chiefly in monasteries that peace found its sincerest worshippers, and the most devoted ministers to dispense and propagate it on earth; for it was within their walls that all we have hitherto seen of peace and of pacific influence existed in the fullest perfection. Now lest any one should imagine that an inquiry into the spirit and manners of this separate world, (for the monastic life, in fact, constituted a world in itself,) would lead us aside to consider things of secondary importance to the general society of men, let us begin by observing the immense and universal character of these great institutions: for this people, so peculiarly seated in the beauty and plenitude of peace, was not confined to

* Is. xxxii.

any one locality or nation; it was spread over the whole earth, and no place was left without the tranquillizing influence of its philosophy and of its manners. Without attempting to trace the progress of the monastic orders, some estimate of their diffusion may be formed from the incidental notices respecting them, which occur in any of the local historians of the middle ages.

In the cloistral community of Oryrynchus were 10,000 monks. They served besides twelve parish-churches for the people, whose manners were so formed by them, that the whole city seemed one church. In Hermopolis were 500 monks; at Nitria their number amounted to 5000; at Cellia to 2000. But confining our view to the Western Church we find that in the monastery of St. Finnian, at Clonard, in Ireland, in which St. Columbkill studied, there were at one time 3000 monks. The abbey of Bangor, near Carrickfergus, founded about the year 555, and restored by St. Malachias after its destruction by the Danes, of which St. Bernard says, "a place truly holy, and fruitful in saints, most plentifully producing fruit to God," from which came St. Columban and St. Gall, contained before the death of its founder, St. Comgal, 4000 monks. In Bangor, in Wales, there were eight divisions, each of 300 monks. In the year 900, there were more than 1000 monks in the abbey of St. Sylvester, at Nonantula. The abbey of Jumiège soon after its foundation by St. Philibert and Queen Bathilde, contained 900 monks; many bishops, clerks, and noble laics, retiring thither to renounce the world. In the abbey of Fulda, under Raban Maur, there were more than 370 monks, when Count Erlafried sent thither for monks to place in Hirschau.* In the twelfth century, under St. Peter the Venerable, there were in the monastery of Cluny nearly 400 monks, besides an immense number of guests, and a multitude of poor.

In the twelfth century, Orderic Vitalis says, "that the venerable Hugo, abbot of Cluny, during the sixty-four years of his rule, admitted more than 10,000 monks into the ranks of the Lord's host."† The same author relates that on the day of his own ordination at Rouen, the army of Christ was augmented by nearly 700 clerks, who received different orders.‡ Brother Jordan of Saxony, the second general of the Dominicans, gave the habit to more than a thousand men, whom he alone had gained to the order.

In the thirteenth century, we find in Milan 140 friars in the Dominican, and 100 in the Franciscan convent.§ In the same city, at that time, there were sixty hermits of St. Augustin, and thirty Carmelites.‖ The proportions were about the same elsewhere: when Mabillon visited the abbeys of Einsiedeln and St. Gall, there were 100 monks in each, besides novices.¶ Before the revolution of 1524, eighteen monasteries and churches were in the single town of Eisenach, which were destroyed in one day. From these few statements it is evident, that the relig-

* Trithem. in Chronic. Hirsch. † Lib. xi. ‡ Ibid.
§ Gualvanei de la Flamma, Hist. Med. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.
‖ Annales Mediol. c. 59, ap. id. xvi. ¶ Iter Germanicum.

ious orders embraced an immense part of the population, and, therefore, we should certainly be unable to form any just estimate of the number of men who loved and enjoyed peace in the middle ages, if we did not take into account these immense and widely-spread communities of the professed pacific.

We have seen what dark calamitous times afflicted the Holy Church while reaping the immortal fruits of faith. In the year 480, when St. Benedict was born, the aspect of Europe was deplorable. Italy groaned under the yoke of Odoacre, Spain and Aquitaine under that of Alaric, both of them Arian princes, that is, at enmity with truth, the fountain of peace. Gallacia was subject to the Arian Suevi; Childeric, king of the Francs, was an idolator. The Burgundians, who were Arians, occupied not a small part of Gaul; and Germany, with a part of Britian, were ignorant of the true God. This was, nevertheless, the moment when the holy institute of St. Benedict arose, which was founded about the year 529, on Mount Cassino, where, according to the remark of Mabillon, there was provided a safe asylum against human misery.* Long afterwards the state of Europe, in regard to peace, continued to be calamitous. Gaul, in particular, was ruled with a rod of iron; and Europe generally, in the seventh century, was so distracted, that Pope Agatho, in the name of the Roman Synod, claiming indulgence for the diminished literary glory of the Western Church, uses these affecting, and, as Mabillon says, truly golden words. "Since in our regions the fury of different nations rages daily, at one time conflicting, at another traversing, at another ravaging—our whole life is full of solicitude—Et sola est nostra substantia fides nostra, cum qua nobis vivere summa est gloria." But all the while, where the evil perhaps was greatest, under the terrible sceptres of Childebert, Clotaire I., Chilperic, Clotaire II., and Dagobert I., warlike kings, for whom the French, at that time still ferocious, envinced an astonishing sympathy, and a fidelity unalterable; there were existing the peaceful multitudes to whom monasteries gave both peace and the means of its propagation. Even secular historians remark, that while the spirit of discord pervaded countries, as in Ireland, arming the natives against each other, immense multitudes of the inhabitants of those countries enjoyed and worshipped peace in the seclusion of monasteries: for though to many unknown, these tranquil communities existed in the midst of the disorders and troubles of the worldly life. The true lovers of peace were, however, generally led to discover them, like St. Augustin, who says, "I was astonished when I heard them speak of this great Monk Anthony, of whom I had known nothing till that hour. I was filled with amaze, hearing of his recent memory and his miracles so near our time in testimony to the faith of the Catholic Church. Then the conversation turned upon the multitude of monasteries, and the solitary holy men of the desert, of whom we had known nothing. There was a monastery at Milan, full of good men, without the walls of the city, under the care of St. Am-

* Mabillon, Præfat. in 1 Sæc. Benedic. li.

brose, and we did not know of its existence."* Thus too, no doubt, it was in Gaul, while cruel Merovingians reigned. Then when the gloom had passed, under the Carlovingians, cities yielded in importance and influence to abbeys, which were like great castles, fortified, containing all things requisite for a regular and pacific life. In the work entitled, "Gallia Christiana," one is astonished to see the prodigious number of abbeys and convents in the cities of France. Hence an ancient writer cries—

"Felix regio Francorum,
Parens fœcunda tantorum
Benedicti militum."†

"If any thing," says one historian, "could reconcile the eyes of humanity to the pictures offered by the first ages of our monarchy, it would be without doubt those spontaneous unions of pacific men, who fled from a corrupted and desolated society, in order to meditate on a better world, to preserve kindled for future generations the torch of truth."‡

But what Christian land was left without this happiness? "The drama of history," says a recent historian of Ireland, speaking of very early times, "begins to assume an entirely different character. Instead of the ferocious strife of kings and chieftains, we have the pure and peaceful triumphs of religion. Illustrious saints of both sexes pass in review before our eyes; the cowl and veil eclipse the glory even of the regal crown, and instead of the grand and festive halls of Tara and Emania, the lonely cell of the fasting penitent becomes the scene of fame." So that, in fact, during the most disturbed periods of the middle ages, no warrior could ever reduce men who really loved peace to the dilemma in which Cæsar places the people of Marseilles, saying—

"At enim contagia bell
Dira fugant: dabitis pœnas pro pace petita;
Ei nihil esse meo discetis tutius ævo,
Quam, duce me, bellum."§

For, in consequence of the foundations of faith, subjects as the sons of a great family were always at liberty to choose and follow either peace or its opposite.

"Gista, widow of Earl Godwin, had seven sons," says Orderic Vitalis, "Suenon, Tostic, Herald, Guorth, Elfgar, Leofwin, and Vulvod; all were earls distinguished by great personal beauty and merits, though their ends were different. Elfgar and Vulvod, who loved God, lived holily and happily; the first, a pilgrim and monk, died at Rheims in the true faith; the other died honorably at Salisbury. The five others, devoted to arms, perished in different places by the sword."‖

* Confess. Lib. viii. 6.

† Anonym. Carthusianis de Religion. Origine ap. Martene Vet. Script. Collect. tom. vi.

‡ Langlois Essai Hist. sur l'Abbaye de Fontenelle. § Lucan, iii. ‖ Lib. iii.

The prodigious number of disciples which each worshipper of peace drew after him from the first moment of his conversion, is a fact which sufficiently indicates the attractions possessed by this society distinct from that of the world, though ever in the midst of it. The blessed youth Francis de Paula, for instance, in 1435, retires into a cave in a desert place, and lo! Balthazar, Bernardino, Paulus, Francis, Antonius, Andrew, Archangelo, Nicholaus, Angelo, Nicholas a Nucito, John and Florentinus follow him.* How should we be detained, if we were to speak of the multitudes leading the pacific life in the more celebrated regions in monastic history? Such, for example, as Suabia, which the historians of St. Gall style "the land of the saints."† St. Peter Damian says, "That the whole world was full of monks;"‡ that is, of men who loved, enjoyed, and propagated peace. Places of monastic retreat existed almost from the beginning of the Church.§ There were monks in Gaul before the time of St. Martin; for there were some in the island of St. Barbara above the confluence of the Arar and the Rhone, who received the Christians that fled from the persecution of Septimus Severus.‖ How many arose in Sicily in the earlier times may be witnessed in the histories of that island,¶ where the ancient Greek monasteries were rebuilt by Counts Robert and Roger, on the expulsion of the Sarassins, as were the six Benedictine abbeys founded there by St. Gregory the Great, out of his own patrimony.** Mount Ætna, that had been formerly devoted to the vain worship of the Gentiles, was in the first Christian ages covered with monasteries for the worship of the one true God.†† Calabria—which was the first part of Italy, after Rome, to embrace the Christian faith, St. Paul having preached at Rhegium, and which produced so many martyrs in early and modern times,—became another Egypt in regard to monasteries. It is delightful to survey in local histories the celebrated monasteries of this region, so abundantly endowed, and producing such wise and holy men, who threw in the shade those old Pythagoræan days among that illustrious people; to visit this cradle of St. Benedict, St. Basil, and St. Bernard, this mother of hermits dwelling amidst her rocks and woods, and odoriferous hills.‡‡ In the fourth and fifth centuries, the Italian monasteries were built chiefly in Milan, Rome, Ravenna, Nola, in Campagna, and in the islands of the Etruscan sea.§§ How prodigiously these were multiplied in later times, may be estimated from the number of monasteries visited by Ferdinand Ughelli, the Florentine monk and abbot of the Tria Fontana, at Rome, when he was composing his great work, the "Italia Sacra." But, extending our view over Europe, let us recall the names and site of a few of the most eminent of these great asylums of pacific men in ages of faith. The tracks of the Great Benedict lead from Subiaco to blest Cassino's holy hill, both such places of divine peace.

Passing over these, Italy for many ages gloried in her abbeys of Pomposa, in

* Chronic. Ord. Minimorum. † Eckehard IV. in Lib. Benedict. ‡ Lib. vi. Epist. 15.
§ Murat. Antiq. It. lxv. ‖ Mab. Præf. in iii. sæc. ¶ Sicilia Sacra, i. 22, ** Id. ii.
†† ii. 1155. ‡‡ Italia Sacra, tom. ix. 175. §§ Murat. Antiq. It. lxv.

the duchy of Ferrara, two leagues from the sea, near the south branch of the Po; of Nonantula, ten miles from Modena, founded in 752 by Anselm, duke of Friuli, whose sister Giseltrude was wife of Aistulph, king of the Longobards; of Cluse in Piemont, which in the middle of the tenth century deserved to be compared with Cluny; of St. Peter a Cœlo-aureo in Pavia; of St. Justina at Padua; of St. John the Evangelist at Parma; of St. George at Venice, where Mauroseni, one of the companions of Romuald, was abbot; of St. Peter at Mantua; of St. Maria in Florence; of St. Appollinare in Classe, near Ravenna; of St. Lorenzo at Capua; of Camaldoli and Vallembrosa, in the Appenines; of Cava in the country of Salerno, 5000 paces from the city at the foot of Mount Fenetra which Muratori reckons the second in importance, after Mount-Cassino.*

Turning to Gaul, we find at a short distance from Poitiers, at a spot called Ligugé, the first convent built by St. Martin, which continued to the last times to produce many eminent men. On becoming bishop of Tours, he built a second abbey two miles from the city, which was the celebrated house of Marmoutier, the great nursery of bishops, and the school of science in France. It was here that St. Martin was entombed: the abbey bearing his name at Amiens was on the site of the house where the saint resided, while yet a soldier.† St. Benedict on the Loire, in the village of Fleury,—founded by Leudebod in the reign of Clotaire II. in 623, possessing the body of St. Benet, renowned in the tenth century, under most holy and learned abbots, and resorted to by multitudes of youth from all countries, attracted by the fame of Constantine the Scholastic,—was in the diocese of Orleans, eight leagues from that city. Aniane founded by St. Benet, son of the count of Maguelore, and especially protected by Charlemagne, was seated in a valley, on the little river Aniane, in the diocese of Montpellier, between the city and Lodéve. At a league distance was the monastery of Gello, or of St. William of the Desert, founded by William, duke of Aquitaine, one of the peers of Charlemagne. The abbey of St. Lucien, founded by Childeric, was at Beauvais. Luxeuil was in Franche-comté, in the diocese of Besançon, at the foot of the mountains of the Vosge towards Lorraine. After leaving this his first foundation in Gaul, St. Columban founded the monastery of Dissentis in the Rhetian Alps, in a desert 4000 feet above the level of the sea, and subsequently Bobbio at the foot of the Appenines, at which you arrive by a road from Chiavera. The abbey of St. Germain des Prèz, founded soon after the death of the holy patriarch of the order,‡ was at the extremity of the gardens of the royal palace in a suburb of Paris. Corby, in Piccardy, whence such great lights issued in ancient times, was three leagues distant from Amiens. St. Riquier was two leagues from Abbeville, which was originally but the villa or farm-house of the abbey.§ Ferrers, of which Lupus was abbot in 843, was a monastery in the diocese of Sens, four miles

* Mur. Rer. It. Script. vi.
† Voyage Lit. de Deux Bénéd.
‡ D. Bouillart Hist. de l'Abb. de S. Ger.
§ Topographie des Saints.

from Montargis, on the road to Lyons. Vezelay, founded in the ninth century by Count Gerard de Rousillon, so celebrated in old romance, was eight leagues distant from Auxerre. Aureliac, founded by St. Gerald, count of Aurelia, was in the diocese of Clermont. On seeing that little islet of Lerins, on the coast of Antibes, with its arid fields and its meagre tufts of pines, one could never divine the part which this spot of earth played in the history of Christianity in Gaul, from the year 410, when St. Honorat first retired to a hermitage there. But here stood the renowned monastery which was built soon after, from which so many saints were drawn. Bec, founded by Herluin, in 1040, where Lanfranc and Anselm were priors, was in the diocese of Rouen, on the little river Bec, eight leagues west from that city. Faremoutier, founded by St. Fare in 617, was in Brie, on the river Morin, five leagues from Meaux. Flay was in the diocese of Beauvais. Fontevrauld was on the borders of Poitou towards Angou, in the diocese of Poitiers. Liessies, where Louis of Blois was abbot, founded in 751 by Count Wigbert, is in the diocese of Cambray, in Hainault, five miles from Avennes. Premontré, chosen by St. Norbert, for the central house of his order, was in a valley in the forest of Coucy, in the diocese of Laon, which was a desert in the beginning of the twelfth century.

Cisteaux, the mother house of the order, founded by Odo, duke of Burgundy, in 1098, was five leagues from Dijon, in the diocese of Chalons. La Ferté was the first branch house, founded by the Seigneurs de Vergy. The second was at Pontigny, in Champagne, on the river Serain, one league from Ligny-le-Chateau, and four-and-a-half from Auxerre. The third daughter was Clairvaulx, founded in 1115, by Thibaud, count of Champagne. This abbey stood on the river Aube. Morimond, the fourth daughter, founded in 1115 by Odolricus de Agrimont, was on the borders of Lorraine and Burgundy. From these four houses all the Cistercian abbeys in the world took their origin.* Molesme was in Champagne, three leagues from Chatillon-sur-Seine. Cluny was on the river Grone, on the borders of the duchy of Burgundy, five leagues from Mâcon, and fifteen from Lyons. Paray-le-Monial was in Charolais; St. Selectus was near Narbonne; Bourgeul was on the Loire; Malliac, founded in 990, was near Poitiers; St. Columban was in Sens; St. Maglor, founded in 979, and St Mary des Champs in 994, were in Paris: and St. Albin, founded in 966, was in Anjou. Of the origin of the Spanish monasteries, which was later, writers of that kingdom give us this account. They relate, that in the sixth century, Donetus, a monk and disciple of a certain hermit in Africa, foreseeing the violence of the barbarous nations, fled in a ship into Spain with seventy monks, and a quantity of manuscripts. In Spain he was received by an illustrious and religious woman, Minicea, and there he built the monastery of Servitanum, which was the first monastery in Spain.† Of these I shall only mention the monastery of Alcoba, so magnificent,

* Notitiæ Abbat. Ord. Cist. per Universum Orbem Lib. I.

† Hildephons. vitiæ Illust, Episcop. Hisp.

so fruitful in learning, so venerable in antiquity, "in which," says John of Bruges, "you discern the authority and sanctity of St. Bernard, and the grandeur of Kings Alfonso and Henry."*

Among the German monasteries of renown, the site of a few of the most illustrious must be present to every one's recollection. "The most celebrated," as Trithemius says, "were Fulda, founded by St. Boniface, in Franconia towards Hesse and Thuringia. The abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul in Weissenburg, in the diocese of Spires, founded by King Dagobert; that of St. Alban, near Mayence, founded by ancient kings of France; that of St. Gall in Suabia; that of Reichnaw, near Constance, founded by Pirminius, disciple of St. Maur; that of Hirsfeld, four miles from Fulda, founded by St. Lullus; that of St. Mathias, near Treves, the most ancient of all the Teutonic houses; Mediolacensis, in Lorraine, founded by St. Lutwin, who from being duke became a monk and abbot, and archbishop of Treves; the abbeys of St. Maurice at Dolegia, in the diocese of Treves; that of Stavelot, in the diocese of Liege, four leagues from Spa, of immense fame; that of New Corby, in Saxony, founded by the abbot of Corby, in Piccardy, from which came forth apostles to many nations; that of St. Maximinus, near the walls of Treves, which some think existed in the time of Constantine, and in which certainly there were monks in the time of St. Augustin; the abbey of Prum, in the forest of Ardennes, in a valley on the little river Prum, founded in 721 by Bertrade, grandmother of Berta, wife of King Pepin, who had a castle one league from the place, of which Assuerus, count of Anjou, was the first abbot, and Hirschau, eight miles from Spires, founded in 830 by Erlafred, count of Calba, with his sons Nottung and Ermendred, and restored by Pope Leo IX., who was of the family of Dagburgh, and Adelbert, count of Calba, with Wiltrude, his most devout wife.†

Other great Teutonic houses were Gembloux, in a hollow four leagues to the north-west from Namur, founded in 992, by St. Guibert, seigneur de Gembloux, who formed it out of the castle in which he was born. Villers, one of the most illustrious abbeys, not only of Brabant, but of the whole Cistercian order, on account of the great men it has given to the church, seated in a gorge between two mountains, on the way to Nivelle. The Benedictine Abbey of St. Vaast at Arras, which dated from the seventh century, when the successor of St. Aubert, Bishop of Arras, built it over the oratory where the saint was buried; Lobes, founded in 540 by St. Landelin on the Sambre, four leagues from Philippeville, in the diocese of Cambray; Quedlinbourg, in Saxony, in the diocese of Halberstad, founded by blessed Matilda, queen of Germany, and King Henry the Fowler, her husband, of which the abbess was the first princess of the empire; Selingstad, in the diocese of Mayence, founded by Eginhard; Steinfeldt, in the diocese of Cologne, to which retired the blessed Herman Joseph, at the age of twelve, and the three foundations

* Joan. Vasæi Brug. Rer. Hispan. Chronic. iii. † Trithem. in Chronic. Hirsaugiensis.

of King Dagobert, Elvonensis, in which he was buried, Blandinum near Ghent, and St. Bavon, so called from Count Bavo, who there deposed his knightly arms, became a monk, and died in sanctity.

Of the monasteries in the British islands, two of the most illustrious were Bangor in Ireland founded in the fifth century by St. Comgall, a disciple of Finstan, in the county of Down in Ulster, not far from the sea, where the passage to Scotland was short, and Bangor in Wales, in Flintshire, which Bede calls the most renowned cloister of the Britons, and which was organized and flourishing, when St. Augustin came from Rome.

Here, as indeed in nearly all other countries, the foundation of monasteries was simultaneous with the first preaching of the gospel. The abbey of Glastonbury dates from about the year 300; that of Sherborn in Dorsetshire from 370. The first notice of Dryburgh is prior to the year 522, when St. Moden was its abbot, under whose invocation was one of its chapels. The great St. Columbkill alone founded above an hundred abbeys in Ireland, England, and Scotland, and other islands depending on them. Ireland was covered with these pacific retreats; which yet were continually multiplying, until the sinister epoch of Henry VIII., whose agents on their arrival found the monks rebuilding many abbeys with greater magnificence than before. In England, however, as we learn from Bede, there were not in the seventh century many monasteries, so that numbers of English nobles and others passed into France, which abounded with them, to retire into abbeys there. "At that time," he says, "the noble princess Eartongathe, daughter of Earcombert, king of Kent, passed the seas and came into France, for the purpose of learning to serve God in such a school of sanctity." Still, even in the seventh century we find several religious houses founded, as those of Chertsey in Surrey, in 666; Barking in Essex, in 680; Malmesbury in Wiltshire, in 670; Gloucester, in 680; St. Swithin in Winchester, in 634; St. Austin at Canterbury, in 605; Dorchester in Oxfordshire, in 635. The most celebrated, which date from the eighth century, were the abbey of Abingdon in Berkshire, founded in 720; those of Winchcomb and Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire, in 787 and 715; that of St. Alban in Hertfordshire, in 755; and that of Croyland in Lincolnshire, in 716. The abbeys of Thorney in Cambridgeshire, of Tavistock in Devonshire, and of St. Cuthbert in Durham, date from the ninth century. These were all of the Benedictine order: the abbey of Ramsay in Huntingdonshire, was not founded till the tenth century.

The Cistercians, who possessed so many illustrious houses in England, were first called into it by a noble Englishman, Walter Espec, in 1125, under King Henry I., to whom there exists a letter from St. Bernard. The first abbey was Furnes, in the diocese of York, and the second Rievaux.*

Such then were a few of the most eminent of these places esteemed divine, and

* Notitiæ Abb. Ord. Cister. viii

consequently places of divine peace, because, as Hugo of St. Victor says, places cannot be divine, unless they be places of quiet and of peace.* Truly, well might that dove which in its flight marked the circuit of the projected mona-tery of Hautvilliers, be interpreted as signifying the tranquil reign of innocence which was there about to commence ; and one might have accepted as a general denomination, for all similar retreats, the title given to the celebrated monastery of Gomon, on the coast of Bithynia, at the mouth of the Euxine, which was expressly called by the monks, in reference to the tranquillity enjoyed within it, Irene, or the place of peace. The mountain of Pozaytie in Poland, near the river Niem in Lithuania, accordingly changed its name for that of the Mount of Peace, when a Camaldolese monastery was built upon it, by Christopher de Pazzi, grand chancellor of the duke of Lithuania, of the noble Florentine race which had been banished in the preceding century.† I might have noticed many other monasteries of equal celebrity, the histories of which, as Fauriel says of the abbeys of Conques, of Aniane, and of St. Guillem-du-Desert, belong essentially to the general history of the country in which they were seated, and even to that of Europe.‡ The monastery of Oliva, for instance, is as closely connected with the history of Prussia as Mount-Cassino is with that of Italy. The interest of many collections of French annals, grows pale before the historical grandeur of St. Medard at Soissons, founded by Clotaire I. where St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, crowned Pepin, king of the Francs, which Charlemagne favored, which was in turns the beloved retreat of Louis-le-Débonnaire, and the scene of his misfortunes. But these names alone will suffice to bear out my assertion, that the monastic institute, containing, as we shall shortly prove, a whole race of men eminently peaceful, apart from all others that we noticed in the last book, was of such wide diffusion and of such importance in each locality, that half at least of a history of Catholic manners, in regard to the beatitude of the pacific, must be devoted to their consideration. In fact, it embraced millions of men dispersed over the earth, living united and pacifically, tranquil, laborious, obedient, and free.

That the monastic profession was synonymous with a devoted love of peace and of its diffusion, might easily be inferred from what we met with in the last book. Though the complete appreciation of the fact will best be attained after concluding the present, it may be well to commence it by adducing to the point some express testimony. Now from the very nature of the institution, its instructors argue that the object and result must have been pacific; for "from obedience, which was its key-stone," says St. John Climachus, "springs humility, and from humility a placid tranquillity of mind."§ "All perturbations," as Cicero remarks, "arise from the will and from an opinion."‖ The stoics said that their fountain was intemperance, and a departure from right reason. Accordingly,

* Annot. in Cœlest. Hier. † Annal, Camaldul. Lib. 77. ‡ Hist. de la Gaul, Mérid. iii. 844.
§ Grad. iv. ‖ Tuscul. iv.

in the part of the soul which was reasonable the Pythagoreans placed tranquillity, placid, quiet, and constancy of mind. The monastic rule requiring a life so eminently reasonable, averse to self-will, and the influence of private opinion, to impatience and intemperance in every form, could not, therefore, but conduce to that true and placid rest ascribed to those who embraced it in ages of faith, which, as Paschasius Radbert says, "reason every where composes, and the serenity of religion commends."* Accordingly, we find, that peace is always represented as the chief characteristic of the monastic state. St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Augustin, are never weary repeating that it is this, above all things, which recommends it to the human race. So it continued to be in every age. We find a letter from the celebrated abbot of Corby, Wibald, to the monks of Hastières, with this superscription, "To the prior and the brethren of that place, Deo et paci militantibus."† When one of the courtiers of the emperor Frederic II. was moved to embrace the monastic habit, St. Francis gave him the title of Brother Pacific, to express that he had escaped from the world's turmoils and pageantries. Vincent of Beauvais, or his continuator, styling monks the true pacific, applies to them the epithets in holy writ, of "glorious men, rich in virtue, studious of beauty, living at peace in their domains, and obtaining glory in the generations of their nation."‡

"Behold men without contestations," exclaims the Church, in reference to those who chiefly came from amongst them, "true worshippers of God, keeping themselves pure from all evil work, and continuing in their innocence." "Many things might be said in his praise," says a monk of Villers, of Charles, the eighth abbot of that house, in the seventh century, "but there is one of which we should make especial mention—that never, from the day when he first entered the order, did the sun set upon his wrath; but, considering that he was bound by the monastic vow, he forgave, with the utmost benignity, all excesses committed against him, watching carefully over the purity of his conscience and the tranquillity of his heart:"§ that is, he realized the monastic ideal: he was the type of the institution. In effect, as the rule of the seraphic father expressly requires, "monks of every order were to be at peace with those who hated peace;" when they went through the world they were not to litigate, nor to contend with words, but to be mild and pacific.‖ "Now I counsel, admonish, and exhort my brethren in our Lord Jesus Christ, that when they go through the world, they should not quarrel nor contend with words, nor judge others, but that they should be meek, peaceful, modest, tractable, and humble, gently speaking to all as is right." They were to have a pacific heart towards those who disturbed their peace, towards those who hated peace. Of the pacific, who say with our modern writers of the Anglican school, that "in times of peace, with peaceful men, no temper of mind should be more en-

* Vit Walæ. † Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. et Mon. collect. ii. 450. ‡ Spec. Mor. i. part. iv.
§ Hist. Mon. Villar. ap. Martene Thes. Anec. iii. ‖ Reg. S. Franc. c. 8.

couraged than that which seeks peace with all men," the monastic teachers have but a poor opinion. "Though they render good for good, and wish to injure no one," says St. Bernard, "they can rarely obtain salvation."* The standard proposed to monks is, that of two other classes of the peaceful—of those who do not render evil for evil, but who endure wrongs with patience, and of those who render good for evil; the former, as he says, possessing their souls, and the latter, not only possessing their own, but winning others.† "No severe word was ever to escape their lips; for their heart was to be at rest from all enemies to its peace."‡ Monks were to be pacific within and without their walls, towards each other, and towards the rest of men. "Our fasts," says Hugo of St. Victor, in his commentary on the rule of St. Augustin, "do not please God as much as our concord." "There is nothing," he adds, "that Satan so much fears as the unity of charity: for if we distribute all that we possess for God's sake, this the devil does not fear, because he possesses nothing; if we fast, this he does not fear, because he has no need of food; if we watch, he is not alarmed, because he is sleepless; but if we are joined in charity, then he greatly fears, because then we hold fast on earth what he disdained to preserve in heaven."

Expressly for the sake of peace and charity, the monks of Fulda, we read, were divided into decades, over which a dean presided.§

Dom Martene remarks what severe penalties were decreed in the ancient monastic statutes, as in those of Froidmont, against all disseminators of discord, whose offence was a case reserved for the abbot.‖ A monk of St. John-des-Vignes, at Soissons, having calumniated one of the brethren, was sentenced to keep silence for a month, and to carry the holy water, like a novice in the processions.¶

In the year 1224, a discord arising in the convent of Monte Sereno, Tideric the superior, in common chapter, in holy week, prescribed, in virtue of obedience, that if any monk retained the least rancor against another, he should abstain from communion of the altar.** The chronicle of the Carthusians relates that the holy prior, Henry of Louvain, would never take repose in the evening, if a contention arose between any of the brethren, until he had restored peace and tranquillity.††

Over the door of the Augustinian monastery in Freyburg, I read these words: "Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum!" Such was the ideal generally realized in the communities of the middle ages.

The pacific character of monks in the interior of their cloisters is displayed in a remarkable manner on all occasions of elections, which were so calculated to try its sincerity. The very need of an election arose in their judgment from the desire of peace. Witness these words of electors. "It is certain to all who know

* De Conversione, c. 18. † Ib. 18. ‡ B. Esaiæ Abb. Orat. x. Bib. Pat. xii.
§ Schannat. Hist. Fuldens. 1. ‖ Voyage Lit. 160. ¶ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 168.
** Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. ii.
†† Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. Lib. vii. c. 31.

the foundations of Catholic purity that the solidity of the whole church consists in peace and the sign of being disciples of Christ, in love. For our Lord says, in the gospel, 'My peace I leave you, my peace I give to you;' and again, 'By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one to another:' therefore, no one is a disciple of Christ unless he is sealed with the seal of love and of peace; but this seal cannot be impressed on any unless on those in whom is unity of will; and that unity can only be found in those who submit to their superior. Therefore, the Author of peace leaving no order in the church without a governing prelate, has clearly taught that in no other way can the fragility of human nature be reduced to unity of spirit or preserved in peace. Therefore, we poor brethren, in the monastery of Cella Bononi, after the death of Lord Garerius the abbot, have chosen a certain brother, by name Bernard, to preside over us."*

Stephen Pasquier is struck with the provisions for the liberty of elections in monasteries in ancient times: he cites from a charter of Charles the Bald, in the abbey of Turnuz, in the Maconnois, these words: "We concede to the same congregation license of always choosing for itself an abbot, according to the rule of St. Benedict," and this sentence, which an archbishop of Rheims, when he founded the abbey of St. Peter, obtained from Clovis the Second, "that the monks should have power of electing a superior according to their rule."†

Let us hear Guibert de Nogent speaking of the desire of his friends to promote his own election, for the sentiments he expresses were not extraordinary in those times: "It afflicted me to hear that my relations should be endeavoring to obtain for me what was granted to others, who had no carnal help, but merely the assistance of God; for these relations, in acting thus, were providing not so much for me as for themselves. I was delighted at being little: I had altogether a horror for a place of power and the shadow of a great name in the world; then first I learned what it was to have the intention of perpetual poverty. What shall I say, O Lord, how momentary was that paradise! how short that quiet, how brief the sense of that sweetness! Scarcely had a few months passed after my tasting the fruits of thy good spirit, when, lo! the news of my election to be abbot of St. Mary at Nogent-sous-Coucy, filled me with dismay, as I judged myself the worst and most sordid of men. Alas! the little progress I had made in letters, and my poor skill in teaching, had, it seems, rendered my electors blind. Good God! what would they have said if they could have seen my interior! Thou knowest, O God, who by an inscrutable judgment didst ordain that I, however impressed with a just sense of my unworthiness, should be set over men so much better than myself. Whether God was willing or unwilling in the affairs of my election I know not. This one thing securely I can declare, that I owed it not to the attempts made by any of my relations. I was known to none of the elec-

* Fulberti Carnot. Epist. cvii.

† Recherches de la France, Liv. iii, 20.

tors, nor did I know any of them. From not knowing me they respected me the more. On my arrival they concealed nothing from me, but with such a faithful confession disclosed all their interior that I, who thought I had seen monks elsewhere, certainly knew of none comparable to these. Thou knowest, O God, that I write not this book through arrogance, and that I would confess in it all my iniquities if I did not fear lest I should deprave the mind of many who would be filled with horror at my actions. And although my works are corrupt and miserable, as far as regards myself, yet it is not hidden from thee how much my mind was bent upon promoting the salvation of those whom thou didst subject to me. On the day of my installation I preached on the words of the prophet, which were read on that Sunday next Christmas: 'Apprehendet vir fratrem suum domesticum patris sui: vestimentum tibi est, princeps esto noster, ruina autem hæc sub manu tua. Et respondebit ille: Non sum medicus, et in domo mea non est panis neque vestimentum: nolite constituere me principem. Ruit enim, Hierusalem, et Judas concidit.' From which words I explained the duties of the pastoral care—that a ruler must be a domestic well instructed in the church; the vestment is the habit of beautiful exterior works, on account of which he is made a prince, under whom the ruin of subjects cannot take place: but he replies, 'I am not whom you suppose, who can cure so many evils. You behold the external vestment which yet is not in the house, because the habit of the mind is not the same as that of the body. There is not either that daily bread which signified spiritual consolations, or that confirmation of charity in the interior man without which no one can rule others well: he refuses, therefore, to be a prince, for Jerusalem falls; that is, the experience of internal peace perishes, and Judas also falls: that is, the confession of sins fails through despair, after the loss of interior tranquillity, which is the last of all evils, and, therefore, a just cause for refusing to be a pastor."*

It would be endless to cite evidence that merit, without contradiction from party or local prejudices, was the only thing regarded in the peaceful elections of the cloister. When the fame of St. Aigulph's piety in the monastery of Fleury, on the Loire, had spread far and wide, the monks of Lerins sent a deputation to him to beg that he would undertake the government of their abbey. This one instance may represent them all.

With a view to peace, elections were made secretly, so that the names of those who elected were not known, which practice we find afterwards commanded by the holy council of Trent.† In the frequency of the unanimous elections of men of superior merit, is remarkably evinced the pacific character of such proceedings. Let us observe instances. In 1186, when the abbot William resigned the abbacy of St. Denis, the prior Huon was elected to succeed him without a dissentient voice or the least murmur.‡ On the abdication of Hartmot, Bernhard was elected

* Guiberti abb. de Novigent. de Vita propria, Lib. 1. † xxv. 6.

‡ Chroniques de St. Denis ad an. 1186.

abbot of St. Gall, and the historian of that monastery says, "All together, the old men and the youths, from the first to the last, the Lord granting a unanimous counsel, with one voice chose Bernhard for their abbot.*" In 1326, John II., one of many in the same monastery who possessed genius of the first order, was elected abbot of Einsiedeln without a dissentient voice. Again, in 1421, at the general chapter of the Franciscan order in Forli, where there were present about 3000 brethren, master Angelo of Sienna, a man excellent in science and in preaching, was unanimously elected general.† The religious orders well understood the obligation, of which, Pope Alexander III. reminded the Præmonstratensians, on occasion of an election, that the rule for all was Nihil per contentionem aut inanem gloriam.‡ Not to observe the great calm produced on these occasions by the celebration of the divine mysteries, we may remark, that the elements of discord had been extirpated by deep humility and a just appreciation of the nature of pre-eminence. "Brother Bernard of Clairvaux, called abbot, which is but a little thing." Men that could speak thus of their own dignities, were not likely to be angry competitors for them. The priors of Camaldoli always style themselves "the monk and sinner."§

When it was known that the venerable Angelrann was to be elected abbot of the monastery of St. Richarius—King Robert himself pressing the election, the holy man judged himself unworthy, and preferred a post of humility to one of pre-eminence: so he left the monastery privately and concealed himself. The king, on arriving there, was told that the holy man had withdrawn secretly, and that no one knew where he was. The king admired the intention, but ordered that he should be sought for every where and brought back to him. The soldiers were sent on all sides in quest of him: at length, after a long search, he was found in the wood of Olnodiol in a deep solitude.‖

Charles, the eighth abbot of Villiers, in the seventh century, brother of the count of Seyne, and at first a distinguished knight, fled from the abbatial dignity, but was at length compelled to accept it. He grieved that he should again find himself invested with liberties which he had wished to renounce with the world. After many labours he obtained leave from the head abbot of Clairvaux to resign his office, which had always kept him in great fear, considering the account that he would have to render of his administration. "This man," said the abbot, "is honoured by the greatest princes, beloved through all the country, most dear and necessary to his convent, and yet I cannot any longer detain him in his dignity; so, being absolved, he returned to the embraces of Rachel, wishing there to lie hidden in peace, and the remnant of his life to pass in the service of God, fulfilling the cloistral discipline."¶

Ratpert de Origine et div. Casibus Monast. S. Galli, apud Goldast. Rer. Al. 1.

Annales Foro Livienses ap. Mur. Rer. Vet. Script. xxi. ‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii.

§ Ann. Camald. Præf. in v. tom. ‖ Chronic. Centulensis, c.2, ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iv.

¶ Hist. Mon. Villar. ap. Martene Thes. Anec. iii.

A pacific character was an essential qualification in those who were to be elected. Louis of Paris, commenting the rule of St. Francis, says, "The electors of guardians ought to choose good religious men, who love peace for themselves and for others, who know how to bear the bad humor of their subjects, and to compassionate their fragility. The electors of provincials ought to choose men who are slow to believe evil of others, and who will see with their own eyes before they condemn—men who are ready to hear both sides; who, through excess of zeal and goodness, will not believe those, who, under color of piety and great excitement, come to tell them, as a secret, the faults of others; who love justice and mercy, but mercy still more than justice."*

The terms in which monastic superiors announce their own election are often very affecting. We may form an idea of their general style from reading the epistle of Pope Urban IV. to all religious communities, announcing his own election to the primal seat. That letter, one might believe, had been written by an angel, not so much on account of the beauty of order that pervades it, and the perspicuity of its view, as to the origin of rule and the depth of thought which it discloses, and the unbending resolution it expresses to defend justice, as from the celestial air of peace which seems to emanate from each humble, loving word, and the kind of musical delight which is inspired by its calm, unpretending, and unearthly eloquence.† When Suger heard of his own election to be abbot of St. Denis, the only impression he evinced was grief for the deceased abbot. He was on his road returning from Italy, in the month of February, when the news reached him. "One day," he says, "being risen very early to say matins, before leaving the hotel where we lodged, I perceived, after finishing my prayers, that it was still too dark to set out; so I threw myself dressed as I was on my bed, to wait till day. I fell into a doze and had a dream, imagining myself to be in a skiff on the wide ocean, at the mercy of raging waves, and that I prayed God to deliver me and conduct me safely to port. I awoke, and finding it daylight, we set out; but on the road I could think of nothing but my dream, and I felt as if I were really threatened with some great danger, from which the goodness of God would deliver me; but I said not a word to my company. After some leagues we met a servant of the abbey of St. Denis, who stopped on recognizing me, and showed great anxiety but inability to speak. At length, he informed me that, on the 19th of the month, the abbot, Adam, had died, and that two days after, the community being assembled, had elected me abbot by unanimous consent." Suger burst into tears through sorrow at the death of the holy man, who had received and nourished his youth, so that all who stood by were witnesses how he loved him.

The peacefulness of monastic superiors appears in their readiness to resign

* Louis de Paris, Exposit. de la Règle des F. F. Mineurs, c. 8.

† Ap, Martene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1252,

rather than disturb concord. Take an instance related by William of Jumiège. "A pilgrim on arriving at Cyprus, enters a certain church of St. Nicholas, where he prostrates himself in prayer before the altar, and in the midst of his prayer renders up his soul to God. The inhabitants of the island discover that this holy pilgrim was the venerable Thierri, abbot of St. Evroul, who had abdicated his dignity in consequence of difficulties opposed to him, and who, as a child of peace, had resolved to go to Jerusalem. They buried him with honors in their church.* The abbot of St. Victor, at Marseilles, in 1217, made a visitation of the monastery of Vabres, and in the account which he wrote of his proceedings there, says, "Since we knew that a grievous and almost implacable discord had arisen between the abbot and the brethren, we took care to admonish the former, that for the sake of peace, he ought voluntarily to abdicate; and he, receiving our admonition, humbly and devoutly, not caring for temporal honors, but with Paul desiring to be anathema for his brethren, willingly yielded up the place."† In the last book we had occasion to cite many instances which proved how truly pacific was the conduct of religious men, in their intercourse with the world.

Monks, in general, were men such as a modern author speaks of, "who detested the strife of tongues, whom all noises discomposed." The Benedictine hymn for vespers, each Friday of the year, was a supplication for the peace of the world.

"Da gaudiorum præmia,
Da gratiarum munera,
Dissolve litis vincula,
Adstringe pacis fœdera."

"Although to all the faithful of Christ," says Pope Alexander III., "we are bound to provide for the administration of justice, yet we are so much the more to attend to the cause of monks, as it is less proper for them to engage in any litigation."‡ Disputes respecting property, for example, were never suffered by any who had regard to their profession, to lead them aside from the paths of peace. Let us again hear the ancient writers, who describe them involved in such difficulties. "Lord Peter, abbot of Clairvaux," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "had but one eye: he was a holy man in deed as well as in name, an imitator of the apostle. With him and his brethren a certain knight contended concerning some property: the day was fixed for their meeting, in order either to compose the difference or to go before the judge. The knight came with his friends, and the abbot with only one monk, on foot, like himself, simple and holy. The abbot being a lover of peace and poverty, and a despiser of transitory goods, spoke thus to the knight before all:—'You are a Christian man. If you say that these goods, about which there is this contention, are yours and ought to be yours, I am

* Lib. vii. c. 26.

† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Coll. i. p. 1130.

‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. xi. 838.

content with your testimony.' The knight caring more for the goods than for the truth, answered, 'They are, indeed, mine,' 'Then let them be yours', replied the abbot, 'I will not claim them more.' So he returned to Clairvaux. The knight went back to his wife as a conqueror, and told her all that had passed; but she being terrified at words so pure and simple, said, 'You have dealt treacherously with the holy abbot. Divine vengeance will punish us. Unless you restore these goods, you shall have no more of my company.' The knight was struck with remorse; so he went to Clairvaux, renounced the goods, and begged forgiveness. That blessed man in the time of our seniors, visited this cloister: he was of noble blood, being rleated to Philip, king of France, who was a great lover of holy simplicity."* "Constantine, a monk," says the same author, "related to me that when he was studying at Paris, John, abbot of St. Victor, who was a German, had to appeal for judgment in an allodial cause between him and certain great nobles, who brought with them many experienced and skilful lawyers, who pleaded against the monks, while the abbot sat simply, without alleging a word in reply, so that he seemed more intent on prayer than on defending his cause; which the king observing, said, 'Lord abbot, why do you say nothing?' To whom he answered meekly and with great simplicity, 'My lord, I know not what to say.' The king, much edified, then said to him, 'Return to your cloister, and I will speak for you.' When the holy man had withdrawn, the king said to the knight, 'I command you, on pain of forfeiting my grace, to give no more trouble to the holy abbot:' and thus the complaints of the monks were finally successful."†

Many charts exist containing the cession of rights by abbots to prelates for the sake of peace. Thus, in 1158, Ubert, abbot of St. Michael, yields the church of St. Christopher de Colignola to Villano, archbishop of Pisa, because it is written, "Servos Dei litigare non debere;" and that it is proper for the rectors of venerable places to provide rather the things which are of peace and utility, and that in this instance the controversies cannot be set at rest without great scandal and peril to souls, and therefore, with the counsel of his brethren, he makes over all his rights.‡

In the annals of the abbey St. Crépin at Soissons, is a singular narrative of a trial in the twelfth century, which after much pleading, was referred by the droit forain opposed to the canon law to the issue of a duel. The Abbot Teulf, who writes the account in a charter of the year 1135, says, "that in order to prevent it, he and the brethren decreed to settle it by compromise, in which the abbey waved its right during the life of the parties." The horror and disgust with which every instance of a contrary conduct in monks was regarded in the middle ages, might alone sufficiently prove what was the general practice. A satirist in the end of the twelfth century complaining of some law proceedings by the monks of

* Illust. Mirac. Lib. vi. c. 2. † Ibid.

‡ Murat. Antiq. It. tom. iii. Excerpta Archiv. Pisani.

Grandmont, produces them as a legitimate reason for refusing to join their community.

" Ergo quid est, quod homo qui vivit ut Angelus intus,
Pulsatur totiens exterioro foro ?"

Of the Cartnusians, on the contrary, he says—

" Ad fora non veniunt quo litem scite resolvant,
Nec populi vanum depopulantur Ave."*

Terrible is the letter of Peter of Blois, to the abbot of Marmoutier, for having cited before the tribunals, the prior of St. Cosma, on the subject of certain lands and pastures, which he claimed for his monastery. " If you would attend to the vow of your profession," he says to him, " you would study the things which are above, not those which are on the earth. The servant of God ought not to litigate, but should rather suffer himself to be defrauded. It was not becoming in a man of such an order, whose conversation was thought to be in heaven, to litigate for earth. Far be it from a spiritual man thus to affect earth. Of you it is written—O ye sons of men, why will you love vanity and seek a lie ? For a lie, and transitory is the possession of this world. I saw you lately in the audience of the archbishop of Tours litigating for these lands and pastures ; and I grieve that I saw you so forgetful of all religion and decorum as to turn all to abuse, and to become a laughing-stock to all, instead of exhibiting in your contenance and manner the monastic gravity. You threw about your hands, you leaped forward, you distorted your whole face, insulting the poor prior with a proud demeanor, and shouting out with a nautic clamor. But He who dwelleth in heaven, and beholds the humble, will deliver the poor from the mighty. So in hatred of your dissolved and most troubled state, the prior was that day absolved. Nevertheless, there remains for you a heavier judgment, and a day more to be suspected, which will put an end to your litigations, which to the scandal of the monastic profession, you now exercise in every court. For that readiness of a litigious and injurious tongue, the day of death which threatens your white head will demand vengeance. Your flesh is congealing ; your limbs are stiffening ; your lungs are laboring ; your lips are slavering ; your eyes are growing dim ; your face is becoming pallid—so in a little spot of earth there will soon be dug a grave for the sinner ; and a tomb shall be his house for ever, until shall come that terrible day which will render to every man according to his works. Cease then from things which wound consciences, scandalize the order, and destroy souls. They who litigate for lands or pastures, are unworthy to be placed in the land of the living, or in the place of pasture."†

To the eminently pacific character of those who followed the monastic profession in ages of faith, we might cite innumerable direct witnesses, and produce also

* Sententia Brunelli de Ordinibus Relig. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.
† Pet. Bles. Epist. cxvii.

ample testimony from the tombs. This is, in fact, the characteristic on which all writers of cloistral biography seem to lay the greatest stress. So Theodoric, a monk of St. Ouen, dedicating a work in 1060 to Nicholas, abbot of that monastery, addresses him in these terms—

"Patri sincero, tranquilla pace sereno."*

What multitudes are commemorated in the Neustria Pia, and other similar works, as having been, like Reinaldus, abbot of Preaux, "full of pacific goodness."† In the chronicle of the Carthusians, the author, speaking of the priors Hugo, Bernard, Riferius, Gerard, William, Henry, John, Francis, Antony, and many others, sums up their praise by saying, "in all whose breasts peace and goodness ever reigned."‡ In like manner, it is chiefly as the worshippers of peace that we find them commemorated on their sepulchres. Thus on the tomb of Nicolas III. abbot of St. Ouen, in the thirteenth century, we read—

"Abbas pacificus, humilis, pius, atque pudicus,
Justus, magnificus, fraternæ pacis amicus,
Prudens, facundus, patiens, pacisque secundus,
Non ea quæ mundus quærens, à crimine mundus."§

The epitaph of Roger, abbot of St. Evroul, who died in 1126, ends with this line—

"Pacis amator erat, rogo nunc in pace quiescat."‖

That of John Inger, prior of St. Barbara, in Normandy, bears this testimony—

"Æmulus hic pacis."¶

On the tomb of Henry, abbot of St. Laurence, at Liege, who died in 1258, and was buried in the middle of the choir, were these lines—

"Abbas Henricus nigrorum flos monachorum,
Largus, pacificus, præfulgens lampade morum,
Justitiæ cultor, veniæ pater et pietatis."**

On that of William III., abbot of Bec, we read—

"Mitis, munificus, patiens, et pacis amicus."††

And, on that of Fardulf, abbot of St. Denis—

"Tranquillus, placidus, promtus ad omne bonum."‡‡

Thus the very sepulchres of monks were made to convey a lesson, enforcing the peculiar obligation of their state of life to be placid, tranquil, merciful, and pacific. But these preliminary observations, though necessary, seem to be lead-

* Neustria Pia, xxii. † Ibid. 511. ‡ Dorlandi Chronic. Cart. iv. 26. § Neustria Pia, xx...
‖ Ibid. 123. ¶ Ibid. 730. ** Hist. Mon. St. Laur. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.
†† Petri Divensis de Gestis Abbat. Beccens. ap. id. vi. ‡‡ Ap. id. vi.

ing us back to ground which detained us to weariness in the last book. Presuming, therefore, that the reader is already prepared to admit the justice of our view, in regarding monasteries as the abodes of men so eminently peaceful as to render a particular examination of their effects indispensable for the completion of our history, let us proceed at once to a new and magnificent subject, and endeavor to form an accurate estimate of these wonderful institutions, to the pacific excellence of which all that was holy and illustrious upon earth, in days of the highest intellectual glory, delighted to bear witness. Our object is not to give a scientific exposition of their history, which can be found in other sources; but to become practically familiar with the effects which resulted from them, that we may be able henceforth to feel ourselves as at it were personally acquainted both with the places themselves, and with the men who inhabited them, with those who as Dante says—

> "Did bare the feet, and in pursuit of peace,
> So heavenly ran, yet deem'd their footing slow."*

CHAPTER II.

WHAT was monastic life in general? and what did it imply? It was simply a Christian life, according to the precepts and counsels of Christ, accommodated to peculiar circumstances and wants which are incident to some Christians in all ages of the world, and under every possible variety in the development of civilization. It implied also the fervor and devotion of the first ages, insomuch that even the most bitter antagonists admit, that "in the bosom of monasteries in the twelfth century might be found the austerity and sincere piety of the primitive church."† That community of goods, for instance, which originally characterized the whole Christian society, but which certainly was not intended to be perpetual in a literal sense universally, was observed in the monastic orders, without leading to any injurious results. In them it remained after zeal and charity had grown cold elsewhere, and also after it would have been impossible to have realized it in the ordinary society. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, accordingly exclaims—"What else is it to say, Omnia quæ habes da pauperibus, et veni sequere me," but "Become a monk."‡

The monastic life, therefore, implied poverty, or the renouncement of personal possessions: and in explanation of their sentiments on this head, there were not

* Par. xi. † Capefigue, Hist. de Phil. Auguste, i. 89. ‡ Pet. Ven. Epist. i. 28.

wanting those who, to the uttermost, were vowed to be followers of their divine Master. Peter of Blois remarks, "that few rich men die who, at their departure from this life, do not wish to have been most poor."* There were in truth many considerations which recommended poverty to the monastic legislators. The love of poverty of the Franciscans seems to a French historian to "have been an effort to escape alive from the conditions of this life, from the servitude of matter, to conquer and anticipate here below the independence of a pure spirit."† "O how greatly is honest poverty to be desired," exclaims Alanus de Insulis. "To many, riches are an obstacle to acting well. Poverty is ever ready and secure. If you wish to serve God you must be either poor or like the poor. Si vis servire Deo, aut pauper sis oportet, aut pauperi similis."‡ Even in the ancient world, as Cardan remarks, "all professed lovers of wisdom were poor; Plato and Aristotle having become rich only in their latter years."§

But to return. Writers of the middle ages show "that the monastic was truly an apostolic life."‖ And, in fact, within the monasteries with which Europe was then covered, the manners of the primitive church were perpetuated under the peculiar circumstances above spoken of, which we shall presently explain. Hence, Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry II., writing to the Cistercians, says: "It is the voice of all men that the professors of the Cistercian order keep the footsteps of apostolic religion in moderation of food and raiment, in watching, in confessions, in discipline, in psalmody, in humility, in hospitality, obedience, and in all other fruits of love."¶ As for the external distinctions of monks, their habits, hours, and modes of life, Fleury shows that these were not the inventions of caprice, but merely the remains of ancient manners, preserved through ages, while the rest of the world had undergone a prodigious change. The habit was holy from the prayers of the church and sanctity of those who wore it. A conversion of the heart to God was, therefore, the primary and the peculiar want of some Christains, the secondary cause of all religious orders existing. "That of the Carthusians," says De Tracy, "owes its origin to a holy conversation between St. Bruno and two of his friends; the mouth of the just was thus seen, as the Scripture declares, to be a source of life."**

Monastic life may be also represented as a restoration of the primal state of man, with the substitutions rendered necessary by the fall. So in the chronicle of Fontanelle the Benedictine rule is thus qualified, "status vitæ innocentis secundum eximii P. Benedict inormam."†† "A convent of religious," says Hugo of St. Victor, "a congregation of monks, is a paradise, having the tree of life in the midst of it, yielding shade and fruit, that is, Christ giving life."‡‡ But it is that

* Pet. Bles. Epist. lx.
† Michelet, Hist. de France, iii.
‡ Alan. In. de Arte Prædicatoria, c. 4.
§ Cardan. de Consolatione, Lib. iii.
‖ Ruperti Abbot. Tuitiensis de Vita vere Apostolica, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom ix.
¶ Pet. Bles. Epist. lxxxii.
** Vie. de St. Bruno.
†† In Mab. Præf. in 2 Scæul. Ben. § 1.
‡‡ Ex Miscellan. Lib. iii. tit. 60.

silver inkstand. Similar presents used to be shown in the convent of Fontanelle, and in many other religious houses. The monastery of Fleury sent many pieces of plate, amongst which were two candelabras weighing 30 marks, to Louis-le-Jeune, when he was to set out for the Holy Land.

"Charles the Bald," says the chronicle of St. Denis, "gave to the martyrs his great imperial crown, which on grand festivals is suspended before the high altar, with the crowns of other kings."*

The kings of France in general left their crowns to the abbey of St. Denis. "Siconolf," says the historian of Mount-Cassino, "carried off the treasures of the abbey, consisting of the rich presents of Kings Charles and Pepin, of Karlomann and Louis, and others—in form of chalices and patens, crowns and crosses, phials and vases, and precious ornaments, and 130 pounds of the purest gold, and silk with gold and gems, besides the golden crown of his father, admirably adorned with carbuncles, and a quantity of gold and silver coin."†

When the Danes arrived at the abbey of Peterborough, in 1070, they took away the golden crown in the church, embellished with gems, from the head of the crucifix, and the golden stool, set also with gems, from beneath its feet, two golden biers, and nine others of silver, adorned with gold and gems, and twelve crosses, some of gold and others of silver, gilt and gemmed, and an antipendium, all of gold and silver and precious stones.

In the monastery of Ripon were four Gospels, written on a purple ground in letters of gold, enclosed in a golden casket, which had been ordered by St. Wilfrid. The furniture for St. Ina's famous chapel in the abbey of Glastonbury, the construction of which cost 2600 pounds of silver, while the value of the altar was estimated at 264 pounds of gold, was suitable to its splendor. The covers of the Gospels were of gold, above twenty pounds in weight. The priest's vestments interwoven with gold, and cunningly ornamented with precious stones. The treasury of Crowland abbey was equally remarkable. We read of one abbot of St. Alban's, Simon Langham, giving to that abbey at one time copes, vestments, and other ornaments, to the value of 437 pounds. The chalices, remonstrances, crosses, shrines, and binding of books, which the Lutheran plunderers found in the abbey of St. Gall, in 1532, were of immense value, and many of these objects had been in the abbey 600 years.

We may observe that many things also, of pure curiosity, existed in the treasuries of abbeys. Torquemade, who delights in the marvellous, says, that the Franciscans of a convent in Valencia possessed some enormous bones, which Synforian Campegio, who saw them, supposed to be those of a giant. No doubt in many monasteries fossil remains, and other objects of great natural curiosity, were preserved from ancient times, but things historical were chiefly regarded. In the treasury of the abbey of the Isle Barbe was preserved the horn of Roland, which

* Ad an. 877.

† Chronic. S. Monast. Casinensis, c. 20.

cipline are continence and endurance, two sisters, who stand on the summit and encourage those who attempt to mount, saying, "Endure but a little more and you will find the ascent easy and safe." His description of the entrance to this way might remind one of our old monastic buildings. "Do you see that little door, and the path to it bearing no marks of having been trodden by many. That is the gate." Plato, with this reservation, is also thoroughly monastic. As when he says, "that there remains but a small number of men consorting with philosophy in a worthy manner; such as either magnanimous by nature look down upon the dignities and affairs of the state as beneath them; or else as abandon some other art which they had learned, but which they now despise in comparison with the love of wisdom, and who therefore come to it."* He shows that men who are accustomed to the shades of the earth are incapable of sustaining celestial light, and, on the contrary, that those whose conversation is in heaven by their holy life find the knowledge of the malice of this world insupportable. Most remarkable, indeed, is the similarity between the spirit of the monastic institute and that ideal and definition of good which was announced by Cleanthes in the lines recorded by St. Clement of Alexaria :—

Τἀγαθὸν ἐρωτᾷς μ' οἷόν ἐστ'· ἄκουε δή.
τεταγμένον, δίκαιον, ὅσιον, εὐσεβὲς,
κρατοῦν ἑαυτοῦ, χρήσιμον, καλὸν, δέον,
αὐστηρὸν, αὐθέκαστον, εἰεὶ συμφέρον,
ἄφοβον, ἄλυπον, λυσιτελὲς, ἀνώδυνον,
ὠφέλιμον, εὐάρεστον, ἀσφαλὲς, φίλον,
ἔντιμον, ὁλογούμενον—
εὐκλεὲς, ἄτυφον, ἐπιμελὲς, πρᾶον, σφοδρὸν,
χρονιζόμενον, ἄμεμπτον, αἰεὶ διαμένον.
ἀνελευθερος πᾶς ὅστις εἰσδόξαν βλέπει,
ὡς δὴ παρ' ἐκείνης τευξεόμενος καλον τινός.†

Abandoning, however, these observations, let us inquire from Christian monuments, respecting the views and motives of those who founded or embraced the monastic order, who themselves challenged inquiry into its origin. "For as no one," says Salvian, "does any thing unless for the sake of safety or advantage, so we undertake this mode of life because we think it convenient, reflecting on the shortness of present and the duration of future things, considering how little are the first, how great the latter, that the judgment will be tremendous, and the life with God and His saints most blis-ful."‡ "We consider," says another, "the narrowness of the gate, the numbers who perish, the dangers of the world, of its idle conver-ation, of its many trials, and the comparative security of renouncing all things for Christ. We reflect on the importance of associating with the holy, as David said, 'Cum sancto sanctus eris, et cum viro innocente innocens eris: cum electo elec us eris, cum perverso perverteris.' 'They remarked,' as Cardinal Bona says, 'that the abundance of cares and solicitudes which must belong to all who mix

* De Repub. vi. † Protrepticus, c. vi. ‡ Salviani Timoth. Lib. 2.

much with the world is an obstacle to that devout contemplation in which they wished to pass their lives;' "* a remark not unnoticed even by the ancient poet, saying,

Αἱ δὲ φρενῶν ταραχαὶ
Παρέπλαγξαν καὶ σοφόν.†

The Venerable Bede observes, "that a further obstacle was furnished by much conversation with people in society."‡ "Experience proves," says another, "that the soul, dissipated by the curiosity of secular things, can with difficulty recollect itself and return to the meditation of heavenly things."§ The reply made to Charles VII. of France might, with the change of a word, express that of monks when their opinion was asked respecting the life under a standard formally opposed to theirs: "One can't lose one's crown with more gaiety." St. Bonaventura says, "that he who is loaded with temporal things cannot readily follow Christ."‖ Now the following Him, whose love is the source of all beatitude, was the most important of all occupations in their judgment. Their strongest conviction is thus expressed by Dante:

"He hath in sooth good cause for endless grief,
Who, for the love of thing that lasteth not,
Despoils himself for ever of that love."¶

They renounced, therefore, the former love, and in the cloister sought peace from all concupiscence; for to their state almost alone we may truly apply the poet's word,

"Hæc est
Vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique."**

Hence, all those injunctions, as in the commencement of the rule of Fontevrauld: "A sæculi actibus se facere alienum, nihil amori Christi præponere."†† Hence, these congratulations of St. Bernard, "You have done well, alienating yourself more and more from the acts of this world, which is pure and spotless religion."‡‡ "The first especial cause of all monastic life," says a writer of the fifth century, "is the desire to avoid the occasions of sin, to declare war with the perverse world, and to be delivered from the danger of its snares."§§ In effect, by their triple vow, the monks extracted from themselves the roots of all disorders that fill the world with discord, the concupiscence of the flesh, the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life. To extirpate these was to uproot the germs of war and misery from the human heart.

Let us hear the reflections of Mœhler on the ascetical life suggested by the work of St. Athanasius on the life of St. Anthony: "Continence, and an indif-

* De Divin. Psal. 502. † Pind. Olymp. vii. ‡ De Templo Salom.
§ Joan à Jesu instruct. Magist. Novitiorum. ‖ St. Bon. Meditat. Vitæ Christi, xxi.
¶ xv. ** Hor. Sat. i. 6. †† La Reigle de l'ordre de Fontevrauld, chap. i
‡‡ Epist. ccclxxxv.
§§ Consultatio Zachæi et Apollonii, Lib. iii. 8. 4. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. x.

ference for the goods and pleasures of the earth, sublime gifts of some souls, and in their will, the power, or at least, an ardent desire, to break the bonds which attach us to a world that passes, have been the first elements of monastic life. By means of divine grace the spiritual man predominates to such a degree in these privileged souls, and they are drawn with such force towards things unchangeable and holy, that the bonds which attach them to the things of this world are hardly felt; in them the spriritual almost entirely eclipses the animal life. Their life is hidden with Jesus Christ in God. The expression is not exact when we say that men have formed the resolution to disengage themselves by degrees from the bonds which attach them to things temporal, in order that they may more freely occupy themselves with things eternal. If they do not marry; if they only take the nourishment which is absolutely necessary; if they hold themselves at a distance from the pleasures and vanities of the world; it is not because they have recognized beforehand that these are good means to raise themselves to perfection. Their manner of life is less the cause than the consequence of the perfection which shines in them. They do not banish terrestrial thoughts from their souls in order to find room for celestial thoughts; but all place being already occupied by these, it is impossible for the former to find access. Here then we learn to explain the origin of the first monks called the ascetics. They did not invent the spiritual life to form an opposition to the wholly sensual life of the majority. The ascetics were distinguished by a profound knowledge of sacred truths, and by a great piety often also (in consequence of the purity and strength of their mind, and of their elevation above the external influences which trouble and obscure the intellectual eye) by a just appreciation of things and by a consummate prudence; in fine, sometimes by miraculous gifts, by the power of healing maladies in a supernatural manner, of dispelling demons, and of predicting the future. Now man is naturally inclined to venerate what is pure, great, and holy. These monks were then regarded as the friends of God, and the crowd pressed from all sides to approach them, and often came from distant countries. This is the state of things described by St. Athanasius in his life of St. Anthony. The inhabitants of heaven seemed to be descended into the cells of mountains; they chanted, they cultivated sciences, they taught, they prayed, they rejoiced in the glory to come, they worked to do good, and they adorned their lives by friendship and concord. It was, as it were, a country separated from the rest of the world, a kingdom of piety and justice; to injure any one, or to suffer injury from any one, were two things equally unknown. A multitude of monks peopled the heights, but all were only of one soul, and desired only one thing—their sanctification and their salvation. Whoever visited these cells of the ascetics and contemplated their lives ought to have cried, 'How lovely are thy pavilions, O Jacob! and thy tents, O Israel! They are like the valleys which are spread to a distance, like the gardens on the banks of rivers, like the tabernacles raised by Jehovah.'"*

* Num, xxiv. 5, 6.

"To be a philosopher," says Cowley, "is but to retire from the world, or rather to retire from the world as it is man's, into the world as it is God's."* The monastic writers say no more than this. "Populus solus habitabit et inter gentes non reputabitur." "A great praise, brethren," adds Hugo of St. Victor, after citing these words, "when the people dwell alone, and are not reputed among the nations, all of whom follow the desires of the flesh and the glory of the world."† "There is the world, of which God is the Creator," says Richard of St. Victor; "mundus per ipsum factus est: and there is the world, of which God is the Saviour; sic Deus dilexit mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret: and there is the world, of which the devil is the prince, of which we read, nolite diligere mundum."‡ It was of this last alone that the monastic life implied the renouncement. "To fly from Babylon, in its language, as in that of the prophets, meant to fly from the city of this world, from the society of wicked men and angels."§ This is what St. Bernard had in view when he cried, "Fly from the midst of Babylon; fly, and save your souls." All the rest was only for greater security; "for they are risks," as he proceeds to say, "for innocence in delights, for humility in riches, for piety in business, for truth in loquacity, for charity in this perverse world."‖ True the monastic life implied retreat, even from the world in which continued many of the elect; but for many souls this was necessary; and there are not wanting modern philosophers who have acknowledged that it was. "Though a wise man," says Cowley, "could pass never so securely through the great roads of human life, yet he will meet perpetually with so many objects and occasions of grief, shame, anger, hatred, indignation, and all passions, that he had better strike into some private path, nay, go so far, if he could, out of the common way, 'ut nec facta audiat Pelopidarum.'"¶ In the monasteries, more than in the farms of Virgil, men were delivered from beholding the affairs of empire, and the fall of kingdoms; there they might live in peace, neither lamenting their wants, nor envying those who had possessions; seeing neither the iron laws, nor the insane forum, nor the decrees of senates.**

Why are devout Christians to be despised for expressing desires which are admired on the lips of Cowley and Virgil? The Catholic phiposophy admitted of no such inconsistency. Cowper, indeed, even in praising retirement, adds,

> "Not that I mean to approve, or would enforce
> A superstitious and monastic course."

To enforce it no Catholic pretended; but in what the distinction consists which renders the monastic retirement an exception, I believe it would have puzzled him to tell. "Beatæ aures quæ venas divini susurri suscipiunt, et de mundi hujus susurrationibus nihil advertunt."†† Such was the monastic principle. "Averte

* Essays. † Serm. lxxvi. ‡ Ric. S. Vict. super Apocalypsum. Lib. iii. 8
§ S. August. Civ. Dei, xviii. 18 ‖ De Conversione. c. xxi. ¶ Essays. ** Georg. Lib. ii. 500.
†† De Im. i ii. 1.

oculos meos ne videant vanitatem. Emitte lucem tuam et veritatem tuam." Such was the monastic prayer, and "never will I cease praying thus," adds Richard of St. Victor, "till vanity hath passed and light hath shone."* In fine, the monastic life was a reducing to practice the mystery of holy Saturday; it was the life hidden in Jesus Christ; a perpetuation of the festival instituted by St. Paul in the Epistle read on that great day. "Mortui enim estis, et vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo." The monastic silence, that profound, tranquil acquiescence in a life of abnegation and of insensibility to human praise or blame, saving charity, was a life so contrary to that of the world, that it might truly be compared to the quiet and repose of the grave. But it was a true life: "Cellæ et cœl habitatio cognatæ sunt," says St. Bernard, "quod geritur in cœlis, hoc est in cellis. Quidnam est hoc? Vacare Deo, frui Deo."

The monastic life, we might have added, implied celibacy; which as a French Dominican observes, was not the invention of monks; it existed before there were monks, and they only raised it to the dignity of a virtue: but having in a former book explained the sentiments of men in ages of faith, who respected that discipline in regard to the clergy at large, there was no necessity for our dwelling upon it here. John Gerson, in his discourse upon that state, refutes in advance all the objections that have been urged in latter times; and to that unanswerable treatise those who demand further argument may be referred.† St. Chrysostom, it is true, had already done the same, when he examined with eyes fixed upon the eternal world the happiest and most successful life of those who were not called to observe it;‡ but further citations are needless in this place. "Not vain or void of truth," says St. Bernard, "is that form of life."§ Within the cloister it implied days passed in the contemplation of the highest truth, and of ideal grandeur, a converse with the glories and solemnities of universal nature, thoughts of sages and heroes, unmixed with minor things, the fiery consciousness of activity, for, as we shall see, labor was of obligation, and at the same time, what could hardly perhaps elsewhere be united with it, cloudless serenity of mind, uninterrupted peace.

* Ric. S. Vict. Annot. in. Ps. xxv. † Gersoni Opera, tom. iii.
‡ St. Chrysost. Tract. de Virginitate, cap. xxvi. § De Conversione, xxi.

CHAPTER III.

AFTER solution of this first inquiry, we shall be asked by those who lack experience to direct them, in their old errors blind, to what purpose of utility served the monastic orders? For many that are now afflicted with distorted vision, are persuaded that they were vain, if not pernicious institutions, following the sophists, who, lamenting that the times of heathen philosophy are past, say, in allusion to the Academy, that "the walks which a divine genius had immortalized, were abandoned to the most deceitful as well as to the most useless of men." And, indeed, rightly do they say that the monks were useless, if we understand and use the distinction pointed out by the sage whose genius they extol, who said that the true philosophers are useless in the state, adding, "but it is not through their fault that they are useless, since it is through that of the evil men, who do not make use of them."* Although it will be necessary to have arrived at the end of the present book, to understand completely the use of monasteries, we ought not to proceed without endeavoring to give some reply to a question that is sure to be urged from the commencement; for which purpose let us endeavor to discover what answer would have been immediately given in ages of faith, had such an inquiry been made.

It is recorded in monastic history, that St. Bernard coming to make the foundation of the abbey of Villers, in Brabant, and looking down from the mountain upon the gorge in which it was to stand, said, "In this place will many souls be saved." Such was the utility which he expected from it. Now this was the chief and primary use of monasteries, according to the judgment of men in ages of faith. In them many souls were saved; placed and retained in harmony with God and man, in that divine peace from which in the last book we traced all earthly peace. This is beautifully expressed in these words of St. Bernard, which we find usually inscribed on some conspicuous part of the Cistercian abbeys, "Bonum est nos hic esse, quia homo vivit purius, cadit rarius, surgit velocius, incedit cautius, quiescit securius, moritur felicius, purgatur citius, præmiatur copiosius." The blessed Otho bishop of Bamberg, confessor and apostle of Pomerania, being asked familiarly by some in 1150, why he founded and built so many monasteries, replied, citing the evangelical parable of the Good Samaritan, who conveyed the wounded man to an inn, adding, "The world is all a place of exile, and as long as we live in this world, we are at a distance from our Lord.

* Plato, De Repub. Lib. vi.

Therefore, we need inns and stables. These are then of great utility to us poor wanderers; and if we fall among robbers and are stript and wounded, and left half-dead, certainly we shall find by experience how much better it is to be near an inn, than at a distance from one; for when sudden destruction comes upon us, how can we be carried to a stable if it be far off? So it is much better that there should be many such places than few, seeing how great is the danger and how large the number of persons exposed to it; and now especially that men are so multiplied on the earth, it is not absurd that monasteries should be multiplied; since the abundant population admits of numbers embracing a chaste life. Finally, it is well to have these built, that in all things God might be honored and man assisted; and how great is the honor to God and the utility to man, which daily result from monasteries? The spiritual is even greater than the temporal utility; for there the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the dead are raised, and the poor have the gospel preached to them."*

Not, however, to press men with avowals which would in an instant render evident the inutility of our attending further to their objections, let us descend from this elevation, and endeavor to show by obvious reasons, drawn from principles which all will admit, why such important results followed from the institution of the monastic orders.

In the first place, then, the advantages of a life in community, as set forth by St. Basil, in his great rules, are great and incontestable. That life, one of "the rights of man," as well as a want incident to humanity, corresponds with an intimate sentiment of our nature, which shrinks from the sad issue described by a great modern writer, where he says, that to advance towards the grave, growing each day more and more isolated, is the lot of man. As doubtless it is in the present age, when the passion of individuality devours the human heart. How different is it from that life in a monastery, so beautifully described by St. Basil! The Stagyrite remarked the want which human nature felt for such association. "Men," he says, "love to do things in company with others. They love to take exercise together, and to philosophize together; and it is with friends that they wish to pass their days."†

"Those men," says Plato, "who are of the best natures, devote themselves to continence and friendship, conversing with men only, and living without marriage, but being susceptible of the most firm and indissoluble affection for such as are of a like nature, from whom they wish never to be separated through life, though they are never able to say what they wish to happen to each other, while it is evident that their souls are filled with some desire which they are not able to express, and that they divine what is desirable. And if Vulcan should come to them with his instruments, and say, 'O men, what is it that you wish should happen to each of you?' and if they still doubting, he should again ask, 'Is this

* De S. Ottone, Pommeran. Apostol. Lib. i. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. iii. † Ethic. ix. 12.

other to weep and sympathise with you, another to teach you what is useful to salvation, another to correct you with boldness, another to consult together with you like a friend; and all, to love you truly, without guile, without hypocrisy, without flattery. O sweet attendance of friends, O blessed ministry of comforters, O the faithful services of those who fear only God, O the true simplicity which is incapable of a falsehood, O the honorable labor which is in obedience to God, to please God!"

The conviction of men in ages of faith, that the interests of the soul required them to associate with devout persons, rested upon solid principles, some of which were not unknown to the ancient world. Socrates relates in the Platonic dialogue, that many of his disciples who made great progress in wisdom while with him, had not continued to retain it when they left him. This was the case with Aristides, son of Lymmachus, who confesses it in these remarkable words, "I say the truth, though it may seem incredible, but what I learned from you was never in the way of instruction, but merely by being with you. I seemed to advance from being in the same house with you, though I were not to be in the same room, but still more when I was also in the same room with you, so as to be able to see you while speaking; and above all, when I sat by your side and held you; but now, since my absence on the naval expedition, all this faculty has left me and passed away."* Here is a beautiful illustration of the necessity to which so many of the ancient sages and poets bear witness, as when Pindar exclaims, "But may it happen to me discoursing to be conversant with the good;"† and Maximus of Tyre, "nothing is more hostile to the virtue of man, than the being surrounded with wickedness;" and Æschylus, "I mourn the destiny that blends the just with the unhallowed. Nothing worse in whatever cause than impious fellowship: nothing of good is reaped. If midst a race, inhospitably bent on savage deeds, regardless of heaven, the just man fix his seat, the impending wrath spares not, but strikes him with vindictive fury, crushed in the general ruin."‡ Hence the wise old man in Plautus addresses these words to his son:

"——Nolo ego cum improbis te viris,
Gnate mi, neque in via, neque in foro ullum sermonem exsequi.
Novi ego hoc seculum, moribus quibus sit. Malus bonum malum
Esse volt, ut sit sui similis:"§

But let us hear the old Christians speak. "Saul, being among the prophets," says Father Diego de Stella, "became a prophet and did prophecy, and among fools he became a fool. St. Peter, being among the apostles, confessed Christ to be the Son of God, but afterwards in Caiaphas's house, where he was with the wicked, he did deny him. It seemeth hereby that a great alteration was made in the man by reason of the company that he was with. If thou puttest dead

* Plato, Theages. † Pyth. Id. 11. ‡ Sept. cont. Theb. § Trinum. ii. 2.

among quick burning coals, they will soon be set on fire. Draw thou near unto the burning coals which be the virtues of good men, for though thou be never so much wasted and consumed by thine own evil life, yet good men with their virtues will revive and quicken thee again. St. Thomas, because he did separate himself from the rest of his followers, did not see Christ when he rose again; and when he joined himself in company with them again, our Redeemer appeared unto him, and so, of an unbelieving disciple, was made a faithful and true disciple. It is a dangerous thing to forsake the company of them that fear God. The Holy Ghost descended upon Whitsunday when the disciples were gathered together, and if thou wilt continue among good men, thou shalt receive the Holy Ghost as they did."*

"He who adheres to a holy man," says St. Gregory the Great, "from the custom of seeing him, and of speaking with him, and from the example of his works, will be kindled with a love of truth." "Since you know that many are called, but few chosen," says Pope Adrian, writing to St. Hildegard, "join yourself to the number of the few and persevere to the end in holy conversation, that with your sisters you may come to those joys which 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived.'" "As in the world," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "one draws another to sin, so in a religious community one attracts another to virtue. 'A brother who is assisted by a brother,' says Solomon, 'is like a fortified city.' Consider deeply the quality and quantity of the perils in the world, and act for your soul as you would in case of a temporal danger; for what you have to fear is the loss of the highest and incommutable good—the eternal God—irrecoverable and everlasting felicity," Now this was one of the advantages furnished by monastic life. "Holy men," we read, "attend not to good places, but to good conversation in places." "The place of the just," says St. Gregory, "is a good conversation: the place of the just is the Lord." "Hence, in the formula of the promise made by strangers on applying for reception into a monastery, extracted by Mabillon from a very ancient commentary on the rule of St. Benedict, by Hildemar, we find these words—"Coming from distant provinces to this monastery, because the conversation of the brethren of this place pleases me; and because my conversation pleases them: therefore, I promise stability in this monastery, and by this writing with my own hand pledge myself that it shall be perpetual."†

If we refer to facts, there will be no difficulty to find the verification of these views. "In all ages," says a modern historian, who is not Catholic, "the clergy who lead a life separate in the world have been affected by the influence of the passing current; while the regular or monastic clergy, though hearing the storm of human passions roar at a distance, escaped its fury, and pursued, without any important revolution, the even tenor of its way." And in another history, we

* On the Contempt of the World. St. Omer. 1622. † Præfat. in IV. Sæc. § 4.

are told, that the experience of all ages has shown the evils and dangers to which isolated priests are exposed. Without doubt, such is the purport of historical testimony. The Saxon chronicle, in reference to England in the year 1087, says, "So it was in those days that little righteousness was in this land with any men but with the monks alone, wherever they fared well."* Stephen Pasquier observes, "that the monastic institute was the principal instrument by which the church in France was reformed after the great disasters under the race of Charlemagne."† In effect every where else it was the same. Michelet goes so far as to say, that at one epoch the spiritual genius of the Church took refuge in the monks, and that the monastic state was an asylum for the Church, as the Church had been for human society."‡

Peter of Blois, archdeacon of London, and a secular, supplicating the sovereign pontiff to convert a certain parish church into a Cistercian convent, on account of the incorrigible manners of the secular clergy of the place, uses this strong language: "Convert this stye of swine into a temple of God; and let this den of shameless sinners become a dwelling for those who seek the face of the God of Jacob, and who will make it a paradise of pleasure, and a sanctuary of the Holy Ghost."§

The monastery of Lerins alone gave to the Church twelve archbishops, twelve bishops, and more than one hundred martyrs. Three of the greatest popes, St. Gregory VII., Urban II., and Pascal II., came from Cluny. The Church of God venerates no less than twenty-two saints who were monks of the monastery of St. Bertin, at St. Omer.‖ The archbishops of Mayence used almost always to be drawn from the abbbey of Fulda.¶ On entering the court of the monastery of St. Gregory, on the Celian hill at Rome, you read inscribed the names of the great and holy bishops who issued from that house; amongst which, are those of St. Augustin, St. Laurentius, St. Petrus, St. Honorius, all archbishops of Canterbury, St. Mellitus, bishop of London, St. Justus, bishop of Rochester, and St. Paulinus, archbishop of York. In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, it was almost exclusively the monasteries which supplied men worthy of the episcopacy. These pontiffs retained the habit, and persevered in the regular life, as we read of St. Cæsarius of Arles, St. Germain of Paris, St. Ælbert of York, and others. So renowned was the abbey of St. Victor, at Paris, for its discipline and science, that many French bishops sought to procure regular canons of that house to place in their cathedrals in the room of seculars. The English Church regarded St. Victor's as the seminary of her bishops. Seven cardinals, two archbishops, six bishops, and fifty-four abbots, in the course of the twelfth century alone, came from that monastery.** How immense again was the number of saints

* P. 292. † Recherches de la France. Liv. iii. 19. ‡ Hist. de France, i. 261.
§ Pet. Bles. Epist. clii. ‖ Chronic. S. Bertini, Prolog. ap. Martene, Thesaur. Anecdot. iii.
¶ Schannat. Hist. Fuldens. p. III.
** Bulæus, Hist. Univers. Par. ii. Liebner Hugo von. St. Victor und die Theolog. Richtungen seiner Zeit.

Barcelona and Saragossa first received the two holy families of St. Dominic and St. Francis, the object of those cities, as the Spanish historian says, was to make head against the two great evils of ignorance and avarice.*

It is a problem yet to be solved, whether religion can long continue effective and in purity, where such bulwarks are wanting. In England, it was thought in the reign of Mary, that the Catholic religion was permanently restored, and that every thing would be well again, although there were to be no more monasteries. The oaths of the nobility, (doubtless all honorable men, as we should now style them,) in the name of the whole kingdom to defend that faith, were not, however, found quite sufficient to answer the purpose of such stability. But to proceed. The utility of the contemplative and interior life being recognized in ages of faith, as a necessary consequence, monasteries were known to be indispensable. "How necessary it is to provide for the quiet of monks," says Pope Eugene III., writing to Wibald, abbot of Corby, "appears from what was done by the Creator of all things, when He defended the cause of Mary against Martha."† "If it be true in general," as St. Bonaventura remarks, "that more circumstances are required for good than for evil,"‡ it is in a particular manner certain with regard to this highest and most divine virtue, "for," as Richard of St. Victor says, "it is to be noted that the grace of the contemplative life escapes from us more easily than that of the active, but it is repaired with much more difficulty."§ While then all those who would seek no other worth in life, but the inner worth of the soundness of the soul, must provide such circumstances as will enable them, at least, within their minds to construct a place of peace, those who aspire to the highest life must leave nothing undone that can conduce to security—that they may not, like others, be subject to pass alternately from Jerusalem to Babylon, or from a place of peace and quiet to one of confusion and captivity.‖ "For the world," says Thomas à Kempis, "knows so many modes of deceit and wickedness, it contrives so many inventions, and has so many quarrels, that no one's peace can be safe, no one's faith firm, nor can even any one easily be innocent unless he separate himself from the crowd of men and seek Jesus Christ, to hear Him teach his Gospel in desert places." "Therefore," addressing novices he adds, "go out with Abraham from your country, and from your father's house, and come into the holy land, that is, into the monastic life, that you may learn discipline, and serve the Lord your God faithfully all the days of your life."¶ "How can any one retain the soundness of peace," exclaims St. Augustin, "who is fed with discords and contests?"**

Therefore, even the adversaries of monastic life exclaim with Cowper, "O blessed seclusion from a jarring world! Retreat has peace, and much secures the

* Bernardini Gomesii de Vita Jacobi Arag. Lib. ii.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Coll. tom. ii. 293.
‡ St. Bon. Compend. Theol. Verit. Lib. iii. c. 10 § De Eruditione Hominis Inter. i. 4.
‖ Rich. St. Vict. ¶ Dialogus Novitiorum. ** De Catech. Rud.

mind from all assaults of evil." Moreover, monasteries possessed, in a high degree, that influence of place which was not unobserved by the wise men of antiquity, as when Cicero says, "tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis, ut non sine causa ex his memoriæ ducta sit disciplina."* Hence, even occasional visits to them were deemed salutary: in allusion to which opinion, Michelet exclaims, "Why should we ridicule these candid ages which beleived that they could fly from evil by changing place, travel from sin to sanctity, leave Satan with the dress which was laid aside for that of the pilgrim? Is it not something," he adds, "to escape from the influence of places and customs, to change one's country, to orientalize one's self to a new life? Is there not a bad power of infatuation, and of blindness in some places, whether it be the Charmettes of Rousseau, or the Ferney of Voltaire? Let us not wonder if our ancestors loved pilgrimages, and attributed to them a virtue of regeneration."†

"Hence, from knowing what monasteries furnished," St. Bernard says to those who dwelt within them, "I beseech you, brethren, by the common safety, studiously profit by the opportunity given to you of working out your salvation. Here you have no solicitudes. You have no need of thinking about markets or secular affairs, or even about food and clothing. Procul a vobis, magna quidem ex parte diei malitia et sollicitudo vitæ. Sic abscondit vos Deus in abscondito tabernaculi sui. Vacate itaque dilectissimi, et videte, quoniam ipse est Deus."‡

Thus was supplied by monasteries, what the Stagyrite admitted was necessary to the contemplative life; for after saying that "man alone, of all other animals, can be happy, inasmuch as he has the power of contemplation; and that, as far as there is contemplation, there is also happiness;" he adds, "yet there will be something external wanted; for nature is not sufficient of itself to contemplation, but the body must possess food and other necessaries,"§ which necessity the monks themselves recognized, for "the first impediments to contemplation," says St. Bonaventura, "may be from the body, as when it suffers violent hunger, or thirst, or cold."‖ Monasteries were intended to provide this external supplement, and, consequently, by enabling men to adopt the contemplative life, conferred benefit upon an immense class of society. For how many are there unfitted for any other life, but that congenial with the true philosophy of retirement and prayer, "and who feel," as Plato says, "οὐ βιωτὸν ἄλλως ποιοῦντι." ¶ The multitude is composed of men adroit in speech, and for communion with the world accomplished; "but," as the poet says—

——"Others too
There are, among the walks of lonely life
Still higher, men for contemplation framed;
Shy and unpractised in the strife of phrase;
Meek men, whose very souls perhaps would sink

* De Finibus, v.
† Hist. de France, iii. 55.
‡ Serm. 2.
§ Ethic. x. 8.
‖ Medit. Vit. Christi. lvi.
¶ Epist. viii.

Beneath them, summoned to such intercourse.
Theirs is the language of the heavens, the power,
The thought, the image, and the silent joy !"

What an asylum do monasteries furnish to young men of this character, shrinking from the gaze of cold worldly wisdom, "inexperienced in its calculations, unsullied by the tarnish of its vulgar wants, sick of its formalities, and anxious to cast off the mean restrictions it imposes, which bind so firmly by their number, though singly so contemptible?" The ancients had examples to a certain degree analogous to what might be offered here. Nicias was not made for a cruel and unjust invader, and when he undertook the office, and perished after such long suffering, there is no one who does not lament his fate. But in Christian times we find instances at every step. In the poem of the Lord of the Isles, when Edward proposes to adopt a certain young man as his page, Bruce interposes, saying,

——"gay Edward, no,
This is no youth to hold thy bow
Or fill thy goblet,
Or bear thy message light.
Thou art a patron all to wild
And thoughtless, for this orphan child.
Seest thou not how apart he steals,
Keeps lonely couch and lonely meals?
Better by far in yon calm cell
To tend our sister Isabel,
With father Augustin to share
The peaceful change of convent-prayer,
Than wander wild adventures through
With such a reckless guide as you."

And so when Bruce with this page were in the convent of his royal sister, he says to her,

"He is a boy of gentle strain,
And I have proposed he shall dwell
In Augustin the chaplain's cell,
And wait on thee, my Isabel.
Mind not his tears: I've seen them flow
As in the thaw dissolves the snow,
'Tis a kind youth but fanciful,
Unfit against the tide to pull.
And those that with the Bruce would sail,
Must learn to strive with stream and gale."

Age too, after a laborious life, might feel this want more keenly still, as when Bourdaloue begged the general of his order to permit him to retire from the world to solitude; and souls by violence converted, and risen above the waves which had whelmed and sunk them down, would need the same shelter; for, as Dante sings,

—"It may not be
That one, who looks upon that light can turn
To other object willingly his view.
For all the good, that will may covet, there
Is summ'd ; and all, elsewhere defective, found complete."*

For all such persons, life in the world would have been unmingled bitterness, contrasted with what Petrarch writing to his brother Gerard, styles "the quiet poverty, the sweet leisure, the united fellowship, and the celestial peace of the cloister."†

A great English philosopher has the courage to acknowledge some of these advantages, "for some," he remarked, "have little power to do good, and have likewise little strength to resist evil. Many are weary of their conflicts with adversity, and are willing to eject those passions which have long busied them in vain ; and many are dismissed by age and diseases from the more laborious duties of society. In monasteries the weak and timorous may be happily sheltered, the weary may repose, and the penitent may meditate. Those retreats of prayer and contemplation have something so congenial to the mind of man, that perhaps there is scarcely one that does not purpose to close his life in pious abstraction, with a few associates serious as himself.‡

But it was not alone to men who embraced the contemplative life, that monasteries were deemed useful ; for as they lived not for themselves alone, the whole world it was beleived, received benefit from the prayers and worship offered up within them. St. Augustin in many places remarks, that those who are devoted to the contemplative life, conduce not a little to the good of the republic by their prayers, and many felt this as personal to themselves. Thus Ives de Chartres, writing to a monk, says, "Remember me in your prayers, vestræ enim orationes quanto quietiores, tanto saniores."§ When John Francis Picus of Mirandula was deprived of his territories, Baptist, the Mantuan Carmelite, having written to him, saying, "I have heard of your misfortune, illustrious man, and to speak ingenuously what I feel, you now seem to me greater than when you reigned ; for it is greater to prove one's self worthy of a kingdom than to be a king ; therefore, I love and honor you, and in my prayers are always with you. And so likewise are all the brethren who are here with me in Christ. I deem that a wretched kingdom which would deprive one of the sweet delights of study, and of friends united in the study of philosophy ; and before all the kingdoms of the world, I would prefer, Diocletian like, the silence of the woods, and the beauties of a garden."—The prince acknowledged the benefit greatefully in these words : "I can no more believe that you do not assist me with your prayers, than that fire does not burn ; for this is the property of you, and of all like you, who more immediately wait on Christ. By your assistance I think it must

* Par. † Var. Epist. Lib. xix. ‡ Johnson's Rasselas. § Epist. ii.

have come to pass, that the weight of so many calamities presses me much more lightly than I could every have hoped or expected."*

"The Carthusian order," says Petrus Sutorus, "confers advantage on the republic by its prayers, by its merits, by its example, by its writings, by its counsels, and by its temporal assistance."† "The Carthusian monks," he adds, "use daily in their cells, certain peculiar prayers for all kinds of sorrows and necessities that belong to the human race; sedulously they reflect on all the delusions and miseries of life, on the pomps of prelates, the ambition of clerks, the curiosity of students, the elation of the learned, the exactions of princes, the crafts of the litigious, the adulations of courtiers, the pride of nobles, the violence of soldiers, the corruptions of judges, the dishonesty of merchants, the tribulations of the married, the avarice of the rich, the wants of the poor, the pains of the sick, the groans of prisoners, the afflictions of widows and orphans, the oppressions of travellers, the tribulations of the just, and on innumerable other evils for which they incessantly pray."‡ Perhaps, says a modern poet, whose words apply to monks, although he thinks not, the self-approving world, that scarce deigns to notice him, or deems him but a cypher in the works of God, receives advantage of which she little dreams, from his noiseless hours. Perhaps she owes her sunshine and her rain, and plenteous harvest, to the prayers he makes, when, Isaac like, he meditates, and thinks on her who thinks not for herself. Forgive him then, thou bustler in concerns of little worth, an idler in the best, if author of no mischief and some good, he seeks his proper happiness by means that may advance, but cannot hinder thine. Account him then an encumbrance on the state, receiving benefits and rendering none; for by his prayers, as well as by his fair example and his influence spent in soothing sorrow, quenching strife, and aiding indigence, he serves his country and recompenses it well for its protection."§

"It was," says another of his sect, but lately "to set forth the pattern of a celestial life upon earth, that men who entered deeply, far more deeply than ourselves, into the gloriousness of Christianity, planted throughout the land, and resolved to perpetuate for ever communities of its ministers, whose business and profession should be prayer. They wished to reserve some spots, where man, free from the trammels of the world, might live in his natural state of constant communion with his Maker. They knew that over the greater part of the world, men's sins make the very heavens as it were of brass, that the dews of God's blessing cannot pass through them; and they kept open, in the midst of each nation, some accesses to God, some of these golden ladders of prayer by which men's hearts ascend to Him, and his bounties descend upon us. They heard with an ear of faith, which in us is deaf or lost, the songs of all created things morning and evening rising up before the throne of their Creator, and they thought it

* Mirand. Epist. Lib. iv.

† Pet. Sut. De Vita Carthusiana. Lib. ii. t. ii. c. 2.

‡ Id. Lib. ii. t. iii c. 2.

§ Cowper.

shame that no voice should join them from men, his own chosen children ; and they kept their communion with angels and past generations of saints, and the host of spirits with which they were about to dwell, by uniting their hyms of praise, in time, in spirit, in the very words themselves, with the praises and thanksgivings of a world above."

In regard to philosophy and literature, it would be long to describe the advantages resulting from the monastic institution, which provided houses in cities and in the country, in which were men living apart from the world and above it. "It is sinful," says Cardan, who however always takes the lowest ground in his reflections, "to think men in monastic orders unfortunate : for what calamity can it be to serve God, to apply to letters and studies, to live without solicitude, to have so many excellent companions, skilled in many things, as I may say, knowing the secrets of all mortals, to be safe from the anger of princes, from the improbity of magistrates, from the injuries of the petulant, to travel through all countries at the expense of others, and to find a house prepared every where to be revered by all men as sacred, to be delivered from all perturbations and sins, and cares, and cupidities ? If you are in health you have many companions of cheerfulness, if sick you see no one weeping, but many encouraging and consoling you."*

Those who desire to reflect on the more spiritual benefits arising to the learned men themselves, who enter monasteries, should read the first epistle of Petrus Delphinus, prior of the Camaldolese, to Petrus Donatus, relating the motives which induced him to embrace that state ;† and to discover the importance of such retreats, in regard to studies and to society in general, one need only cast a glance around us at the consequences of abolishing them, at what Plato describes as ἄλλοι ἀνθρωπίσκοι, seeing the place of philosophy deserted by those who should cultivate it, and jumping into it, which is the sad exhibition now presented here ; "for as these studies are still the most glorious, men," as he says, "of imperfect and unfinished natures, desire to partake of them ; though, as their bodies are degraded by their labors, so their souls, are worn down and reduced to dust, as it were, by their mechanical arts."‡

Philosophy, comparing the foundations of our age and those of Catholic times, will, therefore, use words like those of Raumer, who, on visiting the ruins of Fountain's abbey, exclaimed, "How miserable, stunning, and stupifying, is all the noise of your machinery compared with the sanctus, the gloria, and the requiem eternam, which still echo from every stone of these silent ruins !" Not to return to Aristotle, who says, that perfect happiness is in contemplation, and that men are happy only as far as they participate in that divine life,§ the holy Scriptures declare, that retreat and leisure are required for wisdom. "Sapientiam scribe

* Hier. Card. De Utilitate ex Advers. cap. Lib. iii. c. 21.

† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. iii. p. 915. ‡ De Repub. vi. § Ethic. x. 8.

in tempore ocii : et qui minoratur in actu ipse percipiet eam." After citing which words, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, demands, how can any one write things pertaining to wisdom who has no peaceful leisure, and whose whole life is one perturbed business.* The custom of troubles, as Cicero says, deprives the gentlest men of mercy, and consequently unfits them for the human studies—"Nam cum omnibus horis aliquid atrociter fieri videmus, aut audimus, etiam qui natura mitissimi sumus, assiduitate molestiarum sensum omnem humanitatis ex animis amittimus."† When all the clergy being exclusively occupied with affairs of men, there are left no persons of pacific order, with leisure to cultivate the gentle studies that cast such a delicious light of ideal beauty upon the human existence, when there are no priests to converse with nature in the woods, or to draw rich men thither for a moment who might there be awakened to a sense of eternal things; when poetry, and all works of imagination, as of wisdom, become the domain of legists or literary slaves, or traders in writing, or proud, sullen, spiteful, disenchanted senators, who, whatever they may pretend, are disgusted at the emotions of the soul, as well as at the enjoyments of mind and of sense, men often sworn and forsworn, unfortunate beings, who have no longer the thoughts of youth, of virtue, or of freedom; whose hearts are withered; whose lives are worn out; who live only to three impressions, egotism, cupidity, and pride,"‡ will not the ruin of literature follow, and must not philosophy mourn the suppression of those asylums in which the men that were to introduce her to the world were trained up from their youth in the heroic love of God, within the abodes of true peace? Cowper says of the men of England, which was the first nation to abolish monasteries, "that doing good, disinterested good, is not their trade." What becomes of philosophy in such hands? It was from monasteries that came forth men whose trade was doing disinterested good; and, therefore, circumspect and holy men, who sought to benefit the world, have always desired their propagation. One of the three things which Raymond Lully had at heart, before laying down his life for the love of Christ, was that monasteries might be established in all parts of the habitable globe.

With respect to social amelioration in general, the use of monasteries was no less evident to those who founded them, and to all who had experience of their effects. The testament of William the pious, duke of Acquitaine, speaking of his motives for founding the monastery of Cluny, in 910, will prove the first part of this proposition; for after saying that he makes this foundation, in order that there may be a venerable house of prayer, faithfully frequented with vows and supplications, with a heavenly conversation and all desire and internal ardor, and ceaseless intreaties to the Lord, he adds, "We prescribe especially that this our donation may be for a perpetual refuge to the poor who leave the world, who bring away nothing with them but a good will, that so our provision may be

* Epist. i. 20. † Pro S. Roscio Amer. 53. ‡ Timon.

made their abundance. We desire also, that as opportunity and power may be afforded, there may be from this time forth, for ever, daily exhibited works of mercy to all the poor, to strangers, and to travellers; and I conjure all secular princes and others, by God and by the saints, and by the day of tremendous judgment, to refrain from invading or diminishing the substance of these servants of God; and I beseech the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, to guard this house from evil men; and I invoke the wrath of the Almighty upon whoever shall invalidate this testament, which is made for his love and in honor of his holy servants."* The latter assertion is verified by the moderns themselves.

"Here is a convent of twelve persons," says a keen observer of the manners of nations, speaking of Spain, "the four eldest are occupied as priests, with confession, preaching, worship, and the instruction of youth; two others have charge of the church of the house; the six others go out to beg through the city or country, from which they bring home wood, wine, or vegetables. The gifts are so beyond the wants of the convent that every day these monks nourish abundantly fifty poor of the neighborhood. I have often assisted at these distributions, and I have never seen the superior fail to ask after such of his guests as were absent, in order to send them provisions. Such is the source of this pretended superstition of the people of Spain and Italy, and I conclude by asking, is it possible that twelve men could be better employed for the good and security of society? Besides the material advantage, in respect to agriculture, how much is a village ennobled by the living education afforded by monks in preaching, confessing, catechizing, and encouraging confraternities, and instructing children."†

It was no wonder that the ruin of such houses was lamented by the people. Speaking of the suppression of the smaller monasteries in England, Weever says. "It was a pitiful thing to hear the lamentation that the people in the country made for them; for there was great hospitality kept among them."‡ The loss of only one monastery—that of Oliva, in 1360, which was burnt—is recorded by the northern historians as a national calamity, equal to that of the pestilence of that dreadful year.§

Now hear the testimony of one who loved them not: "Half a league from Xeres," says Bourgoign, "is one of the most famous Carthusian monasteries in Spain, containing some of the finest paintings of Zurbaran and Luc Jordanus. The silent inhabitants of this charming asylum make us almost pardon their opulence and pious indolence by their tender solicitude for the two most interesting ages of life; they begin the education of thirty poor children of the neighboring town, and twelve old men past working come to finish their days peaceably amongst them."‖ "The monastic order," says a modern historian, speaking of England in the time of Lanfranc, "became a blessing to the nation; not only

* Biblioth. Clun. 2. † Rubichon du Mécanisme de la Société en France et en Angleterre. ‡ 105. § Voight. G. Preussens, v. ‖ Tableau de l'Espagne, iii.

were charity exercised, agriculture extended, religion and morality inculcated, the neighborhood kept in peace, but, as schools were opened in every diocese, civilization was rapidly and widely diffused throughout the country.*

Travellers at the present day are struck with the useful effects of a material order produced by the neighborhood of a convent. "The approaches to Huerta," says Bourgoign, "on the road from Madrid to Saragossa are an exception to the frightful appearance of the country; for this village belongs to a monastery of Benedictines, which causes to reign round it comfort, cultivation and shade; striking difference in Spain between the possessions of ecclesiastics and those of the richest lay proprietors, which is explained by the perpetual residence of the one and the absence of the other."† Yet these, we must remember, were the least advantages; for it was with a view to the religious benefit resulting from their neighborhood, that men, in ages faith, desired to live near them. We read in the annals of the Capuchins, that in 1580, when a convent of that order was to be built in the valley of Lagano, the surrounding towns contended with each other respecting the site to be chosen, for each wished that it might be built in its immediate vicinity." Who can doubt, but that the illustrious men, who, like *Cosmo* de Medicis, founded or rebuilt abbeys, were actuated no less with a view to utility than to a display of their own magnificence? Mabillon, after remarking in what a reverential light monks were regarded by Justinian and by the great and learned men of primitive times, continues thus: "For who is there that has a just sense of Christian piety, and who examines the thing before God, but must esteem those men very useful to the church, who endeavor to conform assiduously to the life of Christ; who celebrate the worship of God with all the devotion of which they are capable, offering their body and soul as a constant sacrifice of praise; who retain the ancient vestiges and specimen of Christian penitence in the church; who opened public schools of virtue, who, by their labor, transmitted the monuments of ancient writing to posterity; who gave example to clerks to institute laudable societies; who erected as many hospitals for the poor as monasteries, in which the diseases of the soul were cured; in which baptismal innocence was preserved inviolate, or restored when lost, and in which the wants of all the needy were supplied? Monasteries are hotels, in which not alone the cloistral flock, but, as Leodegavius testifies, the whole world is delivered from the corruptions of the age. Finally, who can say that they were useless to the civil and Christian republic, who covered with towns and villages so many provinces before uninhabited and desert, adorned them with edifices, enriched them with letters, and by giving episcopal and pastoral institutions, brought so many millions of pagans to the faith?"‡

A Pythagorean said of old, "that those who constituted mysteries are not to be despised, for that these admonish men secretly, that whoever shall depart to

* Europ. in the Mid. Ages. Cyclop. vol. iv. † iii. 33. ‡ Præfat. in IV. Sæcul. § 4.

fluence, the baneful effects of that policy of Theseus in Attica, which men in modern times cannot even boast of as their own, which consists in centralizing a nation, drawing all interest to one spot, and making it supreme.* What an interest is given to Burgos, Valladolid, and Toledo, by the monasteries which they contain! To what a distance around does the Chartreuse of Miraflores, with its magnificent sepulchres, shed lustre! It was thus that, in ages of faith, the attraction and the charm were diffused every where by means of these institutions; for the monasteries had charms for all; the traveller might well love their hospitable gates, the poor their courts for dispensing charity, the antiquarian their buildings, the scholar their libraries, the artist their paintings, and the saint their churches.

Truly it was well for all mortals when there were those holy mountains "where were heard the last murmurs of earth and the first sound of heaven." There is a poetic influence in the very sentences which record their existence, as when we hear of the Irish monks which at the first sound seems as if to dispel from the face of that glorious island all the cloud of low prosaic associations with which it has been enveloped by the men who understand not its destiny, on whose tongues it is associated with no other image but that of lord lieutenants and policemen. But let us attend to the practical results. What is the first consequence of a religious order being received into a city? Immediately there is a structure discovered with a door which opens to all comers, the poor man, the student, the retired officer, all the unassisted and friendless have thenceforth a point of union where the countless sentiments of taste, connected with beauty and grandeur of locality, are enlisted on the side of faith, to destroy sin within them, and to set up the glorious throne of Jesus. Now could a solitary curate confer the same kind of benefit as this? Leibnitz, avowing his love for the monastic orders, after enumerating the services which they render, adds "whoever is ignorant of these things, or despises them, has only a narrow and vulgar idea of virtue, and stupidly believes that he has accomplished all his obligations to God when he has externally discharged some usual practices with that habitual coldness which is never accompanied with any zeal or any sentiment." To such censure the illustrious men in Catholic times were seldom obnoxious. Petrarch speaks of his own happiness in living near the house of the Carthusians, where he can enter at all times as if one of the family.† "I and Picus of Mirandula," says Marsilius Ficinus, "lately walking on the hills of Fiesole, surveying the whole plain of Florence, and discoursing about the best site for a house, beholding the place where the wise Leonard Aretino, and Pandolphino, and Peter Philippo, had chosen for their villas. O happy Pandolph, cried Picus, who, leaving public affairs, inhabited a sacred house—I say sacred, for near this spot is a grove surrounded by twenty houses of religious orders."‡ "The neighborhood of a monastery wins me still," would many say in the language of the poet, "I never framed a wish, or formed a plan, that flattered me with hope of early bliss, but there I laid the scene."

* Thucyd. ii. 15. † Epist. Lib. x. 12. ‡ Mars. Ficini Epist. Lib. ix.

Thus useful to all, we may remark, in fine, that monasteries conferred benefits in a more especial manner on a class of men suffering from irremediable wounds, who, without that resource, would have been temporally and probably for ever wretched. "The suicide of the middle ages," says a late editor of the chronicles of St. Denis, "was to enter a monastery;" for the monk was not like Æolus, who sends Ulysses away from his shores merely because he observes him to be most miserable.

> "Ἐρρ' ἐκ νήσου θᾶσσον, ἐλέγχιστε ζωόντων·
> Οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν οὐδ' ἀποπέμπειν
> Ανδρα τὸν, ὅς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθηται μακάρεσσιν."*

In ages of faith, when men were thus prostrated without hope of recovery, not self-slaughter, as Mortimer says, nor just death, nor war, the arbitrator of despair, the kind umpire of men's miseries, nor the flying to intentions savage wild, more fierce and more inexorable far than empty tigers, or the roaring sea; but the cowl, the harbinger of peace, with sweet enlargement did dismiss them hence. Youth, indeed, has often little thought for what the future may bring forth, and the world seems made for its enjoyment.

> "Quand j'estois jeune, ains qu'une amour nouvelle
> Ne se fust prise en ma tendre moelle,
> Je vivois bien heureux:
> Lors je vivois amoureux de moy mesme,
> Content et gay sans porter face blesme,
> Ny les larmes à l'œil.
> J'avois escrit au plus haut de la face,
> Avecques l'honneur, une agreable audace
> Pleine d'um franc desir:
> Avec le pied marchoit ma fantaisie
> Où je volois, sans peur ne jalousie.
> Seigneur de mon plaisir."

Thus sings Ronsard of his youth, but how changed was he when he sung thus! The world was no longer the same for him. What is its society to those who have stained the childhood of their joy, or who are dragging after them the long chain of disappointed hopes?

"A good society," as a French author says, "provides for every thing, even for the wants of those who detach themselves from it by choice or by necessity."† "Omnia duplicia, unum contra unum, et non fecit quicquam deesse," says the holy text.‡ God provides a contrary thing for each, that there may be a remedy for it. How consistent then was it with the order of divine Providence that there should be for those written in sour misfortune's book, to whom the world is not a friend, nor the world's law, a refuge such as monasteries, where they may exclaim on entering, "Oh, here will I set up my everlasting rest, and shake the

* x. 72. † C. Nodier, Méditations du Cloître. ‡ Ec. xlii. 33.

yoke of inauspicious stars from this world-wearied flesh!" For, as the poet says, "The beast has his asylum in the rocks, the slave at the altar; a city can appeal to another city to defend it; for there is nothing of mortals which is happy unto the end."* Moved by these considerations, a great French philosopher of the present day, desiring the re-establishment of the religious orders in France, exclaims, "Let us grant to virtue that right of asylum which crime had formerly. There are always upon earth men who are fatigued with life's journey, and no one can be sure that some day or other he will not be of their number."

Such then, in brief, were some few of the useful ends to which monasteries served in ages of faith, and, in conclusion, are we to be told, that the time for such institutions to be valuable is for ever past, and that they fulfilled their destiny? But as St. Gregory says, "Is not eternity still at stake, and can there be then too great security for man?" Because the world puts on new attractions, does wisdom require her children to be less and less removed from it? Are there no contemplative souls now in these giddy times, who would best thrive in sanctified retirement? Does the human heart no longer in any instances require association with the faithful? Are all men now fit to struggle against the stream of the life which is at enmity with God? And when St. Jerome paints the charm of solitude, the sadness of the world and its dangers, is this an unintelligible language recalling nothing that we see and feel? Was there ever an age in which all flesh had more corrupted its way, when the friendship of the world was more dangerous, and when it was more expedient for many to separate themselves from it? Yet there are even poets now who seem to think that the age of monasteries is past, as if they could no longer serve any useful purpose. But this is a great error; for were one of our ruined abbeys to be rebuilt and peopled again with monks, its old inhabitants, after sheltering only the owlet and the bat for full three hundred years, the new comers, on the first day of opening their school, might begin with the formula, Heri dicebamus. It would seem as if but one dreary night had intervened since they had last met there. There would be nothing to retract, nothing to change; for the monastic life springs from a source which lies deep in the human heart; so that such institutions, however nations may rage and contend against them, can but fulfil their destiny with the world.

* Eurip. Supp. 267.

CHAPTER IV.

DISMISSING now the thoughts of men at variance with the truth, and thus prepared against gross errors, our purpose may be resumed with unguarded simplicity, as if we talked with friends who understood us. So let us mount, reader; for the way is long and much uncouth the road, perhaps, even threatening what Achilles so much feared, the being carried away by a mountain torrent, like a shepherd lad by wintry floods. I have read in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, how, in 858, Abbo, chamberlain in that abbey, perished in a river while only proceeding to visit his mother at Hilleneshem. The stream, being swollen with the rains, carried away the incautious monk.* Holy hands, however, like those of St. William, have often contrived a safe passage for such poor pilgrims to the desert. So take we courage, for one will is in us both. Let some guide lead on to the abbey! we enter, at all events, on unfrequented ways. Ah! how does the setting forth on such a quest remind one of happy wanderings among the vast and noble scenes of nature! for amid such, in general, were monasteries found. Is there a wild solemn desert, or a smiling beauteous spot, far away amidst the woods and mountains, which would have spellbound a Salvator Rosa or a Claude? There we are almost sure to find the peaceful abode of monks.

Semper enim valles, silvestribus undique cinctas
Arboribus, divûs Bernardus, amœnaque prata
Et fluvois; juga sed Benedictus amabat, et arces
Cœlo surgentes è quarum vertice latè
Prospectus petitur, secessum plebis uterque;
Sacrarum scripturarum studiosus uterque
Musarum et Phœbi: non quem colit ethnica turba
Sed quem Christicolæ natum de virgine credunt.

St. Basil, indeed, who was the first to establish a regular and constant discipline by a general institution for all monks, ordered that monasteries should be in the neighborhood of cities, in order to afford assistance to men. St. Benedict, who in the west supplied a similiar institution, from the same motive gave monks permission to establish their houses in cities and towns, which before that time had been interdicted to them. The council of Trent advised that monasteries, especially of women, should, wherever it was possible, be transferred to towns

* Ap. Leibnitz. Script. Br uns. ii.

for the sake of many advantages, which gave rise, as in Paris, to abbeys in the heart of cities, retaining the title of the wood in which they had before been situated. But still innumerable monasteries continued to exist in desert places, in spots where every thing seemed to call the soul to contemplation as in primitive times, in the deserts of Pontus, and amidst the caves of Cappadocia. For after the apostles, the first monks retired to vast solitudes, for the sake of prayer and meditation, observing certain common rules, as may be collected from Philojudæus. St. Jerome argues from the very name Monachus, that the professor should withdraw from the common haunts of men; and St. Chrysostom reminds the inhabitants of a great city that they are obliged to admire often the happiness and peace of the holy men who live a solitary life in the mountains and deserts, where they are far from all worldly cares: and in discoursing to the people of Antioch, he calls the mountains and woods the tabernacles of the saints.* Celebrated were the cloistral communities in Egypt, at Nitria, on the mountain, and at Cellia, in the desert. From the latter, at a day and a night's journey farther into the wilderness was Scethe, where Macarius lived, but no track led to it, and there was no water all the way, so men could only be guided to it by the stars.†

In the time of St. Jerome the cœnibites had succeeded generally to the hermits, living in companies of nine together, with a tenth to govern each community. The zeal for building these little asylums was great. Dorotheus the Theban used to spend whole days in collecting stones from the neighboring sea-shore, with which he built one monastery every year for those who could not build for themselves.‡

The advice of Cowley, "that we ought in the choice of a situation to regard, above all things, the healthfulness of the place for the mind rather than for the body," was also that of the monastic founders. The oldest monasteries of the south of Europe, built in times of peace and security, were mostly placed on the sea-coast, or on the banks of rivers, and in places easy of access. These monasteries, as Fauriel observes, became focuses of commercial activity: but those which were built in times of confusion and terror, during the invasion of the barbarians, or that of the Arabs in Aquitaine, were constructed in the most hidden gorges of mountains, or other desert places, where they became the kernel of an agricultural population in places that had before only seen wild beasts.§ In general, however, under all circumstances, great attention was shown to the choice of locality; for the influences of nature were known to be the chief source of a feeling which is closely allied to piety: and in this respect the monks did but follow in the track of all lovers of peace and wisdom in the ancient world. The Pythagoreans retired to dwell in lonely desert places. The Platonicians and Stoics used to frequent groves and porticos, that being admonished by the gravity and

* Hom. 58, 59.

‡ Sozom. vi. 29. Niceph. ii. 35.

† Goërres, die Christliche Mystik, i. 190.

§ Hist. de la Gaule Méridi. iii. 484.

beauty of the place, they might think of nothing but virtue. When Plato taught his disciples, he was seated not in a busy city, or a luxurious cabinet, but under the aerial portico of the temple of Minerva, on the promontory of Sunium, whence you have that superb view of the mountains of Attica and the vast expanse of the sea—of that great and beautiful nature which can of itself, without the eloquence of words, exalt the soul towards its Creator.* When Cicero and his friends proposed holding a discourse on philosophy, they repaired to the groves of the academy, "maxime quod is locus ab omni turba id temporis vacuus esset."†

In the first century of our æra, men had begun to read the Gospel of St. Matthew in the gardens of Academus, and soon after we find the monks in such beautiful groves as that in which the lessons of Plato were imparted, or else in wild and solemn regions still farther removed from the perturbations of men.

"O happy desert!" exclaims St. Basil, "refuge of those whom the world persecutes, and whom it cannot endure, consolation of the afflicted, rest of those who are weary with the travail and misery of this life, place of refreshment and of peace against the ardor of passions, of safety for the body, and of freedom for the soul! Thy remembrance shall never depart from me! O Jacob, how rich and beautiful are thy tabernacles, and thy tents, O Israel! O solitary life, holy, angelic, blessed! No tongue can express the sentiments of love which I feel for thee! no voice can paint the joy with which thou dost fill my heart!"

"It was in the solitude of Thabor," remark the monastic authors, "that Jesus Christ was transfigured; it was in the solitude of the garden that He prepared Himself for his passion; it was in the desert that He combatted and was served by angels; it was in solitude that His precursor prepared for Him the paths of justice: it was from the solitude of paradise that Enoch was translated; it was in a solitude that Agar beheld the angel; it was in a solitude that Abraham saw the mysterious representation of the ineffable mystery of the Holy Trinity; it was in a solitude that Jacob had the vision of angels; it was in a solitude that Moses saw the burning bush, and that he received the law."‡ "If we search the Scriptures," says Hugo of St. Victor, "we find that God has scarcely ever spoken in a crowd; but whenever He wished to instruct men, He manifested Himself not to nations or to the people, but to some few individuals, separate from the common herd of men, in the silence of the night, or on plains, deserts, and mountains."§ Hence Cardinal Bona sings—

"O solitudo mentibus
Orantium gratissima!
O vera cordis suavitas
Ignota vulgi sensibus!"

The emperor Lothaire wrote to Raban Maur, when that abbot had retired to a hermitage, and though the object of his letter was to introduce him to visit his

* Michaud. Correspondance de l' Orient.
† De Finibus, v.
‡ Dosithée. Vie de St. Jean de la Croix.
§ De Arca Morali, Lib. iv. 4.

court, he admits the wisdom of his choice: for "the rustic solitude of mountains," he says, "delights the interior man more than the regal splendor of cities; for there no envy deceives the tranquil breast with a cheerful aspect, nor language adorned with flattering colors, with mutual wickedness, fabricates deception." For how many in fact must it have been relief "to quit the busy haunts and the inquiring looks of men, and walk in solitude?" Religion in the cloister did but sanctify the peace such mourners sought, permitting each still to retain his predilection and to say—

"This shadowy desert, unfrequented wood,
I better brook than flourishing peopled towns.
Here can I sit alone, unseen of any,
And to the nightingale's complaining notes
Tune my distresses and record my woes."

She knew, in fact, that a retreat amidst the lovely or the solemn scenes in which monasteries were placed, can often appease the bitter unquietness which the intercourse of men occasions in the soul. Origen says of St. John the Baptist, "flying the world, he went into the desert, where the air was purer, and heaven more open, and God more familiar." "Whence, O God, is this peace which flows upon me?" exclaims a French poet, describing the divine benediction in solitude, "whence this faith with which my heart overflows? Scarcely a few days have elapsed, and it seems as if an age, as if a world had passed, as if, separated from them by an immense abyss, a new man had commenced within me. Ah, it is because I have found the peace of the desert, and left that crowd where all peace perishes! It is because the soul of man is like a limpid wave, whose azure is tarnished by every breeze that ruffles it, but when the wind dies away, the surface resumes again its smooth placidity." Do you not perceive in effect, companion, what a peaceful influence pervades this whole region? The moment we enter this silent forest of sombre pines, we seem to lose all recollection of the world's discord, and to catch distant harmonies from the very music of heaven!

"O ever-pleasing solitude,
Companion of the wise and good,
Thy shades, thy silence, now be mine,
Thy charms my only theme;
My haunt the hollow cliff, whose pine
Waves o'er the gloomy stream;
Whence the sacred owl on pinions grey
Breaks from the rustling boughs,
And down the lone vale sails away
To more profound repose!"*

To monks the wilderness has a mysterious tongue. "I assure you, Father," says Antonio De Guevara, the Franciscan, writing from Valladolid, in 1535, to the

* Wordsworth.

abbot of Montserrat, "that I never found myself amongst the great rocks and craggy heights, and pathless woods of Montserrat, without determining to lead a better life in future, and without feeling sorrow for my past sins. I never passed by it without going to confession, and celebrating with tears, and passing a night in watching, and making alms, and resolving to correct my life. O, would to God that I were in this country what I promised to be in that holy place!"

In general it suffices to hear the names of the ancient abbeys, to know in what sort of scenery they are placed. Campus amabilis, as Camaldoli is called in the bull of its institution—Vallis umbrosa, that valley of sweet shades to which St. John Gualbert retired in 1038. Monte Sereno, Val-profonde, Haute Rive, Beaulieu, Fountains, Clairvaux, Sept-Fontaines, Clairlieu, Trois-Fontaines, Fontfroid, Bonne-Fontaine, Beaupré.—Such are the sweet, harmonious names of monasteries, derived from fountains, rivers, woods, islets, mountains, valleys, high cliffs, and caverns hoar deep in the shade of pines; names which have in themselves a power to charm the ear, like those of the Nereides in the Iliad, which recall the beautiful translucid things in the dim, cool grottos of the ocean nymphs.*

The Spanish writers cannot treat upon the rivers and mountains of Spain without mention of the monasteries which render many of them so illustrious;† and, indeed, if the poetry and science of the ancients could associate them every where with occult virtues, it was easy for the minds of holy men to fall in with their beautiful suggestion, that wherever a spring rises or a river flows, sacrifices should be offered, and to feel a strong desire to impart to them the true holiness of sweet and beneficient religion. Who in ages of faith could write a history of woods, and omit mention of the monks and hermits, or describe the mountain full of springs, *μητέρα θηρῶν*, and not make mention of the abbey on its side or summit? The foundations made by faith obliged old authors thus to blend with geography philosophy and asceticism. It often suffices to hear the names of the places adjacent to monasteries, to know the savage wildness of the locality, at least, in early times, when not only wolves and bears, but enormous wild boars wandering in bands by night through the woods, almost as dangerous, made high walls necessary for the enclosure. Thus, in the immediate neighborhood of St. Gall there are places with such names as these, Wolfhalden, Baernegg, Baerenbach, Waldstatt, Waldshausen.‡ The house diaries of the abbeys expressly mention the visits of such neighbors. Thus, in the curious annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read as follows: "This year, 923, on the vigil of St. Vitus, two stags came of their own accord into the monastery, of whom one was taken and the other dismissed. Hence we have our Porta Cervorum. This year, 1131, a wolf was caught in our orchard. It had come from Sollingen. In 1140 our huntsman met a bear in Sollingen holding in its mouth a naked crying child. Being

* xviii. † Andreæ Resendii Eborensis Antiquitatum Lusitaniæ, Lib. i. and ii.
‡ Ildefons Von Arx. Gesch. der St. Gallen, i.

alone he could not kill it. This year, 1213, on the feast of the three kings, while matins were singing, a dog-wolf entered the church, without injuring any one; only on going out he killed a goose. In 1275, a she-wolf with her whelps was found one morning very early in the church of Boffezen, near the altar, the porter not having shut the door.*

The venerable father who showed me over the hermit's convent of Camaldoli, said, "We keep these dogs to defend u against the wolves; for, in winter, when the snow lies deep, they could overleap the wall of our enclosure, and fall upon us at night, as we went to matins in the church. The cold, indeeed, is severe; but we are happy in serving God, and then we enjoy the glorious view from this high mountain. We see the stars, perhaps, more bright at that solemn hour, and we admire the works of the Creator." Nothing, in fact, can exceed the beauty of the spectacle from that hill of Scali, on which St. Romuald saw the angles. The hermit, as he looks down upon the vast wild tract of the deeply channelled and yet unvaried Apennines, can discern beyond them the plains of Ravenna and the line of the Adriatic, like a golden thread beneath the rising sun; while on his left the Mediterranean is at times discernible. When monasteries were abandoned after being plundered and demolished by barbarous invaders, the wild beasts soon recovered undisturbed possession of the ground as the lawful proprietors. Thus after the death of the only monk who remained at Ouches, within the space of 50 years, the trees having grown over it and choked up the oratories and buildings, it became the abode of ferocious animals. After that interval a certain priest, Restold, from Beauvais, being admonished in a vision to seek out the place of St. Evroul, came into Neustria, and after many days being at Montfort, discovered the ancient church, by means of certain shepherds, who were led to follow a strayed bull into the depths of the forest, where they found the old walls covered with moss and ivy, with great trees growing both within and without the ruins. The old men then agreed that this had been the retreat of St. Evroul. Sc Restold came and fixed his habitation there; and Guazon de Montfort, a noble knight, who had piously proposed to restore all the churches and abbeys that had been ruined in the times of calamity, rebuilt at his own expense this abbey of Ouches; the workmen making use of the ancient stones which they found there in abundance, along with the tombs of many noble persons; for kings and bishops had been laid to rest there in the olden time.† So also when the Danes mounted the Seine, in 851, and burnt the abbey of Jumièges, the wild animals returned to the spot, and resorted to it for thirty years, during the time it remained desolate. Sometimes while admiring the sylvan beauty of their site, the visitors to monastic ruins say, with an intention that savors more of hate than love. "The monks knew well how to choose their ground." But not to observe that it was their labor which first made it fruitful, it is certain that they seldom chose

* Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. 11. † Ord. Vit. Lib. vi. ‡ Will. of Jumièges. i. 6.

mon in the suburbs of Troyes, called the L'Isle Germaine. This marshy place being part of the royal domains was full of lakes and weeds, and brush wood; but the holy man, by dint of great diligence, succeeded in draining off the water, and clearing the ground, and then he constructed his little cells and oratory."* The origin of Cisteaux was similar. Robert the Norman, Alberic, and Stephen Harding, an Englishman, after remaining some time in the wood of Molesme, where they had erected some huts in 1098, and observed strictly the Benedictine rule, removed with twenty-one brethren to a spot called Cisteaux, marshy and woody, and desert. Near the wood which surrounded it, was a little church for the convenience of the husbandmen who tilled the lands adjoining. Here was a rivulet from a source said to be bottomless, which flowed over in dry, and sunk in wet weather, like the fountain of the Carthusians. First they cut down the reeds, cleared away the trees, and then built huts with the boughs. By their labor the place became wholesome, and the ground was given to them by Viscount Raynald, and Odo, duke of Burgundy. The duke subsequently built a lodge for himself adjoining the monastery, to which he used to retire on the festivals. Henry, his second son, took the habit: the duke was buried in their church. They assumed the white under-habit in honor of the blessed Virgin. Few, however, came to join them until the arrival of St. Bernard in the seventh year.† In the ancient monastic diplomas and charters of Italy, there is notice of many woods, of which not a trace now exists. Cassino, Farfense, Subiaco, Vulturno, Bobbio, Pomposa, and Nonantula, were all constructed in wildernesses.‡ The annals of Corby, in Saxony, recorded the foundation of that abbey in these words, "In the year 818 religion began to glow in a woody solitude."§

St. Boniface, writing to Pope Zachary, makes mention of Fulda in a way not more calculated to excite the envy of our contemporaries. "There is," he says, "a woody place in a desert of vast solitude, in the midst of the nations to whom we have preached, where, having built a monastery, we have placed monks who live under the rule of St. Benedict, men of strict abstinence, content with the labor of their own hands. I have dedicated it in honor of the Holy Saviour, and in this place, with the consent of your piety, I have proposed to give my body, worn with old age, a little rest, and that it may lie here after death."‖ When monks did choose their ground, it was often in "a desert peopled by the storms alone, save when the eagle brings some hunter's bone, and the wolf tracks her there. How hideously its shapes are heaped around, rude, bare, and high, ghastly, and scarred, and riven." St. Balderic retiring into a solitude, followed a falcon, and fixed himself where it alighted, on a spot which was thence called Montfaucon. A white eagle similarly guided St. Thierri, chaplain of St. Remi. St. Gebehard, reflecting whether he should found the monastery of Admontes in

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, p. 204.

† Angelo Manrique Cisterciens. An. I. ‡ Murat. Antiq. Ital. xxi.

§ Ap. Liebnitz Script. Brunsvic. illust. iii. ‖ S. Bon. Epist. cxli.

rocks, with their clear sources, so by birds beloved, more beauteous than the Coycian cave, are the abodes now, not of nymphs and demons, but of hermits and holy fathers, who, like angels, sanctify them.

Petrarch says, that they who behold the holy cavern of St. Benedict, believe that they behold the threshold of paradise. To many hills on which monasteries stood we might apply the Virgilian line, and say of them before so crowned,

"Tum neque nomen erat, nec honos, aut gloria monti."*

Such was Alvernia. In the land of Florence and diocese of Arezzo, between the Tyber and the Arno, to the south and west extend two lines of hills from the Apennines to the Alps. Over these rises an umbrageous mountain, which from the east towards the Tyber has an ascent of seven miles, but from the west towards the Corsalo the pilgrim has but three to mount. Upon this rises another mount, all of rock, yet beautiful to the eye, adorned with groves, and raising its head above all the circumjacent heights.† Here abounds the herb called Carolina, the prickly leaves of which defend the flower, so called from having been used as a remedy against the plague by the army of Charlemagne, to whom it is said its secret properties were divinely revealed. Here are impenetrable caverns, abrupt and overhanging rocks, inaccessible crags, and profound gulfs, which excite horror. This is the seraphic mountain of St. Francis, whose convent is built into the side. Every where now are sacred grottos, chapels, oratories, and miraculous vestiges of holy men and of the consolations of angels. The whole place excites the mind with a desire after holiness of life, and a renouncement of the deceits of the world, as if a divine voice were heard, saying, "Locus sanctus est; finem peccandi facito." The mountain was solemnly consecrated by seven bishops, those of Arezzo, Urbino, Florence, Assisi, Perugia, Tifernata, and Fiesoli, at which imposing ceremony St. Bonaventura was present. Where were the cells of that saint, and of St. Anthony of Padua, are now the chapels. The bounty of Cosmo de Medicis, and of his wife, Eleonore of Toledo, to this convent is attested by their arms, which are discovered on the buildings, sacred vestments, and choral books. O thou joyous simple family of Christ, dwelling in this desert, so free from wants, so cheerful, so engaging; happy is the man who can behold thee on the great day when thou dost so devoutly commemorate the grace bestowed upon thy holy founder, when countless pilgrims throng thy courts, and kneel before thy altars.

Other mountains, once associated with lugubrious traditions, became the chosen resting-place of world-worn men. Such was the mountain of the holy martyrs near Grenada, which became so dear to pilgrims. It is so called from the number of Christians who confessed Jesus Christ there during the persecution of the Moors. From the summit the view over the city and the famous plain, through which the

* xii. 134.

† Wadding, An. Min. iv.

In the annals of the Carmelite order, it is related that St. Louis, passing in view of mount Carmel, was overtaken during the night by a furious tempest, that the sailors despaired of saving the vessel, that the king heard a bell tolling, and on expressing his astonishment, was told that it came from the solitary religious men who lived upon that mountain; on which he pledged himself to found a convent for them in this kingdom if he should escape shipwreck, in fulfilment of which vow, he established the Carmelites at Paris.

The blessed transformation came on islands too, as that once held by Druids on the coast of Brittany, where navigators passing by used to hear with terror furious cries and the noise of barbaric cymbals. It would be long to enumerate the islands which became now holy, as Lindisfarne, Iona, Lerins, Lipara, and that on the north side of the bay of Dublin, called the eye of Ireland, where St. Nessan, in the sixth century, founded an abbey, in which was the copy of the four gospels that was held in such veneration, and Beg-Ery, on the coast of Wexford, where was the abbey founded in the fifth century by St. Ibar, which became celebrated for the sanctity and learning of the monks! Thus did the dreary sea behold houses of celestial peace within hearing of its surge.

'Those trackless deeps, where many a weary sail
Has seen above the illimitable plain,
Morning on night, and night on morning rise,
Whilst still no land, to greet the wanderer spread
Its shadowy mountains on the sun-bright sea,
Where the loud roarings of the tempest-waves
So long have mingled with the gusty wind,
In melancholy loneliness, and swept
The desert of those ocean solitudes,
But vocal to the sea-bird's harrowing shriek,
The bellowing monster, and the rushing storm,
Now to the sweet and many mingling sounds
Of holiest impulses respond."

The inconvenience attending such situations, only furnished occasions for the exercise of greater generosity towards the monks. Thus, as the island of Lipara was too small for nourishing cattle, Count Royes, who, with Robert Guiscard, on the expulsion of the Sarassans, had built there the monastery of St. Bartholomew for Benedictine monks, gave to it a farm in Sicily, pasture for cattle, lands for culture, and a mountain for feeding swine.* Islands in lakes and rivers, were also esteemed fitting sites for such foundations. Loch Ree, in Ireland, by reasons of the number of monks living in its islands where abbeys had been founded in an early age, was called "the holy lake." On almost all the islands in the numerous lakes of that country, as also on those in the river Shannon, there were monasteries; and so it was where skies were brighter and waters more pellucid, as Nonenworth in the Rhine, and L'Isle Barbe in the Saone can still bear witness.

* Sicilia Sacra, 11.

is on a high mountain, commanding a view over the whole scene of the sixth book of the Æneid, present an image of paradise. "I remember," says a recent traveller, describing that event, when I visited it, the woods which entirely surround it on the sides of that most precipitous mountain were just covered with fresh green leaves in the month of April, and the little modest drooping pink cyclamines embalmed the air with their fragrance. The church of the convent was quite filled with sweet nosegays of these mountain flowers. Ah, who can wonder that the old prophets in their bright views of what was to come, longed to see the joyful days when the Catholic church should extend her peaceful away over the earth!"

Sometimes the site of some abbeys seems to have been originally determined by certain remarkable works of nature, or of Cyclopean art, of which the history was forgotten. Thus the choice of Glastonbury seems connected with that high and singular mount, on which, in the earliest ages of faith, in Britain, Phaganus and Damianus, the missionaries of Pope Eleutherius, built the chapel and cell of St. Michael, "that he might have there honor on earth from men who by command God should bring men to eternal honor in heaven," and where the holy monks from Ireland, who afterwards resided there, had such divine visions, that indulgences were granted to those who cut a way up to it through the tangled thorns, to enable pilgrims to fulfil their vow. I visited it on St. Stephen's day during a wild storm, which seemed likely to sweep off not alone the ruined tower, but the green cone itself. Inhabited by a number of hawks and wild birds, their cry while hovering round, mingled with the furious roar of the wind within that roofless tower, struck me with a feeling or awe. The view on all sides corresponded, whether one regarded the straggling village of Glastonbury, whose streets form a vast cross on the ridge of the island of Avalon, or the ruined abbey, or the vast moor and waste of waters that surrounded it in that season, or in the distance, Selwood forest, the scenes of Alfred's victory over the Danes, and the mountains of the principality.

Where it happens that nature is less interesting, the monastery will often stand near some colossal fragments which declare with silent eloquence, the perishable character of human ambition to conjure up a crowd of thoughts, and excite us to muse upon the destinies of man. Such an instance is presented by that convent of Hieronomites in Spain, which stands near the enormous elephants or bulls wrought out of the gigantic rocks which surrounded it, so celebrated as the Toros de Guisando. In general, however, the holy founders of monasteries preferred the immutable glory of nature's works. They sought out the precipices and durable forms of desert regions, undaunted by the yawning gulfs or fearful crags, like those that topple over the abbey of St. Benedict at Subiaco vast masses of which fall each year and never injure it, or like those beneath St. Cosimato on the clear and rushing Anio, where the blessed patriarch so long resided. Yet, however dreary to a stranger's eye, there was sure to be near them some gracious smiling spot with which they were familiar. As our poet sings,

said, that in Brunsberg is a great treasure, hidden and guarded by a black dog with fiery eyes. Gasper Gemser, the hunter, says that he saw him. Whether he says truly, I know not; but certain it is, that travellers by night, have this year been much frightened by spectres on that mountain." One poor brother seems not to have thought them altogether fictitious; for we read in 1034, on the feast of St. John the Baptist, "an ignis fatuus seduced brother Sebastian, returning after dusk from the next town where he had preached. His terror was such that he died the next day."* There was a cell for five brothers belonging to the abbey of Grissaw, in Silesia, at the foot of the Riphæan mountains, which in German are called the mountains of Giants, because they are of stupendous height, being almost perpetually covered with snow. "Wondrous things are related there," says an old historian, "of a spectre dwelling among these mountains, and appearing in various forms to those who ascend them. These mountains, which separate Silesia from Bohemia and Moravia, extend to the Carpathian chain which divides Hungary from Poland. The abbey of Grissaw owed its origin to the slaughter of the Christian army under Henry Barbatus, the husband St. Hedwige, by the host of Tartars, in the year 1241, on the plains of Lignicium."†

Judging from their favorite haunts, monks and hermits seemed to have a predilection for the life which Dante rather strangely qualifies, as only preferable to the tortures of the last or frozen circle:

> "Oh, ill-starr'd folk,
> Beyond all others wretched! who abide
> In such a mansion, as scarce thought finds words
> To speak of; better had ye here on earth
> Been flocks or mountain goats."‡

Baptist the Mantuan anudes in these lines to their choice:

> "Hinc divi sanctique patres in montibus altis
> Delegere domos tacitas, Chartusia testis;
> Carmelus; Garganus; Athos; Laureta; Lacerna;
> Et Sina et Soractis apex; umbrosaque vallis.
> Et juga Nursini facto senis inclyta; et altis
> Abietibus turrita caput Camaldula sanctum."§

What Tacitus says of the Germans seems true of the monks. "Instead of inhabiting cities, they live scattered and isolated, just wherever a fountain, or a field, or a grove, pleased them:" "Ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit." Do we come to some sequestered spot "under a mountain, which from unknown time has yawned into a cavern, high and deep; from which comes a gentle rivulet,

* Annales Corbeienses ap. Leibnitz Script. Brunsvicensia Illust. II

† Gaspar Jongelinus Notitiæ Abbat. Ord. Cisterciens. per Univ. Orbem. Lib. v. 57

‡ xxxii.

§ Æclog. viii.

We having lost our way in the woods, which caused us to travel two or three miles more than were necessary."* "In order to arrive at Clairvaux," he says, "which is in a valley surrounded with mountains and forests, we had to travel nearly two leagues through the wood. One cannot approach it without feeling one's heart moved with indescribable feelings, which indicate the sanctity of its origin."† "The abbey of Prémontrè, four leagues from Laon, is situated," he says, "in such a fearful solitude, that one can hardly arrive at it without taking a guide of the country."‡ "After passing Kiedrich I again entered the forest," says a modern traveller, "and for above an hour there was little to be seen except the noble trees which encompassed me; but though I could seldom see fifty yards, yet within that distance there existed always plenty of minute objects to interest me. After winding my way through the trees for a considerable time, I suddenly saw close before me, at the bottom of a most sequestered valley, the object of my journey, namely, the very ancient monastery of Eberbach. The sylvan loveliness and the peaceful retirement of this spot I strongly feel it is quite impossible to describe. The monastery lay immediately beneath me, so completely surrounded by the forest, that it looked as if, ready built, it had been dropped from heaven upon its site. The irregular buildings, with its dome, spires, statues, and high-slated roofs, look like the palace of some powerful king; and yet the monarch has apparently no subjects but forest trees, which on all sides almost touch the architecture, and closely environ the garden-walls." This description recalls a scene that once tranquillized and appeased my own imagination. There is a pathless forest on the steep mountains which enclose the convent of Camaldoli. At an opening, caused by the fall of some enormous trunks, I used to sit for hours with myriads of curious creatures all around me, among the weeds grotesque and wild. Before me was a magnificient range of Apennines, richly tinted with the setting sun; and intervening in a deep gulf below, as if painted on a map, lay the convent on a grassy glade, with its interior courts and cloisters all disclosed. Above the forest, as well as beneath it in the valley, are beautiful sloping pastures, covered with the flocks of the monastery; and most refreshing was the cool, delicious air of the breezes which are inhaled amongst them. In the deep silent forest of gigantic pines around the upper hermitage, it is easy to lose one's way. One could only provide against such an accident by carefully noting the relative position of some huge leafless trunks, the growth of centuries, blasted by lightning or torn from the ground, and lying across, with their vast arms interlaced and piled in magnificent ruin by the force of some terrible blast, which had made an open passage, sparing only naked rocks, as it swept through a chasm of the mountain. Loud and solemn are the echoes of the woodman's stroke in that forest, the deep repose of which is only broken by them and the tolling of the abbey bell. Never shall I forget the thunder which rolled over that house when I lay there two nights before the festi-

* Voyage Littéraire de deux Bénédictins, 185. † Ib. 104. ‡ Ib. ii. 49.

val of the stigmas of St. Francis. Most sweet was the recollection of having heard complin sung on the evening of that dreadful night; while the heavens were in such awful commotion over our heads, discharging a deluge of waters that sounded almost as terrible as the thunder crash. We remained some days longer, and great was the sadness with which I heard the matin bell, soon after midnight, announcing the last morning of that peace for us. After leaving the bright altars, and the saintly men who did their office there, we walked slowly forwards, and often turned back to enjoy one more glimpse of the monastery. Arriving at last within a few yards of the summit of the mountain, we intended to have reposed some time, before placing that final barrier between us and the scene where we had enjoyed such peace, but an incident occurred which seemed to break the spell. A troop of wild dogs, hunting together, came suddenly upon us over the crest, open mouthed, and then glancing aside as if more startled than ourselves, rushed down the side of the mountain.

That the selection of such sites for monasteries arose out of the peculiar affection entertained by the holy men who founded them, for the beauties and solemnities of nature is, in general, even expressly attested by the ancient writers. William, duke of Aquitaine, came one day to a place remote from all human society; so solitary, so silent and inviting to repose, that it seemed, says the chronicle, to be an image of the celestial peace. Bernon, abbot of Gigny, who accompanied the old duke, said, smiling, "Dismiss your dogs, and let monks come here, for their prayers will be of more use to you than all your hounds." Such was the commencement of the abbey of Cluny, by a public donation from duke William to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul in 909.*

The monastery and church of St. Nicholas de Arena, in Sicily, were built on the spot where St. Leo, bishop of Catana, used to retire, far from the city, in order to converse with God.† We find the monastic flock always tending to the desert or the wood.

At the beginning of the ninth century, we read, that the holy and learned Ængus, abbot of Clonenagh, used to betake himself for meditation and prayer to a waste, solitary tract, near the monastery, which, therefore, used to be called desert Ængus. St. Elphege, even during the severe frosts of winter, used to arise at midnight, while deep sleep ruled the rest of the world, and repair to some desert place, where he prayed until the rising sun put the stars to flight.

It was in the pine forest near Ravenna that the young Romuald nourished his love for solitude and the religious life.‡ We read, that St. John of the Cross, going on one occasion to visit a certain monastery, and finding himself in a retired spot surrounded with trees, stopped there to meditate; and that his companions, who had suffered him to penetrate alone for some distance into the wood, found him, after a while, in a rapture of divine contemplation.§

* P. Lorain, l'Abbaye de Cluny.
† Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1156.
‡ Annal. Camaldulensium, i. 10.
§ P. Dosithee, Liv. vi.

Friar Antonio of Corsica, a holy Capuchin, who left his country at an early age, through horror at the feuds which distracted it, is recorded to have greatly loved the convent of Monte Casale, from its being among woods remote from men. After the office of matins, he used to spend all the remaining hours of the night and dawn in the grove till it was time to say mass; and similarly, when at Perugia, he used to contemplate in the groves of the convent.*

We find that the monks were quick to appreciate and to indulge this love of sylvan beauty in other men. A modern traveller tells us that on the evening of his arrival at Vallombrosa, he returned to the abbey, after staying in the woods, sooner than he wished, fearing lest the gates might be closed upon him; and that after supper, as he looked through the grated window on the dark woods and swelling lawns of that delicious vale, a monk perceived his disconcerted countenance, and instantly divined the cause. "You wish to wander still through these wilds," said he; then calling a lay brother, he ordered him to open the gates, and wait at them till their guest's return.

"Who does not delight in feeling the gentle wind that comes from the water?" demands Father Diego Murillo, of the order of St. Francis, in one of his sermons preached in Saragossa. "Who does not rejoice on hearing the birds singing from branch to branch in the heart of a forest? Who is not charmed at the sight of the crystalline rivulet winding from the high mountains? and who does not feel his heart leap for joy when he hears an echo answering him amidst the rocks, Ah! these are inestimable pleasures?"†

The beauty of the gradens, brooks, and groves of Clairvaulx is described by the abbot of Aldenberg in a manner that indicates how useful he esteemed it. "Good God!" he exclaims, "what consolations dost thou provide for thy poor, lest they should be absorbed by abundant sadness! how many alleviations for penitents, lest they should be oppressed by their labors! The place has much loveliness to soothe the wearied mind, to dispel cares and sorrow, to kindle to devotion those who seek God, and to remind them of the supernal sweetness to which we aspire. The meadow at eventide reminds me of Isaac,

> 'Dum video florem, dum sentio floris odorem,
> Historias veterum memorant mihi prata dierum.'"‡

Hence, in selecting the site for new foundations, we find expressly that attention was paid to the things which Pliny so beautifully expresses in describing the district of Clitumnus—the "munifica sylvarum genera, montium afflatus, amnium fontiumque ubertas."

In the fifteenth century, Ulrich, abbot of St. Gall, prepared to remove the abbey from St. Gall to Roschach, alleging for motive, the turbulent conduct of the

* Annales Capucinorum. 1548. † Serm. for the sixth Friday of Lent.
‡ Notitiæ Abbat. Ord. Cister. per Univ. Orbem. Lib. i.

enclosed very considerable; that amidst hills and valleys, woods and fountains, the interior recollection might be the more advanced. It is one of these hermitages which is on Mount Libanus.*

By decree of Sigebert III., king of Austracia, the monastery of Congon, in the vast forest of the Ardennes, was to be surrounded by an enclosure of twelve miles in extent, to serve as a solitude for the monks, but they limited it to six miles.† By letters of the bishop of Grenoble in 1084, hunters were prohibited from passing the gate upon the bridge, which formed the bounds of the forest belonging to the monks of the Grand Chartreuse. But while private devotion and the rules of religious orders thus co-operated to cultivate a love for such retreats, monks were cautioned from ascribing more than due importance to this influence of locality; "for," says Ives de Chartres, "neither the secret depths of the woods ner the tops of mountains can make man happy if he hath not within himself a solitude of mind, a sabbath of the heart, tranquillity of conscience, elevations in his soul, without which, tepidity, curiosity, vain glory, and perilous tempests of temptations accompany every solitude."‡ "There is a good and there is an evil desert," says Richard of St. Victor; "the first is removed far from the tumult of vices, the latter is where we find no cultivation of man, no study of sanctity or of religion. It is a good desert when no sound breaks the silence but the voice of the dove, and the sigh which ceases not from the desire of divine love. It is an evil desert when are wanting celestial desires, spiritual desires."§ With this distinction, however deeply marked, every circumstance of place around the abbey was, to the monastic mind, redolent not merely of beauty but of thought; and we find frequent indications of the spiritual, and intellectual profit which it derived from this habit of interpreting nature. At Fountain's Abbey in Yorkshire, a clear and rapid stream passed under the beautiful oriel-windows of the refectory. The monks would draw lessons from this flowing river. Brother Nicholas Facteur was observed one day reclining from a similar window, contemplating the rapidity of the current which passed below, until he appeared to lose himself in an extasy. Some of the monks approached and asked him the cause.

"From this window," he replied, "I was considering with what haste the river ran in order to reach the sea, and I was lost in astonishment that men, who are enlightened by reason, should not do the same in order to arrive as soon as possible at the wide and vast sea of eternal glory."‖

When we see, therefore, that limpid fountain delightful to the eyes, flowing without intermission, which is in the middle of the vast refectory of the magnificent monastery of St. Maria Nova at Monteregalis near Palermo, which was founded by King William II. in consequence of a vision which he had while hunting in the forest, we may be sure that it was a source of meditation no less fruitful than the

* P. Dosithée, Vie de St. Jean de la Croix. x. † Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. col. ii. 7.
‡ Ivon. Carn. Epist. cxcii. § Annot. in Ps. 28. ‖ Le Sacre Mount d' Olivet.

surrounding gardens, commanding those most delightful views over sea and land which the eyes are never weary of beholding."* Or take an instance of the wilder kind. "In the province of Vienne," says Gervaise of Villebury, "is the priory of St. Michael de Camissa, which is situated upon the side of a high mountain exposed to terrible winds, but removed from all sounds of men, and by position a dedicated to religion. The refectory is vast, and exposed to the full force of the blasts. In this is a great window like a door, giving light to the whole. When storms rage and the whole house is shaken, whatever lights are placed in the centre of that window burn on undisturbed as if all was still. The walls tremble; the light of that little candle is not moved."† It is easy to divine the moral which the monks would draw. In fact, there seems to have been always care that there should be something in the aspect around them to furnish food of this kind. Often, while standing during weather that would not admit of mountain wanderings under the cloistered arches of Engelberg, and of St. Urban's abbey, in the country of Soleure, where monks walked to and fro, from whose dark hoods peered darker eyes, all fitted well for contemplation, I used to remark some who, in thoughtful guise, stood watching the mists sweeping over the mountains, ascending and descending amidst the rocks, or, like that famed artist, Vietro Cosimo, the silent fall of the rain, as if it gave them pleasure; then pointing either to the cattle wandering through the meadows, as if to note some curious trait of instinct, or to the changing hues of the pine forest becoming absolutely black at intervals, so near to the abbey, that one might suppose the wild animals in their dens were within hearing of the holy song. There are whom nothing more delights than such a cloistral view, while groups are occupied in household labors, in the wide adjoining courts; for many things are to be done during such weather within the walls by servitors as by the monks, who only wait the signal of the bell to flock into the church, where swelling organs waken mystic echoes. Hugo of St. Victor borrows an image from the greenness of the lawn which is in the centre of the material cloister, "which," he says, "refreshes the eyes of its inhabitants and render them more capable of reading."‡

The trees and rocks were used by the monks as sermons to their convertite; so when he is healed they led him forth to show the wonders of their sylvan solitude, and they together kneel or sit by those spots sacred to God and peace. "The whole site of the monastery," says the abbot of Aldenberg, speaking of his own, "is good and agreeable, affording walks full of delight in the valleys, as well as on the mountains."§ Thus with our old poet these holy men did not

"Esteem it vainful to follow fancy's eye."

When St. John of the Cross was in the monastery of Pegnuëla, every morning

* Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1206.

† Gerv. Tilleber. Otia Imperialia

‡ De Claustro Animæ, Lib. iv. c. 33.

§ Notit. Ab. Ord. Cist. per univ. orbem, II.

after mass, he used to retire amidst the mountains of that desert for the sake of prayer and contemplation: he used generally to sit near a spring which was surrounded by wild trees, until he heard the bell for the exercises of the community. After vespers he used to return there until the hour of prayer in common. Frequently he used to conceal himself amidst the rocks. A monk finding him one day between the precipices, asked, "Ah, father, will you remain forever amidst the rocks?" to whom the holy man replied, "Wonder not, my son; for when I converse with them, I have fewer things to say in confession, than when I converse with men."* It was amidst these precipices of Pegnuëla, that he composed his sublimeseraphic books; as it was in the solitude of mount Alvernia, that St. Bonaventura wrote his "Itinerarium mentis in Deum," and his, "Itineraraium mentis in seipsum," of which Gerson says, "I confess that for thirty years and more, I have wished to be familiar with these tracts; and lo! at this age, after reading and often ruminating them, even to the words, I have scarcely begun to taste them, as I find in them always something new." From the figurative language of St. John of the Cross in the celebrated mysterious canticle which expresses the complaint of a soul wounded by divine love, which, however, he composed in a dungeon in Toledo, it is easy to perceive what a deep sense he entertained of the charm which lies in the sombre forests and lofty mountains, and the sweet enamelled meadows, and all the beauties of this admirable world.

An ingenious modern author† suggests the propriety of placing inscriptions amid the wilds of Dartmoor, and even of consecrating particular rocks there to particular persons amidst those waste and solitary scenes. If so judicious and accomplished a mind could find pleasure in associating the rocks of her country with "fancied genii or divinities," by Druidical inscriptions to Odin, Hu, and Modred, we can readily comprehend the desire felt by meditative learned monks, to place in the deserts round them, inscriptions or memorials to recall the memory of the friends of God, with whom they knew that they were historically connected, or to impart a general lesson of eternal wisdom to the pilgrim who should pass by. When the track was steep and rugged, one would find inscribed upon the rocks some sentence to remind men that the ascent to heaven is steep and narrow, as I read going up to Mount Calvaro, at Domo Dossola; to which convent, so often at the sweet hour of dawn, a holy procession mounts. Marc, the poet, a disciple of St. Benedict, composed verses descriptive of Mount Cassino, of which the following refer to the ascent:

"Huc properet cœlos optat qui cernere aspectos,
Nec removet votum semita dura pium.
Semper difficili quæruntur summa labore,
Arctam semper habet vita beata viam."

The only inscription I observed among the ruins of Netley Abbey, was to this

* Dosithée, Lib. viii. † Mrs. Bray, Sketches of Devonshire.

religion, by some wise and tender lover of his kind, ere the crimes of our age had been anticipated in the Christian world's young prime, in height overtopping the woods, and scarce seeming a work of human art, but as it were Titantic. Such was the ancient abbey, seeming to have grown out of the mountains from the living stone, lifting itself in caverns light and high; and how did its voice charm that desert and overcome every other harmony! like the bird which fascinated the monk,

> "Who heard not, saw not, felt not aught beside,
> Thro' the wide world of pleasure and of pain,
> Save the full flowing and the ample tide
> Of that celestial strain."*

Yes, happy is it for men when holy piles are scattered through these vales and forests when the spirit of the monks is hovering through them, breathing a deep and solemn beauty, and imparting to every thought of the human mind a hue of brightness and of heaven: for then religion's voice, which gives the heart expansion, and yet peace comes to them in solitudes, "through the whispering woods, and from the fountains, and the odors deep of flowers, and from the breezes whether low or loud, and from the rain of every passing cloud, and from the singing of the summer birds, from all sounds and from all silence." For my part, if it be permitted me to proclaim a personal experience, if I had never seen Altenrive or Vallombrosa, Camaldoli, or St. Urban, the beauties of our loveliest scenery would not delight me as they now can do. I should see them with quite different eyes. The lawns would not inspire any bright consoling recollections, nor the deep forests peace.

* Treach.

into the forest with his troop, as far as he can reach with throwing his stick."* The interior must have been sufficiently dangerous then. However, the pastor of souls was to be more courageous, and the monks accordingly penetrated far beyond such limits, and often for the express purpose of recovering some lost member of the Christian flock, as in the instance recorded of St. Seine, or St. Sequanus, founder of the abbey which bore his name in the sixth century. "When Seine," we read, "saw himself well instructed in the doctrine of the divine Scriptures and learned in the monastic rules, he sought a proper place to build his monastery. As he searched through the country, and communicated his plan to his friends, one of his relations, Thiolaif, said to him, 'Since you ask me, I will point out a place where you can establish yourself, if your plan be inspired by the love of God. There is a tract which belongs to me, if I mistake not, by hereditary right, but the people who inhabit it resemble wild beasts, and feed upon human flesh, so that it is not easy to pass among them without a troop of armed men at one's command. The blessed Seine answered, 'Show me this place, in order that if my desires are conceived by a divine instinct, all the ferocity of these men may be changed into the gentleness of the dove.' Having then taken some companions, they came to the place which had been mentioned. It was a forest where trees seemed to touch the clouds, and of which the solitude had not been disturbed for a long time; they were asking how they could penetrate into it, when a winding path was discovered, but so narrow and full of briars that they could hardly put their feet on the same line, or make one foot follow the other, so thick were the branches. However, after much labor and with torn vestments, they penetrated to the depths of this wild forest, and at length they perceived the narrow opening of a cavern, so dark that the wild beasts themselves would fear the entrance. That was the robber's cave, and the abode of unclean spirits. When they approached it, Seine, agreeable to God, bowed his knees and offered up a prayer with tears, saying, 'O Lord, who hast made heaven and earth, and who grantest the prayer of those who supplicate thee, from whom all good proceeds, and without whom all the efforts of human weakness are vain, if you command that I should fix myself in this solitude, let me know thy will, and prosper these commencements.' When he had finished his prayer, he rose up and lifted his hands to heaven, with weeping eyes. Knowing, then, that it was under guidance of the Saviour that he had come to this dark forest, after having blessed the ground, he set about laying the foundation of a little cell on the spot where he had first put himself on his knees. The report of his arrival came to the ears of the neighboring people, who being moved by a divine impulse, exhorted each other, and approached to visit him. As soon as they saw him, from wolves they became lambs, in so much that they who had before been a source of terror were now the ministers of assistance; and from that time this place became the abode of innocence, after being the haunt of cruel robbers.

* Grimm. 62.

the declivity of the hill a church under that of St. Maurice, and near it another in honor of the mother of Christ, round which, was a cloister for monks.

It was, however, when Gontran was king of Burgundy, and Childebert of Austrasia, that this desert received its most renowned pilgrim and apostle in St. Columban, who arrived there when he was 30 years of age. Born in Ireland, about the year 560, in his youth he applied to learning, and made great progress, but fearing the temptations that surrounded him, he left his birth-place, notwithstanding the opposition of his mother, and went into another province of Ireland, putting himself under the conduct of the holy and learned Silenus. In this school he became profound in the holy Scriptures, and composed several treatises, among which, was a Commentary on the Psalms. The love of God daily increasing in him, he forsook the world, and became a monk in Bangor, where, after living several years, he began to desire, like Abraham, to travel into a strange country. Acquainting the abbot with his intention, who, with much reluctance granted him twelve monks, he passed over with them into England, and thence into France. To the desert of the Vosges he came, and became so enamored of its peace that he resolved to remain in it. Finding an old ruined castle called Anagraïs, he made choice of it for his monastery, where, after living for some time, while supported by the charity of the natives, he resolved to found another abbey in the same desert. In the year 590, he discovered an old castle eight miles distant from the first, which had once been strongly fortified. This was called Luxeuil, in which he placed his community; and, finally, his third cloister of Fontaines was similarly placed in an old castle on the borders of Burgundy and Lorraine.* This transformation of castles for purposes of hostility, into the asylums of peace, must be remarked, as an interesting circumstance in the history of pacific institutions. It is easy to multiply instances. In 922 St. Guibert or Wibert, the son of Litholde, changed his castle of Gemblours into the monastery which became so celebrated. Ittingen, which Werner, abbot of St. Gall, acquired for his abbey, had been an old castle, which Albert Berthold and Ulrich had changed into an Augustinian convent.

In 1137, William de Glana, of the illustrious family of the counts of Vienne, desiring to found the Cistercian monastry of Hauterive, actually demolished his magnificent castle, which was about 500 paces distant from the spot which he had selected for the foundation.† In Spain, many of the ancient castles and towers which had been built against the incursions of the Moors, were converted, as that of Ucles, near Tarancon, into the peaceful asylums of a religious community. When Adelaide, mother of Louis VII., instituted the abbey of St. John-au-Bois, in the old Merovingian palace of Cuise, where the relics of St. Euphrosine drew crowds of pilgrims,‡ or even when Charles the Bald, in 877, founded the abbey

* Jonas in Vit. S. Columb. ap. Mabil.

† Fundatio Monast. de Alta Ripa, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. vi. ‡ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 134.

selections: at all events, this boy sung the response, "Veni electa mea," and the rest, with great sweetness. The holy man accordingy placed the monastery under the invocation of blessed Mary.* Sooth, this is a simple and most unpretending commencement, and that of many others was no less so, being only some words of devout exhortation, when some holy pilgrim upraised his charmed voice to pour on evil men the love that lay hovering within his spirit-soothing eyes. At such sounds, the walls of immense monasteries used to arise in solitary places, as we read in the fables of old of the walls of Thebes being moved by the music of Amphion's lyre. Gratitude led to others, as when Vaniugus, a rich nobleman in the days of St. Ouen, having fallen sick at a place called Fescamp, in Normandy, and recovered, built there afterwards a magnificent abbey, and endowed it with great means.

But their origin was not always thus. Dark tragedies, acts of immortal heroism, marvellous conversions of ferocious men, such were often the circumstances in the first page of their history, requiring no poetic skill to weave into legends, resembling the grandest page of old romance, quite as fruitful in interest for the imagination, with the additional charm of being unquestionably true. In the first place, many abbeys, like that of Saints Vincent and Anastasia delle Tre-fontane, at the Salvian waters, near Rome, which was founded in 626 by Honorius I., increased by Pope Leo III. and Charlemagne, and rebuilt in 1221 by Honorius III.,† were standing monuments from early times of martyrdom, marking the precise ground on which the seed of the church had fallen. This was the case near Palermo, where the monastery of St. Agatha de Petra was founded on the spot where stood the stone, from which St. Agatha mounted the horse when going to suffer for Christ at Catana.

The famous abbey of St. Laurence, without the walls of Liege, was built on the spot where the murderers of St. Lambert, after perpetrating their crime, divided the spoil, and slew each other, while so engaged, sending their souls mutually to Satan. "For," says an historian, "as, according to the laws of war, the victor may take what he likes from the conquered, so here, in order that where sin had abounded, grace might the more abound, a church of God is built, and the signs of victory set up."§

The domestic legends of the monasteries generally indicate three sources from which they took their beginning—remorse, grief, and sanctity of purpose; the latter beyond comparison being the most productive, but the former connected with the most striking narratives. Such are the anecdotes relative to the origin of many of those Merovingian and Carlovingian abbeys, which, like that of St. Germains des Près, at Paris, are often clearly monuments of repentance, and of the power of conscience, though the secret motive, as far as expression, might re-

* Chronic. S. Monast. Casinensis, Lib. ii. c. 30. † Notit. Abbat. Ord. Cister. vii.
‡ Sicilia Sacra, i. 311.
§ Hist. Monast. S. Laurent. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv 1039.

entered into a league with princes and counts, among whom was the archduke and count palatine, Louis of Bavaria, eldest son of Otho. To discharge the personal service of the league, he left Munich, and went to his palatinate on the Rhine, leaving behind him his young wife Maria, daughter of Henry the magnanimous, duke of Brabant, whom he had lately married. For security he placed her in the fortress of Mangoldstein, near Donauwörth. Elizabeth, his sister, the queen of Jerusalem, and widow of the emperor Conrad, remained with her to partake of her solitude. With the archduke Louis went Henry von Hirschau, a wild and savage noble, but distinguished among all other knights by his strength, boldness, and address. Louis depended on him greatly, and even Maria herself prized him. Once, as he was playing at chess with her, he prayed her to allow him to address her with "Thou," as other high subjects; adding, that he would be her knight; but the countess turned away from him instantly. This circumstance is related in an old manuscript of the abbey of the holy cross at Donauwörth, composed by Beck, the prior of that house. Already had a year elapsed, and the winter was returning. The noble lady mourned for her husband, and entreated him in the tenderest style to return. She also wrote to the knight Henry to beg that he would persuade her lord to that effect, and added, that she would then grant him what he had formerly sought. Her letter to the archduke was sealed with red, that to the knight with black wax. On giving them to the messenger, she charged him not to forget the signification, as he could not read the address; but through carelessness he gave the knight's letter to the count, who, on reading it, misconstrued the words, and fell into a horrible paroxysm of rage and jealousy. On the spot he felled the messenger to the ground, and, mounting the fleetest horses, hastened to Donauwörth. As he entered the castle, he struck down the porter who came out to him, and on the steps slew Helika von Brennberg, a noble lady of the countess, who had come to greet him. Four other maidens he flung from the battlements of the castle, and then seated himself in the great hall, commanding a boy to summon the countess. In vain did she protest her innocence, and call heaven and earth to witness it. Not even the Queen Elizabeth, who stood by, could appease that furious husband, and he caused his wife to be beheaded. This was in 1256. When reason and affection returned, his sorrow and remorse were boundless: he proposed pilgrimages and penances, and it is a popular tradition still, that in one night his hair turned grey. To Rome he went, and sought penance from the sovereign pontiff, Alexander IV. At first it was appointed that he should set out for the Holy Land with 1000 knights, but there were so many obstacles, and his presence was so necessary in Bavaria, and on the Rhine, that it was finally determined, besides other acts proclaiming penitence, he should build a monastery, and introduce the Carthusians into Bavaria: but this plan was changed for that of a Cistercian abbey, for the site of which much difficulty was encountered; so that it was not till after the third attempt in 1262 that the monks succeeded in establishing themselves; and the place obtained was in the garden

of a noble knight, Eberhard, who from his castle on a hill above it used to hear at night strange sounds of workmen building, and of a heavenly music, which he took for a sign that he ought to comply, which he did accordingly, and the holy men were then established and endowed, and the place was called Fürstenfeld. Here was read the inscription,

"Conjugis innocuæ fusi monumenta cruoris
Pro culpa pretium claustra sacrata vides."

And again,

"Bojorum clarus jacit hæc fundamina princeps
In pretium culpæ conjugis innocuæ."

Archduke Lewis, the founder, died in 1294 at Heidelberg, in the very room in which he was born. He had ordered his body to be buried at Fürstenfeld, which convent, was still further enriched by his son and successor, Archduke Rudolr. Here lay buried also Anne, his second wife, daughter of Conrad, duke of Poland, and Lewis, son of the founder, who was slain in 1284 in a tournament at Norimberg.*

In the time of the blessed Hydulph, archbishop of Treves, many people were still abandoned to idolatry. The holy man, and his brother Erard, had for some time lived in a monastery of the solitude of the Vosges, when it happened that a blind daughter, who had been just born to a noble, was carried to the monastery; for her father, because she had been born blind, had given orders that she should be put to death; but the mother, having heard of his intention, sent her away by a certain old women who was familiar with her, prefering rather to have her banished than put to death. The two holy brethren, finding out that she was the offspring of such parents, and not yet regenerated by baptism, baptizing her, called her Odilia. The chronicle records, "that she was raised from the sacred font illumined both as to her mind and body. However, in process of time, when she came to years of discretion, her brother, who remained with his father, hearing that his sister who had been born blind was restored to sight, rejoiced greatly, and sent messengers with orders that Odilia should be brought to him; which, when his father discovered, he ordered his son into his presence, and asked him how he had dared to bring back a girl who had been born blind? The son answering, that he had done it through hope of his father's benignity, the father, in a transport of rage, smote him with the staff which he carried, and killed him. When he found himself thus left without an heir, he conceived a sudden affection for his daughter Odilia. So that in course of time, in the very castle of her father, which is called Hoemborch, she built a cloister of St. Benedict, and enriched it with her own patrimony."†

Fontevrauld owed its origin to a conscience suddenly illumined by divine grace.

* Jaeck Gallerie der Klöster Deutschlands. Jongelinus, Notit. Abbat. Ord. Cister per Univers. Orbem, liv. iii. 17.

† Chronic. Senonfens. c. 14, ap. Dacher Spicileg. iii.

Evrauld was a gentleman, who, in his youth, was abandoned to a profligate life, which he led until he had expended all his rich possessions, and was reduced to indigence. In this state he became captain of a gang of robbers, and haunted the forests of this country, usually dwelling near a fountain, where he constructed a kind of tower, from which he used to sally forth, and scour the highways; and no officers of justice could extirpate this nest of mischief. What men could not effect was, however, accomplished by God in a more gentle manner than by the sword. As all the world talked of this desperate band of robbers, God inspired a famous doctor of Paris, a saint, and a great preacher, Robert de l'Aubrussel, with a strong desire to undertake their conversion. He commended himself to heaven, and set out for the forest, where he was soon taken by the robbers, and led before Evrauld, who desired him to give up his money. "Willingly," said he: "but in return you must give me your souls for God:" and therewith he began to speak to them of the eternal judgement of God, and the shame and infamy of their own lives: and he succeeded in awakening their consciences. Then he dressed that wilderness into a retreat like a new paradise, and built a monastery, calling it Fontevrauld, from the fountain and the name of the convertite; and Robert remained with them, and all the country flocked thither to behold this wonderful change wrought by the hand of God. A very ancient manuscript of the house still existing contained a prediction, however, that in the course of ages this sanctuary would again fall into the hands of the wicked, and become peopled with its old inhabitants.*

The origin of the abbey of St. Tron, or Vasor, in the diocese of Liege, involves a narrative which I long ago promised to give my reader.†

"Count Eilbert, its founder, was one of the most powerful nobles and valiant warriors in the time of the first Otho. It happened once that this martial count was walking in the place where a great fair is held by the cross that stood near his castle, where merchants and people from all sides have resort to sell and exchange their various goods. As he walked through the crowd he saw a horse of great power and admirable beauty, which seemed to him like a tower of strength, if by any manner of bargain he could procure it for himself. Now the owner of the horse was a certain clerk, born of noble parents, and a canon of the church of St. Mary the greater, at Rheims. So when the count and the clerk, with mutual affability, had held a long conversation respecting the horse, they came to an agreement that the former was to have it for a certain price; but as he had not at the time sufficient money, he went immediately to Heresinda, his most noble wife, seeking counsel from her as to what he ought to do; for on no account whatever would he allow the horse to be removed from him, saying, that by his assistance he would be able to avert all the injuries of his enemies, and escape from all wreck of fortune. So being in a great hurry to have done with the clerk,

* Which has been literally fulfilled, as it is now a prison. † In Book ii. p. 277.

without the counsel of his noble wife, who feared the consequences which ensued, he gave the clerk a wonderful treasure, which he kept always in a strong place, saying, that on a certain day he would be able to redeem it, and pay the whole sum. This desirable treasure was composed in likeness of a beautiful collar or brooch, which had been made by St, Eligius, the venerable bishop, so admirable for his holiness, and virtue, and skill in every curious art, and it was for the use of Lothaire, king of the French. The stone was a beryl, and it contained an exquisite carving of Susanna, accused by the old judges,

> " Egregiæ gentis Rex Anglicus hunc dedit illi,
> Quem fore speravit gratum dans plurima gratis.
> Inter quæ dantis prosit sibi portio talis."

To be brief. The appointed day arrived in which the count was to redeem his pledge, but the other declared himself ignorant of any such agreement, and that he had never so understood the count. Grievously vexed, and full of anger and sorrow, the count returned home, and collected a multitude of his neighbors, and exposed the execrable machination of the seller, and asked their advice as to how he should proceed to avert this misfortune, which would be an irreparable loss to him. By general consent there was made an assembly of all his brothers, and friends, and knights, and a crowd of armed people, and they moved hastily to the city of Rheims, and besieged it, and took it; and having set spies, they discovered the said clerk flying to the greater church, which they surrounded, and not finding him within, they set fire to the whole place, upon which, the criminal issued forth, and then he was seized, and the treasure was found in his breast, and so it was restored to the count. News of this event reaching the king's ears, the court immediately was highly indignant, and a large army, commanded by the king in person, marched to revenge this execrable outrage; but after a desperate battle, the king's force was defeated, and the king Charles himself taken prisoner by Count Eilbert, and loaded with chains for many days, till at length, mutual pledges of peace being given, the king was delivered, and with great honors, as became the royal dignity, escorted to his home, and that desirable treasure remained for ever after inviolably with Count Eilbert. However, divine love afterwards distinguished this count; so that partly through compunction for this sacrilege, and because he had formerly built seven castles, in order that he might remedy these structures of malediction by the antidote of blessing, he resolved to found seven churches, and this was the origin of the monastery of Vasor, in the year 944. It was built in the midst of a forest, which was uninhabited, excepting that the house of the count was concealed in it. To prepare for building this church, he had the wood cut down which surrounded his house, and the place rendered agreeable and wholesome. Then close to his house he constructed the church, with useful habitations for the monks; and after three years the monastery was finished, the church was dedicated to St. Patrick, and the count

it his feudal inheritance. Then that famous treasure, which was the cause of all the sedition and controversy, was given by him to the monks, whom he charged to keep it safely for ever. And at the end of twenty-three years, archbishop Forannan, from the parts of Ireland, by angelic order, leaving his native soil, came with twelve companions to this valley, and the count met him, and conducted him to the monastery with great honor; and the count procured that the man of God should be made abbot; and the king having investigated his sanctity, commended himself to his prayers, and gave his abbey an exemption from royal decrees: and the man of God named the place Vallem-decoram, which became Valciodorum, and thence Vasor.*

I have said that other monasteries owed their origin to grief, and of these we might also give many instances. At Tagernsee, in Bavaria, the Benedictine abbey was founded by two brothers, princely warriors, Adalbert and Ottokar, in the reign of Pepin. Afflicted with a domestic calamity, they renounced the world, and founded this house, which, in the eleventh century, contained two hundred monks, who lived in great unity and peace.† Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, founded the abbey of Kremsmunster, in the year 787, in a forest where his only son had been slain by a wild boar, which he was hunting: so the father, having lost his heir, made Christ his heir, and provided in it for monks of the order of St. Benedict.‡

In 1134, there was, in that part of Westphalia which adjoins the archbishopric of Cologne, a castle called Wolmundstein, inhabited by noblemen who possessed all the surrounding country, and were called the lords of Wolmundstein. One of these, Gerwick by name, a bold and generous youth, set out to visit the halls of the most celebrated princes, in order to seek friendship of the most excellent men, and to see both the cities and manners of different people. Arriving in Bavaria, he met there with a youth bold and generous like himself, the young Theobald, marquis of Vohenburg, on the Danube, which is a castle half-way between Ingolstadt and Ratisbon with whom he soon formed a close friendship. When this marquis saw that the manners and knightly spirit of the stranger agreed with his own, though married and having children, yet, through desire of seeing strange countries, he exchanged right hands with Gerwick, and the two youths swore an indissoluble friendship. Soon after, they set out together, with one heart, to visit the courts of all princes, to assist at the tournaments which were held, and to make trial of their fortitude and valor. It happened at one of these solemnities, that the two friends coming into collision, and rushing against each other with all their strength, Gerwick happened to strike Theobald such a terrible blow, that, breaking his helmet, he beheld the red drops flowing from the almost deadly wound which he had inflicted on his friend. Gerwick, grievously moved at this

* Chronic. Abbat. S. Trudonis, liv. 1, ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vii. 366.

† Jaeck Gallerie der Klöster Deutchlands, 1.

‡ Senat. Dialog. Historic. Martini Abbatis Scotorum Viennæ ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust.

event, resolved in future to renounce chivalry, and to go into voluntary exile, abandoning for ever all the pomps and pleasures of the world. The wounded marquis, after a short space, began to think of his wife and children, and to hear the voice of God as if present,—so true is the word of Isaiah, that "vexation gives intelligence."

So the two friends separated. Gerwick, having disposed the affairs of his house, renounced the world, and became a monk at Sigeberg, not far from Cologne; and the marquis, being moved by his calamity, since he could not renounce the world as his friend had done, yet, in order to promote the work of God, deemed it his duty to found an abbey, which he accordingly did, on the river Regen, some miles from Ratisbon, which is called by the people the abbey of Reichenbach, conspicuous at present for the beauty of its buildings and the fervor of its religion. After some years, Gerwick, on account of his singular urbanity and gentleness, having the charge of receiving strangers in his abbey of Sigeberg, it happened that the Lord Chuno, the elect bishop of Ratisbon, returning from the university of Paris, was received there to hospitality, and was so much struck with his modesty and virtue, that he persuaded the abbot to permit him to accompany him to Ratisbon: thus was he compelled by obedience to go with the bishop. After his arrival, having obtained the bishop's permission, he began to look about for a proper place to construct a monastery; and, penetrating into a thick wood, alone pervious to hunters, at a spot which the people now call Kolergrun, having cut down some trees, he and his companions began to build a small house, when, lo! the Marquis Theobald came out from his castle of Egra to hunt, and seeing his trees cut, and a house erected, in that retreat of wild beasts, he became furious, and asked who had dared to do this. The brethren, in trembling, began to relate their intention; and Gerwick presented himself, and gave the story of his life. So when the prince heard him, discovering that this stranger was the noble youth of Wolmundstein once so close to him in friendship, he sprang from his horse in a transport of joy, and embraced him, showing him the scar of the wound he had given him, and bidding him be of good courage, for that he would assist him in his design. So he gave him as much of the wood as was necessary; and then stones were brought; and, finding a little fishy brook,—the Vanderbrun,—they built the monastery on its banks; and there these lovers of the desert and solitude sat down, and thence the place was called Waldsassen, or the place of sitting in the woods. St. Bernard supplied them with monks from Cisteaux. At this time, Adelheydin, daughter of Theobald by his first wife, the lady Adelheyde, duchess of Poland, was married to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, in the town of Egra, in presence of many ecclesiastical and secular princes of Germany; and the marriage being celebrated, the emperor came with all his train to assist at the consecration of the church of the new abbey, by Chuno, bishop of Ratisbon.*

* Notitiæ Abbat. Ord. Cisterciens. per. univ. Orbem, Lib. iii. 5.

Some monasteries owed their origin to a sudden inspiration arising from events that seemed fortuitous and trivial: as when a stag being pursued by the king's hounds through a desert in Provence, and having taken refuge in the cave of St. Ægidius, a holy hermit, the king was moved to construct a monastery over the cave. It was while taking a repast under the boughs, after hunting in the forests on the Mount Castellio, that Count Wolfandus was moved to select a spot for the site of a foundation, which he had vowed to make when on a pilgrimage some time before to Mount Garganus, in Apulia. The origin of the abbey of Bonport, near the Pont de l'Arche, three leagues from Rouen, in the diocese of Evreux, was a hunting adventure. Richard I., king of England, while hunting a stag, was carried by his impetuous horse so far into the Seine, that he was in danger of perishing; and in that moment, while in the midst of the water, he made a vow to God to build an abbey on whatever spot his horse would first make land. This vow he fulfilled in 1190, and he endowed the abbey with noble fiefs and baronies.*

But, leaving instances of this kind, let us take a few examples of the last and most ordinary source from which monasteries arose, which was simply the peaceful inspiration of a devout heart; and we shall find that, even when they had no other origin but sanctity, or conversion to it, there were often circumstances which imparted a no less lively interest to the first pages of their history.

St. Bernard, when in Brabant, for the sake of preaching, had promised to send some monks to establish a convent in that country. Accordingly, on his return to Clairvaux, he selected twelve monks, with another for their abbot, and five novices, and, giving them his blessing, dismissed them. After the octaves of Easter, these men, going out of Clairvaux, descended the valley. Upon reaching the country of Brabant, the first night they were lodged in a private house, with an honest man who had no heir. After supper, having sung complins, the abbot and his monks retired to bed in profound silence; and, after some rest, rising up, they chanted vigils in their austere tone: which these men with whom they were lodged hearing, they were filled with compunction for their sins, and gave themselves up into their hands, and that place is called Seingontrahun to this day. Then they continued their journey, and, at lenth, rested at the fountain of Goddiarch,—and in these times all that region was uncultivated, and covered with forests,—there they built a monastery, in the second year of the pontificate of pope Eugene III., and in the fourth of the reign of Godfrey III., duke of Brabant.†

The abbey of Maceirada, in the diocese of Coimbra, owed its origin to Albarac, the Sarassin. This Mahometan and warrior, from being a most bitter enemy of the Church, became a pious Christian, and an humble anachorite. In the year

* Hist. of Evreux, 161.

† Historia Monast. Villariensis, Lib. i. ap. Martene. Thesaur. Anecd. iii.

1139, he withdrew into that vast solitude, where he constructed an oratory, and, finally, assumed the Benedictine habit, with a few brethren, whose cells became the monastery on which Alphonso I., king of Portugal, conferred so many privileges.*

In 1118, Gundramnus, a buffoon, renouncing earthly vanities, chose to lead an eremitical life in the wood of Public-Mount; and, because the place was dangerous, in order to exercise hospitality he laid the foundations of a church and convent, and the bear which he used to lead about drew the stones for it. The people of Liege flocked to admire the bear drawing the stones; and some of them divinely struck, left the world, and began to lead a regular life here. The place was consecrated under the invocation of St. Giles; and Peter of Liege was the first prior.†

In the forest of Aronaise, there was a spot called the Trunk of Berenger, deriving its name from the trunk of a tree, in which was supposed to be the dead body of Berenger, a famous robber, who had long infested the forest, which tree, the robbers who succeeded him, used to pretend to consult, in order to know what ransom they should require from their prisoners. The monastery which was built on this spot, in the eleventh century, owed its origin to the blessed Heldemare, who, in 1099, after leading an eremetical life with two others in that forest, founded it there.‡

Let us hear now a very ancient document connected with the history of the Black Forest. "There was a certain noble widow, named Helisena, of the Calba, who, finding that God had refused to give her an heir, besought him fervently to make known to her in what manner she could employ her possessions so as to glorify his name most. One night she heard a voice in a dream, saying, 'Helisena, God hath heard your prayer: lo! examine this plain, on which are three pine trees lying across one trunk; on that spot build a church, in which the name of God may be honored, and his worship observed.' The dream was so distinct, that it was as if she had seen the spot. In the morning, putting on a silk robe, as in festal attire, in honor of God, and taking with her a maiden and two servants, she walked forth as if to enjoy the sweet air; and after ascending a certain mountain, she found a plain on the top of it, to which three pines, lying across one trunk, gave a certain sylvan beauty. She burst into tears at the sight, and, taking off part of her silken attire, placed it on the ground near the pines, to denote that she took possession of the spot for the praise and honor of God; and then, returning home to her family, she called together all her friends, with Evrard and Leupold, noble servants, who then governed the town of Calba, and also the first magistrate, and made known to them her intention, and asked if they would give her possession of the ground forever; and they said that they would give

* Notit. Abb. Ord. Cister. Lib. vi. 84.

† Hist. Monast. St. Laurent. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Lib. iv. p. 1081.

‡ Longueval. Hist. de l' Eglise Gal. viii. 118.

her not only the ground, but also the trees, and all the fields adjoining. Then Helisena laid aside her silken robe, her ring, and her jewels, and placed them in the chapel of St. Nicholas, promising that thenceforth she would wear them no more; and in three years the church was finished, and she built a convent adjoining it for four persons, who should serve it, abstracted from the world, and having sufficient maintenance, that they might praise God there continually. To this church soon flowed a vast multitude daily; and then, after the completion of these things, the noble widow died, and was buried at Tubigen, and I. Bruno, the notary of Evrard and Leupold, was present, at this act, in the year 645.*

This chapel of St. Nazarius, on the top of the mountain, gave rise to the monastery of Hirschau, when Count Erlafrid, in the ninth century, brought to it the body of St. Aurelius from Italy. Trithemius did not know this story, which was first discovered in the archives of Spires, in 1534. The history of the second foundation of this celebrated abbey involves some interesting details, which are thus related:—In 1050, Pope St. Leo IX., at the prayer of the Emperor Henry, coming into Germany, to hold councils, and establish peace, turned aside from his road a liitle to visit his nephew Adelbert, count of Calba, lineal descendant of the Count Erlafrid, who had founded the monastery of St. Aurelius at Hirschau, and his devout wife Wiltrude; for the count's mother, daughter of the count of Egisheim, was the pope's sister. On arriving at his castle of Calba, lest he should seem to enter his nephew's house with empty hands, he delivered, according to his custom, words of holy preaching, and labored to raise the minds of all to the love of God. Next day the pontiff and count went forth to take a walk of recreation, and on arriving at the summit of a certain hill, they sat down, when the pope said, "This spot, dear nephew, surrounded with mountains, refreshed with streams, and yielding the solitude of woods, seems well adapted for a habitation of servants of God who might adore him day and night. Truly it is a pity if there should not be a house of religion in this whole solitude." To whom Adelbert replied, "Holy Father, in sooth, there was hard-by, in days of yore, such a house, founded by one of my ancestors, as I have often heard my father say, of which the monks long persevered in great sanctity, but, at length, miserably declining from the fervor of holy religion, and losing all spiritual goods, and being often admonished by my grandfather, they despised his salutary counsels, and hardened their hearts, till, at length, God so ordaining, in order to take away the scandal, their temporal goods were wasted, so that all either died, or moved elsewhere, in quest of better living, and none were left." At hearing this the pope groaned, and said, "Who now possesses the goods of that monastery?" The count answered, that he could not tell, as he never knew what they had been. Then the pope understood the mystery, but said nothing. Afterwards he went alone secretly to the spot designated, and found there an old clerk, Bertold, who told him that he had

* Gerberti Historia Nigræ Silvæ, tom. I. 46.

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known the holy monks, who all persevered to the end in a devout life, and then, under oath of secrecy, he revealed the fact, which was, that Count Adelbert's grandfather had destroyed the monastery through avarice. The pope then set laborers to work, who discovered the body of the saint, and then, on pain of refusing absolution, he obliged the count to restore the property, and the monastery was rebuilt, and entered upon in 1066.*

The origin of the monastery of Windberg is thus related by its founder, in a charter written in 1167. "Be it known to all the faithful, present and future, that I, Wintth, built a church in the place which has its name from me; for I came from Saxony to the said place, being the first who inhabited it, and hence it is called from me Windberg; for I slept in the said place, and I saw in a dream an eagle flying, and with a flap of its wings the earth was shaken; and it came to me and touched me with its plumes, saying, Rise up, and go to the great river, and you will meet travellers, and ask of them which of their number is called Wintth: he will be your co-operator. I did as it ordered, for I asked him first from what land and family he was sprung; and he answered, that he came from Saxony with the army of King Lewis, adding, that the Huns had led him away: and further I asked, Who is your mother? and he replied, my mother was called Sophia. Then rushing on his neck, I embraced him, weeping for joy, for I knew from the relation of my mother that he was my brother; for I was born after he had been carried off from us, and I had the same name, because of the love which my mother bore to him. Then I opened my heart to him, and disclosed my intention of building a monastery in honor of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the saints: and by our sinful hands the relics of saints were carried to it and enclosed within an altar in presence of Azeline the priest."†

It would be long to tell of the religious houses which owed their origin merely to the piety of devout Christians, moved at the peaceful seclusion of particular spots, as when Ela, countess of Salisbury, widow of William Longsword, built a monastery for Carthusians in her park, at Henton, in Somersetshire,‡ and Gauthier, count of Brienne, founded in 1143, the abbey of Basse-Fontaine, on the skirts of the wood of Brienne, near a beautiful fountain, which he had remarked while hunting. He, in consequence, invited the monks of Beaulieu thither, as being a part of the forest nearer to him than Beaulieu; and besides constructing the monastery, he made them add a chapel towards the north of these woods, where he might hear mass before going to hunt. In conclusion, we may remark that these pious men, in fixing upon the site for their religious foundations, were very often unconsciously determining that of towns and cities, which were the final result,

* Trithem. in Chronic. Hirsaugiensis.

† Relatio de Origine Monast. Windbergensis, ap. Canisii Lectiones Antiq. tom. iii.

‡ Tanner, Notitia Monastica.

40333

so that they might have used the words of Virgil with as much truth in regard to the first as to the second part of the line,

"Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum."

Raban Maur, when increasing the number of cells round Fulda, which he built on different farms and at various oratories, supplying them with monks, from the abbey, was thus founding towns which derived their names from his religious foundation. Abracell was called from Abraham, a monk of Fulda, Arzell from the monk Aezzo, Edelcell from Edeling, who lived under the Abbot Egbert in 1049, Kerzell from Kero in the tenth century, Aichezell from Haicho of Fulda, Henzell from Haking of the same abbey in 826, Mackenzell from Matto in the ninth century, Sarkewzell from Salugo, in 770, and so elsewhere.*

In the eighth century Malines was only a collection of some poor huts round a monastery which had been built where St. Rombaud suffered martyrdom in 775. The origin of Ghent is traced to two monasteries which had been formed by St. Amand, in the seventh century, out of two castles; that of Dunkerque to a priory in the Dunes, built by St. Eloy, round which some fishermen raised a few cabins. The town of St. Claudio, in Gallicia, grew out of some houses built for the servants of the Cistercian abbey there, to which they paid every year a fowl in token of its right. At St. Germain there was first a monastery in a forest; then arose a castle, which became a royal residence, and lastly, a town was the result. There is no mention of Pacta in Sicily, surnamed the magnanimous city, before the year 1094, when count Roger I. built there a noble monastery, and associated it to another which is at Lipara.† Similarly the wooden cell and chapel erected by St. Columban, at Bobbio, on the river Trevia, which Arlulphus rebuilt with stone, gave rise to a town which St. Henery, the emperor, raised to an episcopal city.‡ But here we break off; for lo, we are arrived

"Avete solitudinis,
Claustrique mites incolæ."§

* Schannat. Historia Fuldensis, P. i. † Sicilia Sacra, ii. 770. ‡ Italia Sacra, iv. 925.

§ First lines of the hymn for vespers on the feast of all the saints of the Benedictine order, 13th Novemb.

wind-braving towers. Homer represents Telemachus and his companions as filled with astonishment at the magnificence of the house of Menelaus. Their first care is to explore it, nor is it till they have delighted their eyes with seeing all its treasures that they accept food and drink. No pilgrim of the same mould, at Cluny or at Clairvaux, would shrink from indulging in such curiosity, or, after viewing all, would be ashamed to express the like amaze, and cry out *σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσοροωντα.*

"Architects are melancholy," says Cardan.* He had in view, no doubt, the immense and solemn structures of the monks, which, in fact, indicate the prevalence of grave, albeit of those versatile and ingenious minds, of which the expression might be St. Augustin's words, alluding to a future life, "in ea spe gaudeo quando sanè gaudeo;" for all their parts are made to announce or recomend that path of noble love, by following which, as Michael Angelo says, "we shall pass without danger through the narrow and fearful valley of the grave, beyond which is the only hope of felicity." The monks, indeed, if we admit Cardan's principle, were inclined to melancholy, not alone in their capacity of architects, but also in consequence of their genius as painters; for "painting," he adds, "weaving tapestry, and generally all employments in the arts make men melancholy." Behold the religious houses which date from ages of faith, walk round their courts and cloisters, and gardens, and you will find that the very walls viewed from without or from within, dispose the mind to a kind of solemn peace, and the gravity of devout contemplation, reviving dreams treasured up from early days, the holy and the tender. Many of them, connected as they are, with the lives of the holy men, had so divine a character, that one may say in the words of Leander Albertus, speaking of Loretto, "Besides the most weighty testimony to prove the truth of the record or tradition respecting them, their is no one so hard of heart, or so wicked, but on entering is softened and moved to honor the place, by a certain celestial power and instinct, and to pray for pardon of his sins to Jesus Christ."† "I shall only mention one thing as to my travels," says St. Charles Borromeo, writing to his cousin the Cardinal-Prince of Hohen-Embs, in 1576, "I have visited Einsiedelin, which is two days' journey from mount St. Gothard, and after the house of the holy family I do not know a spot where my soul has been more inflamed with pious ardor than there." In the greater monastery at Milan were two ancient towers, beneath one of which was the prison in which the holy martyrs Gervase, Protasius, Victor, Nabor, Felix, and others were confined, relative to whom some old paintings are still discernible. Even when such influence is wanting, "say, does aught meet your view more fit to animate the poet's pen, aught that more surely by its aspect fills pure minds with sinless envy, than the abode of the good monks, who, faithful through all hours to their high charge, and truly serving God, have yet hearts and hands for trees and flowers, enjoy the

* Hier. Card. De Utilitate ex Advers. Cap. Lib. iii. c. 4. † Descript. Italiæ, 428.

prodigious substructions of these edifices from the tenth and eleventh centuries are now an astonishment. We learn from Giraldus Cambrensis, that the stones used in the foundation of Peterborough abbey church were so large, that eight oxen could scarcely move one of them. Hence we may form some idea of the solidity of one of these buildings. The walls of the Cork convent at Cintra, composed of vast stones, of seven or eight hundred tons weight each, seem as if the work of nature. Even in the poorest monasteries the best materials were employed. Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, writes to Ædilculf, king of the English, to beg assistance from him in a time of distress, as he is about to cover his church with lead.* The abbey of Luxeuil, though much diminished in extent when Dom Martene visited it in 1708, was still immense, and had two churches enclosed.† That of Solignac, in the Limousin, founded by St. Eloy, was in the form of a circle. "There are so many remarkable things," says this father, "in the abbey of Clairvaux, that one always finds in it something new each time one visits it. We saw the ancient manufactories of the lay brothers and the tanneries, which are admirable." This partly explains the prodigious extent of many monasteries, which were constructed so as to contain every thing necessary within their walls. Thus "many hundred persons were attached in various capacities to the abbey of St. Gall, some of whom lived within it, familia intus, as artisans, millers, bakers, smiths, carpenters, glass-blowers, brewers, shepherds, swineherds, boat-builders, and men who transported the goods of the abbey across the lake of Constance: others lived without the abbey, familia foris, young men and madiens, who assisted by day at different works, being bound in compensation for rent by their parents' obligation to repair to the abbey court, or to its nearest farmyard, three days every week, and give their labor."‡ "From the year 820 to 920, St. Gall," says its historian, "was a well-inhabited house. Besides 105 monks and 200 converse brethren, there were many students and beneficed persons who resided within it. The provisions for feeding such a community were commensurate. There was an oven in which a thousand loaves were baked at a time. For making beer there was a malt-kiln for 100 measures of barley. There were so many mills, that every year ten new mill-stones were required to put in place of those that were past use. There was a botanical garden also, to furnish medicines for the sick, and a hostel for travellers, which was built within the walls. The abbey was surrounded with workshops, hostelry buildings, and stabling. The circuit filled the whole valley from one hill to the other, so that not only the houses which the settlers had built for themselves, but also St. Mangen's church stood within the enclosures of the abbey."§ At St. Riquier, the garden adjoins the south side of the abbey. It is very extensive and surrounded with a wall sixty feet high, and so thick that there is a walk on the summit. The fruit-trees all

* Lupi Epist. 13. † Voyage Lit. ‡ Ildefons. Von Arx. Geschichte der S Gallen, i. 55.
§ Ib. i. 128.

date from the time of the monks. One pear-tree, the wonder of the whole country, is said to be 200 or 300 years old. The vast stem is quite flattened to the wall, and its branches spread out like a fan to a prodigious extent on every side. The gardener told me it is always loaded with the finest fruit, with which, indeed, the whole ground was then strewed. Nothing can be more picturesque than the view, from this garden, of the long corridors and ruined cloisters, still profusely adorned with images of saints. In most monasteries all the offices were within the walls; for the monks performed every thing for themselves.

St. Benedict and the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, require expressly that the bake-house should be within them. The bread in the ancient monasteries was baked twice, and often kept so long that it was necessary to break and pulverize it with a mallet.* The Carthusians in Paris, and the monks of the abbey of St. Martin-des-Champs, had contrivances for grinding corn and making better bread, which excited great attention. In 817, it was also required that there should be enclosures set apart for culinary herbs, in the sowing of which, we may remark, the monks observed no lunar superstitions, though Le Grand d'Aussy says, that such preliminaries were prescribed by common cultivators as indispensable.† Among the officers of the monastery of Bobbio, in the year 835, we find cited, "the master carpenter, the keeper of the vineyards, the keeper of the orchard.‡ The swineherd of the abbey was another Eumæus; and Homer does not disdain to tell us how many swine he had to look after: though he does not add what so many convertites in the middle ages learned from experience, that his occupation was a toilsome one; for as John de Brie found when he had to drive them to the fields and forests, and back again in the evening, 'ce sont de rudes bestes et de maulvaise discipline,' and often he did not know whether he had not lost some of them, so that the task was grievous and almost intolerable to him."§ Some of the ἔθνεα χοίρων, then, as Homer calls them, were generally found at the monastery, where their presence was very necessary; for pork was used in dressing vegetables by the most austere communities.‖ Ducange cites an ancient inventory of the abbey of St. Remy, at Rheims, stating that it possessed 415 swine. There is a letter of Mappinius, archbishop of Rheims, to Villicus, bishop of Metz, in the sixth century, solely written to ask the price of swine. These were often a royal donation to monasteries. There are many charters in which the French kings permit certain abbeys to feed their swine in the royal forests. The council of Paris, in 1092, authorized the monks of Compiegne to send their swine into that forest, and forbade any seigneur to ask a tax in compensation. Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, gives to the monks of Ouches for ever the right of pasture for their swine, in all his forests. The annals of Corby, in Saxony, do not disdain to notice, that in 905, there was a dysentery among the swine, which destroyed

* Le Grand d'Aussy, Hist. de la Vie privée des Francois I. 102. † Id. i. 196.
‡ Murat. Antiq. It, lxv. § Le Vray Régime des Bergers, i. ‖ Le Grand d'Aussy, i. 310.

nearly all of them ; and the annals of Ulster record as the first achievement of the Danes in Ireland, the drowning of all the swine belonging to the abbot of Rechrau. Lodging for the herdsman and his flocks added, therefore, to the mass of buildings round the cloister. At the abbey of Froidmont, three leagues from Beauvais, the hundred lay-brothers attended so much to this branch of industry, that in the one year of 1230 they sold 7000 fleeces.*

In abbeys must be sought the origin of the Artesian wells.† St. Bernard's well, in the abbey of Clairmarais, dug in 1172, is one of the deepest in France. The most ancient known, which dates from 1126, is in the Carthusian monastery at Lillers. But leaving the lower courts, let us repair to the main buildings. These were not carelessly constructed in a day, like modern works. We learn from Orderic Vitalis that eighty years were spent in building the noble abbey of St. Ouen, at Rouen.‡ In 1306, Marguerite, second wife of Edward I., and sister of Philip, king of France, began to build the choir of the Franciscan church in London, but died before completing it and was buried there. The nave of the church was begun by John de Briten, earl of Richmond, and completed by Margaret, countess of Pembroke, Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloucester, and his two sisters, Helena de Spencer, and Elizabeth de Burgh. Twenty years elapsed before the church was finished.§ In general, the monks were their own architects.

All the magnificent buildings of the abbey of St. Gall, in the ninth century, were constructed by the monks themselves. Tutilo, the learned philosopher, the painter and musician, was above all eminent for his skill in the art of building. Isenrich, who was also a priest, was an excellent carpenter, and Ratger equally serviceable as a stonecutter. One of their contemporaries observes, that "men can judge of their ability by looking at the church and monastery." "Clearly it appears," he says, "from the nest what kind of birds inhabit it. View the basilica and the cloister of the monastery, and you will not wonder at what I relate."‖ The church was begun in 830, and finished in five years. The present edifice of the Grande Chartreuse was built by Dom Masson, prior of the order, and another monk, who was the architect. It is related as a circumstance attending the building of the vast church of the abbey of St. John-des-Vignes, at Soissons, that when the two towers were completed, both of them master-pieces of Gothic architecture for lightness and durability, the abbot, Nicolas Prudhomme, mounted to the summit in order to place the cross on the spire with his own hands, which was at an elevation of 234 feet.¶ When Herluin, the founder of Bec, of Danish race, who had been a renowned knight and favorite of Duke Robert, and moved, at the age of thirty-seven, to renounce the world, was building the abbey of Bonneville, William of Jumiège says, "that he worked at it himself

* Voyage Lit. de deux Bén. † Annuaire des Longitudes, 1835. ‡ Hist. Lib. xiii.
§ Wadding, An. Min. tom. vi. ‖ Epist. Ermenrici in Analectis Mabill.
¶ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 355

monastery, to fortify it with walls, and ditches, and towers, lest the enemy should take possession of it and thence attack Paris.* However, when for the security of the country it was necessary that a monastery should be fortified, the consent of the bishop of the diocese was indispensable.†

These houses of peace, therefore, bore marks of having sustained many perils, many injuries. Perhaps, at this moment, as they stand before us, all is stillness round them, and we suppose that their aerial towers and massive walls can have only had to endure for centuries the wasting breeze which has worn the pillar's carving and mouldered in his niche the saint, and rounded with consuming power the pointed angels of each turret; but these abbeys, like veterans, worn and unsubdued through so many ages, tempest-beaten, and shown upon by the pale and humid lustre of the moon throughout the silent night, have suffered from every kind of fierce destructive agency; they have been alternately exposed to the hostile rage of Sarassins and Danes, of Huns and Normans, of Protestants and the Blackbands, of the Jacobins and Constitutionalists of the present day. In France, during ages of faith, they were often pillaged and burnt by the Normans; in England and Ireland by the Danes; in Spain by the Moors; in Germany by the Huns; in Italy by the Langobards, Sarassins, and Huns; in Sicily by the Sarassins, whose cruelties to the monks there are related in the affecting letter of the Benedictines of the monastery of St. Placidus, at Messana, to Pope Vitelianus, in the year 669, as given by Leo of Ostia.‡ The abbey of Mount-Cassino was pillaged by the Lombards in 589, and burnt by the Sarassins in 884. The abbey of St. Sylvester, at Nonantula, was burnt by the Huns in 900, and not restored till nine years had elapsed,§ "seven times," says a monk relating the various fortunes of his own monastery, "was this holy place violated by perfidious Christians, or by pagans. First, by Christians amidst intestine wars; another time by the Vandals; a third time by the Sarassins in 831; a fourth time by the private rapacity of a certain woman in the reign of Pepin, father of Charlemagne; the fifth time by the Normans, which was desolatio desolationum; the sixth and seventh times by the Huns."‖ "When the Danish pirates, under Hastings and Rollo, ravaged Neustria, destroying a great number of remarkable convents, the monks fled to caverns and woods, or escaped to other countries; carrying with them the bones of their fathers and the writings which recorded their lives, as also the charters and title-deeds of their respective churches. It was then Haspres, near Cambrai, became enriched with the bodies of St. Hugues, of St. Aichadre and Ghent, in Flanders, with those of St. Wandrille, St. Ansbert, and St. Vulfran."¶ "I should fill a volume," says Eckehard IV., alluding to the Huns, "if I were to relate all that our monks suffered from the Sarassins. The injury which they did to St. Gall, Pfeffers, and Coire, was immense. We could neither make

* Bouillart, Hist de l'Abbaye de S. Ger-des-Près. † Hurter Geschichte, tom. iii. b. ii.
‡ Sicilia Sacra, ii, 379. § Notit. Abb. Ord. Cister. vii. 75.
‖ Chronicon Besuense apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. i. ¶ Ord. Vit. Lib. vi.

use of the mountains nor cultivate the plains. They were so bold that they came down from Bärneck on St. Gall, and shot arrows at the procession which was making round the place: Affairs became so desperate, that the Abbot Burkard, after his pilgrimage to Rome with the Emperor Otho I., in 963, was no longer able to nourish the monks, so that he was obliged to give them permission to provide for themselves as well as they could." In the abbey of Morbac, Dom Martene found the tombs of seven monks, martyrs, who had been massacred by the Huns.* Ingulphus is so particular in his account of the massacre at Crowland, when the Danes burst into the church, that he mentions the names of all the persons occupied at that moment in the celebration of mass. Theodore, the lord abbot, himself was celebrating; brother Elfgetus as deacon, and brother Savinus as sub-deacon, ministered; and brothers Egelredus and Ulricus were the boys who bore the lights. Eighty-four monks were butchered, some of them past their hundredth year. When the subprior Lethwynus was slain in the refectory, brother Tugarius, a child of ten years of age, of the most beautiful countenance and form, seeing his senior thus murdered, entreated the pagans that they would also kill him; but count Sidrok, moved with compassion, tore off his monastic cowl, and giving him a Danish dress ordered him to follow him, and in this way his life was preserved; and he was the only person who escaped. The description which is given of the return of the other monks to the smouldering ruins is most affecting. Then it was that Briestanus, a chanter of the monastery, and a most eloquent poet, wrote among the ashes of Crowland these lines, which begin:

> "Quomodo sola sedes dudum regina domorum,
> Nobilis Ecclesia, nuper amica Dei!"

The Danes visited twice the sainted island of Iona, and burnt the monastery. Whatever spot was most distinguished by popular reverence, thither these spoilers bent their course. An Irish geographer of that period, describing the desolation, says, "that in many of the smaller islands of the Irish seas not even a hermit was to be found." In fact, they thirsted for the blood of monks and the plunder of abbeys. Twice was the monastery of Bangor despoiled by the Danes. On the latter occasion the venerable abbot and 900 monks were massacred in one day. The monastery of the English at Mayo, the holy isle of Iniscathy in the mouth of the Shannon, having the tomb of its patron, St. Senanus, the cells of St. Kevin in the valley of Glendalough, the monastery of the Scelig Isles on the coast of Kerry, all these and many other seats of holiness were constantly made the scenes of ruthless devastation. The cells of the monks on the islets of Lough Ree, the school of Clonard, renowned throughout Europe, and the ancient abbey of Down, the hallowed resting-place of the remains of St. Patrick, were at different times in the ninth century laid desolate. In short, there was not a single monastery

* Voyage Lit. 186.

any renown which was not plundered and laid waste by the Danes in the eighth and ninth centuries." "The devoted courage," adds an historian, "of these crowds of confessors, who still returned to the same spot, choosing rather death than to leave the holy place untenanted, presents one of those affecting pictures of quiet heroism with which the history of the church abounds." Hence the poet, describing the abbey of Lindisfarne, makes especial mention of its need of security:

"In Saxon strength that abbey frown'd
With massive arches broad and round,
That rose alternate, row and row,
On ponderous columns, short and low;
On the deep walls the heathen Dane
Had pour'd his impious rage in vain;
And needful was such strength to these,
Exposed to the tempestuous seas,
Scourged by the wind's eternal sway,
Open to rovers fierce as they,
Which could twelve hundred years withstand
Winds, waves, and northern pirate's hand."

No longer then should these towers and battlements astonish us on arriving at the sainted houses of St. Benedict, since we know that their inhabitants might so often have complained, like the people of Rimini of old when Cæsar passed the Rubicon, that they were always sure to behold the first camps and to receive the first shocks of war; and indeed we read expressly, that when the Normans besieged Paris, the monks were the principal objects of their fury. Not alone external defences but, to obviate the consequence of surprise, secret chambers also were often necessary within the walls, to provide against sudden visits from the

Ἄγριον αἰχμητὴν, κρατερὸν μήστωρα φόβοιο,*

for he too figured even among Christian hosts in the new capacity of destroyer of monasteries, so analogous to an old Homeric avocation. Understanding now the cause which called for castellated walls, if such there be, let us cast our eyes on other parts, and proceed exploring.

Writers of the middle ages speak with admiration of the architecture of many abbeys. William of Malmesbury says of Tewkesbury, "there is the stately abbey built by Robert, son of Hamon, where the beauty of the buildings and the charity of the monks enchants the eyes of those that come there, and soothes their minds. What shall I say," he exclaims, "of Thorney and of the beauty of its buildings, in which this of itself is wonderful, how, among those lakes and marshes, it should rest on solid foundations?"† "The sun," says Leland, speaking of St. Alban's, "hath not seen either a city so finely seated or a goodlier abbey, whether a man consider the endowments, or the largeness, or the incomparable magnificence

* vi. † Wi. Malm. de Gestis Pontif. Anglorum, Lib iv.

thereof. A man that saw the abbey would say, verily it were a city, so many gates there are in it, and some of brass, so many towers, and a most stately church, upon which attend three others, also standing gloriously in one and the same churchyard, all of passing fine and curious workmanship."

In Anglo-Saxon times the monastery of Hexham exhibited the highest perfection of art. Its stones were finely polished, its walls and columns lofty, and it had spiral stairs to the top of each tower. Eddius, who had been at Rome, where he wrote St. Wilfrid's life, declares that no building on this side of the Alps was equal to it. The superb arched doors of St. Joseph's chapel, and the exquisitely-beautiful tracery still discernible among the shattered walls, attest what was the splendor of the buildings of Glastonbury. In the monastery of St. Bernard, upon the heights without the gates of Salamancha, is a spiral staircase, which only touches at the bottom and the top. It was constructed by a monk of the house of eminent sanctity, and it is so solid that the French and English carried up all their artillery upon it. Charles III. sent architects to examine it, who pronounced its construction to be a work of art exceeding their ingenuity.

The religious orders, however, in the earliest ages, were not ambitious in respect to splendor of buildings. "The ancient monks of our order," says Trithemius, "inhabited humble and dark cells; but their hearts were lucid and splendid with the light of Divine love, and illumined by the knowledge of the Scriptures:"*—a sentence which is continually repeated in monastic writings of a later date.†

The monastery which St. Martin erected in a secret place two miles from the church of Tours, and in which eighty disciples lived with him, was only a wooden building; and, throughout the ages of faith, innumerable religious houses were of the same character. Such was the Augustinian convent in which Luther was professed: the foundations were hardly below the surface of the ground; it had only a wooden altar; the south wall was three feet in height, the rest being formed of old planks. It was a true stable of Bethlehem.‡

Even where the greatest magnificence prevailed, there were many traces of the ancient simplicity. Dom Martene, on occasion of his visit to Clairvaux, describes the cell of St. Bernard in that abbey, built for him in his infirmities by Guillaume de Champeaux, bishop of Châlons. "There is no chimney to it," he says, "but under his bed was a great stone with holes through it, under which a brazier used to be kindled without his perceiving it: for he would not have allowed his room to be warmed if he had been aware of their intention. His bed is still here; the room opens on a little chapel, where he used to say mass."

"There has been lately erected in Lombardy a house of our order," says a Carthusian, "so magnificient, that many wonder our order would admit it; but

* In Chronic. Hirsaug.

† Annales Novesiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 5[redacted]

‡ Audin, Vie de Luther, i. 151.

to fly the indignation of princes,—which might easily be excited if any thing were opposed to them,—when they build such houses sumptuously, some indulgence may be made."*

La Maréchale d'Ancre, under the regency of Mary de Medicis, offered to build, at her sole expense, the church for the Carmelites, in the Rue Vaugirard, at Paris, provided they would adopt the plan of an architect which she admired ; but these humble men considered the plan too magnificent for their order, and generously refused to accept her offer. God rewarded the exact observance of his servants, and procured them such plentiful alms from the faithful, that in a few years their church was built.†

The monasteries of the Capuchins, which were on the same plan in all countries, were always to be constructed like the houses of the poor, of lath and plaster, and uncarved timber; to contain not more than ten or twelve brethren at most, in order that the rule and holy poverty might be observed with more perfection and less impediment, according to the desire of St. Francis.‡ To these houses the words of St. Jerome might be applied : " In Christi villa tota rusticitas est." The furniture was to be such as the poor use ; and their churches to be so small as not to contain more than fifty persons. The convent itself was to contain only small poor cells, built without art or beauty.§ In truth, generally, all that the good monk asked was " a simple dwelling, where he might sit and talk of time and change, as the world ebbs and flows, himself unchanged." When the doge and senate of Venice desired that the Capuchins should serve their newly-erected splendid church of the holy Saviour, built on the cessation of the plague, it was necessary to procure a decree from Pope Gregory XIII., authorising them to accept it.‖ In the fifth and sixth centuries, the monasteries in general were built without much cost. Some uncultivated land, and a small, plain building, with a chapel, satisfied the first wants of men whose great object was to make known the word of God, and to sanctify their own souls by contemplation and labor. When Charles the eighth, abbot of Villers, came in the year 697 to that monastery, he found there nothing but little thatched houses, and, as it were, the huts of shepherds; and he first built there two dormitories of stone, and many offices.¶

The early monasteries of Ireland and Gaul often resembled those of Egypt in primitive times, of which the cells were but wooden huts, sometimes so low that one could not stand upright in them.** The ancient church of the abbey of Citeaux, consecrated in 1106, in which St. Stephen and St. Alberic were buried, was not more than fifteen feet wide. It had only three windows in the sanctuary, and two in the nave. Similarly, the original church of Cluny was very small.

* Petr. Sutorus de Vita Carthusiana, Lib. ii. § iii. c. 9.

† Dosithée, Vie de S. Jean de la Croix, liv. x.

‡ Annales Capucinorum, ad. an. 1539

§ Ibid. ad. an. 1528.

‖ Ibid. ad. an. 1578,

¶ Hist. Monasterii Villariens. i. 8. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii. ** Sulpic. Sever. Dialog. i. 2.

Men did not postpone, therefore, holy purposes for want of money. St. Columban was not obliged to raise vast subscriptions before going to fix himself to the Vosges. Riches were not wanting to make such foundations. Hear how the first Franciscans that came to England were lodged. "The friar minors," saith Stow, "first arrived in England, at Dover, nine in number; five of them remained at Canterbury, and did then build the first convent of friar minors that ever was in England; the other four came to London, and lodged at the preaching friars the space of fifteen days, and then hired a house in Cornhill of John Travers, one of the sheriffs. They builded there little cells, wherein they inhabited. The devotion of the citizens towards them, and also the multitude of friars so increased, that they were removed by the citizens to a place in St. Nicholas Shambles, which John Iwyn, citizen and mercer of London, appropriated to the use of the said friars, who became himself a lay-brother."

The convents of St. Theresa were placed wherever she could obtain a spot, within four walls. While proposing to commence the reform of the Carmelite order, she set out, in the month of June, to examine a house which had been offered to her for the purpose by Don Raphael Megia Velasquez. She was accompanied by one nun, and Father Julian d'Avila. They lost their way, and no one could direct them to the place, which was called Durvelle; the name being hardly known. The intense heat rendered this the most painful of her journeys. At last, about night-fall, they arrived there, and found it a poor isolated peasant's house, near a stream, wholly unprotected from sun or wind. This place, nevertheless, was sufficient for her purpose, and to supply all that was wanting for her first monastery: she destined the porch for the chapel, the garret for the choir, the chamber for the dormitory, and half of the kitchen, when divided into two parts, for the refectory. Such was the building that served for the celebrated reform of this order. To this house retired Father John de St. Matthias, with one laborer, and they made the alterations she pointed out, living meanwhile on the alms which people of the neighboring village gave them.

It was in this house that St. John of the cross made the solemn dedication of himself to the imitation of the sufferings of Jesus, putting on the habit prescribed by St. Theresa, and exhibiting a spectacle to the neighborhood which astonished and edified all the people. To his poor chapel flocked crowds of devout peasants, who beheld every thing about him with surprise and reverence. St. Theresa speaks of this foundation with rapture. "The poverty of this house," she says, "did not displease the holy father; but, on the contrary, delighted him. O Lord God, how little capable are proud buildings and external pleasures to give internal consolation! I conjure you, my sisters, and you, my fathers, to remain always in great detachment with respect to magnificent and sumptuous houses, and to have always before your eyes the founder of our order, who, by poverty and humility, arrived at the eternal enjoyment of the presence of God. In proportion as the body has fewer comforts, the soul receives more joy. What advantage can we derive from

great buildings, when one cell must suffice us?"* Nevertheless, the piety of the faithful was seldom satisfied until these poor monasteries were constructed at least on a greater scale. In 1637, this house at Durvelle was converted into a magnificent convent, one of the most commodious in Old Castile. It is a masterpiece of art, without any profane ornaments. The original chapel, so poor in itself, but so precious from the tears which have been shed in it, is preserved in an angle of the cloister.

Such were the humble beginnings of many of the most celebrated abbeys. "Wonder not," says a monastic historian, "you who read this, at the constancy of our fathers, who constructed all the edifices which you behold with the alms of the poor. It was not a king, it was not a count, or any great man, who built this; but it arose amidst poverty and tribulation."†

Kings, however, did often interfere for such purposes. John V., king of Portugal, during a dangerous illness, vowed to erect, upon his recovery, a convent for the use of the poorest priory in the kingdom; and finding, upon inquiry, that this was at Mafra, where twelve Franciscans lived together in a hut, he fulfilled his vow, by erecting there, in 1717, the present magnificent abbey, the Escurial of Portugal, a palace, a convent, and a church of imposing magnitude, in a bleak, solitary country, within view of the sea, ten miles from Cintra.

But let us resume our examination of the monastic buildings. In the vaulted refectory of Clairvaux were two rows of pillars and four rows of tables. The great hall of the monks of Canterbury measured one hundred and fifty feet in length and forty in breadth. The refectory of Cluny was thirty-eight paces long and twenty-four broad. There were six tables down the length and three at the extremity, namely, that of the president, which was higher than all the others, that of the greater prior on the right, and that of the claustral prior on the left. The walls were beautifully painted with stories out of the Old and New Testament, and with figures of the princely founders and benefactors of Cluny. There was also an immense image of Christ, and a representation of the last judgment.‡ The refectory of the great abbey of St. Alban's was adorned with tapestry, and that at Gloucester with portraits of the kings of England in fresco. Generally some devout painting or inscription occupied the refectory walls. In that of the convent of St. Bernard I was struck with a portrait of an old monk, stooping over the pages of Boethius. In that of the Carthusian monastery of Calci I saw painted in fresco a queen of France, serving dinner to the monks with her own hands, and under the picture these words, "Ipsa pias regina epulas parat, ipsa ministrat." Over the door of the refectory of the great Dominican convent at Bologna, is this inscription, which describes the order to be observed there—

* P Dosithée, Vie de S. Jean de la Croix, 1.

† Chronic. Morigniacensis Mon. Lib. 1. ap. Duchesne, tom. iv.

‡ Chronic. Cluniacens.

" Ut memor vitæ pie fructor orans ingredere
Ut sobrius audiens intus reficere,
Ut Deo gratus psallens egredere."

The second line refers to the readings which took place during dinner; to which Ives de Chartres alludes, writing to certain monks in these words, " I might say more, but this is enough for those who daily hear the sacred Scriptures read."* The historians of the abbey of St. Gall expressly mention that selections from the holy Scriptures, with the comments of the holy fathers, and the history of Josephus, were read every day at table.

Buildings for hospitality formed a large portion of monastic piles. The apartments for guests were often magnificent, and in French abbeys were sometimes wainscoted with Irish oak, as the room in the palace of King Charles, which was called from it. The Cistercians always had a Xenodochium adjoining the abbey, where every one was received and relieved.†

Thus we read, that King Alfonso, wishing to please the Most High, at the prayer of his serene wife, Eleanor, built a monastery of Cistercians, near the city of Burgos, in a style of great magnificence, and near it a hospital, admirable for its buildings and decoration, which he so richly endowed, that all travellers, at any hour of the day, on applying there, were provided with what they wanted; and every night all who chose might lodge there: and the sick were kept there till their death or recovery; and by the hands of women and men of mercy all things necessary were given to them.‡

The historian of Crowland says, that the venerable Abbot John, in his last years, built that solemn and sumptuous hospice which stands between the church and the gates of the abbey, in order that strangers and guests of greater dignity might be lodged there.§

In the account of the rebuilding of the abbey of St. Tron, it is stated that there were within the enclosure two houses of the poor, the one for summer to lodge them, and the other for winter, with fireplaces to warm them.‖

In the monastery of Durham there was the common house, to have a fire kept in it all the winter, for the monks to come and warm themselves at it, as they were not allowed a fire in their own chambers. " Besides which there was a famous house of hospitality, called the guest-hall, within the abbey-garth of Durham, on the west side towards the water, in which entertainment was given to all sorts, noble and gentle, and of what degree soever that came thither as strangers, their entertainment not being inferior to any place in England, both for the goodness of their diet, the sweet and dainty furniture of their lodging, and generally all things necessary for travellers; and with all this entertainment

* Epist. cxcii. † Notit. Abbat. Ord. Cist. Lib. vii. 57.
‡ Roderici Toletani de Reb. Hispaniæ, Liv. vii. c. 34. § Ingulphi Hist
‖ Chronic. Abb. S. Trudonis, Liv. x. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vii.

the monks commanded not any one to depart while he continued of honest and good behavior. This hall is a goodly, brave place, like unto the body of a church, supported on either side by very fine pillars, and in the midst of the hall was a large range for the fire. The chambers and lodgings belonging to it were richly furnished, especially one called the kings chamber, deserving that name."*

At Glastonbury, the gothic hostel belonging to the abbey, called the abbot's inn, for pilgrims, still exists. It was for the accommodation of persons who could not be lodged within the abbey.

Though we before had occasion to speak of ecclesiastical hospitality in general, we cannot visit the monasteries without briefly recurring to it in reference to the charity of the religious orders. At the monastery of Nitria, on a mountain forty miles from Alexandria, there was a hostel ever open for strangers, where they might remain two or three years, or as long as they wished: only the first week could they be without employment. After eight days they were required to work either in the gardens or in the bakehouse, or to assist in singing the office. Books were kept for the learned. Such was the influence of monastic hospitality in the first ages, that it was the custom even for the citizens of Oxyrynchus, where every stranger was received as a brother, to keep watch at the gates for poor pilgrims, to invite them to their houses. Hospitality was thus practised by the monks from the earliest times.

In the twelfth century, when Mathew was abbot of St. Martin-le-Champs, at Paris, the hospitality and charity of that monastery were most remarkable. "It was regarded," we read, "as a kind of common asylum above all those of France for bishops, abbots, lay noblemen, monks, clerks, and poor people. The house was always full, and every one was received with a smiling countenance, which no importunity of the crowds could ever alter."† "If the monks," says Peter the Venerable, "were to wash the feet of all the strangers that come to Cluny, and to prostrate themselves before them, they could do nothing else from sunrise to sunset. We do what we can. Every day we wash the feet and hands of three strangers, and offer bread with wine."‡

At Cluny there was no porter placed at the gate; for the gates were always open to every one from morning till night, and strangers had only to enter, and they found every thing prepared for them.§ In abbeys, however, where there was a porter, his duty was to show benignity to all comers. "To all strangers at the gates of our convents," say the commentators on the rule of St. Francis, "our friars must speak sweetly, even though the persons who come there be rude and importunate; for though one cannot always give them alms, one can refuse them with gentleness; and, it is certain, that a sweet word edifies seculars, whereas, the rude reply of one porter, or other friar conversing with seculars,

* Ancient Monuments of the monastic church of Durham, 139.

† Bibliothec. Cluniacens, 554. ‡ S. Pet. Ven. Epist. Lib. i. 28. § Ib. Lib. i. 28.

would scandalize them greatly."* St. Benedict in his rule required the porter to be an old and wise man, mature in manners.† In fact, no one disdained the office. St. Villibald, from being dean, was made porter of the monastery of Mount-Cassino, without its being regarded as a derogation. This was he who afterwards preached the gospel through Bavaria, and died a holy death in 787.‡ The Benedictines were always true to the hospitable charges of their great founder.

"I cannot speak in sufficient detail," says Orderic Vitalis, "of the hospitality of the monks of Bec. Let one ask the Burgundians, Spaniards, and other persons who come from far and near, and they will answer and say truly, with what benignity they used to be received by the religious. The gate of Bec is open to all travellers, and no one there is ever refused bread. What shall I add? May He who has begun, and who entertains the good which shines in them, maintain it unto their arrival at the port of salvation."§

The abbey of Morbac, in a fearful desert, used to be called "Vivarium peregrinorum," as Dom Martene remarks. It is said that Martin, abbot of Alne, in Hainaut, having placed over the gate of his monastery the following line, with this punctuation,

"Porta patens esto nulli; claudatur honesto,"

was deprived in consequence of his dignity. In certain monasteries of Italy, besides the usual hospitality, the abbot had always three poor persons at his private table. The rector of a college at Rome arriving at Subiaco, and finding no room in the inns, sent to the abbot of St. Scholastica, to ask whether he could lodge five of his students. The hospitality of this house must have resembled that of Phæacians, who, as Homer says, used not only to receive every one coming to them from east or west, but furnish them with an escort, and youths to conduct them, and means to enable them to continue their journey; for the answer of that holy man was sent back along with five horses, to carry them up to the monastery.

William of Malmesbury records, that, in the monastery of Redding, founded by King Henry I., for monks of Cluny, it being a great thoroughfare, more money was expended in hospitably entertaining poor guests, than in supporting the whole community of monks. In another monastery, there used to be more than one hundred tables laid out in one day.‖ In 1310, an abbot gave a feast to six thousand guests, for whom were prepared three thousand dishes. In the monastery of Villers, the key of the cellar used to be placed in a cleft in the neighboring rock, and whoever wanted wine might there take it for his necessity.¶ In the year 1058, the venerable Father Abbot Wulketulus gave to the monastery of Crowland, the chapel of St. Mary, at Spaldying, with all the buildings belonging to it, to defray the expense of hospitality to the poor and to

* Louis de Paris, Expos. de la Règle des FF. Mineurs, 3. † C. 66. ‡ Hist. Cassinens.
§ Lib. iv. ‖ Bolland, die 11 Jan. c. vii. ¶ Hist. Ingulphi, 66.

the rich, of whom there was generally there a great concourse.* Similarly, the church of Hesel was to be assigned by Pope Innocent III. to the prior and canons of Gisborne, because they give to every one asking, and apply their goods to hospitality with such zeal that no one departs from them empty-handed.† The abbot Suger provided for the exercise of a most ingenious and needful hospitality; for he established twelve monks in the priory of St. Denis, who were bound to entertain three converted Jews.‡

One can readily understand, from these details that large provision was necessary to meet such demands upon monastic benevolence, since the reception of strangers within religious houses was not to resemb what the poet speaks of,—

"———prompt, but cold;
A loveless service, bought and sold."

Hence, in the cellars of the abbey of Cîteaux there were, in 1202, twenty thousand measures of wine, classed according to the ages of ten, fifteen, and twenty years; and there were amphoras of baked earth, containing wines of Clovoujeaux, which dated from the preaching of St. Bernard.§

The sarcastic inference which the moderns generally draw from hearing such details might suggest a painful reflection here. Alcinous, while entertaining Ulysses, adds this encouragement to his invitation to feast on—

——— ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλῳ
εἴπῃς ἡρώων, ὅτεκεν σοὶς ἐν μεγάροισιν
δαινύῃ παρὰ δῆ τ' ἀλύχῳ καὶ σοῖσι τέκεσσιν,
ἠμετέρης ἀρετῆς μεμνημένος.

Alas! nature seems to have degenerated since those times: for the monk who now receives a stranger to hospitality might adopt the converse of this invitation, and say, "Eat and drink, that you may proclaim to your countrymen, when you are at table in your own house with your wife and children, that the monk is always what the Pharisees said our Master was,—'a drunkard and a glutton!'"

Pisistratus says to Telemachus, that a guest remembers all his days the hospitable gifts of hosts.‖ The guests of monks, in modern times, have furnished an exception. Capefigue speaks ironically of the sweet life reserved for penitent barons in Cîteaux and Clairvaux, and seems to think that, like Homer's heroes, the monks were always at table, and that they did or said nothing until they had satisfied their minds with eating and drinking: as if every minute one might say of them—

οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείατ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἴαλλον.

Le Grand d'Aussy attacks them with great bitterness, in a long chapter upon

* Hist Mon. Villariensis, Lib. ii. Prol. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec.
† Epist. Inn. iii. Lib. xiii. 208. ‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, iii. 210.
§ Comptes MSS. de l'Ab Cîteaux, Bib. du Rio ap. Capefigue. ‖ xv. 54.

sauces and ragouts. It is in vain to expostulate with such adversaries, who cannot be made to comprehend what were the consolations of faith. But the truth is, that the provision made for the monks was of a different kind: their daily bread was not what men of this kind so greatly esteemed,—what Homer calls the medicine for grief; that which induces forgetfulness of all evils; such wine as Helen poured out to Telemachus, which could dispel all desire of weeping, even though one had lost a father, or a mother, or had seen perish before one's eyes a brother or a dear son,—but a chapter of the Imitation, more efficacious to console their spirits than all the mixtures of Egypt.

Perhaps, however, it may be well to observe in conclusion, that, where monks were not bound to exercise hospitality on this scale, there was nothing in their store-rooms that could excite envy. In the first general congregation of the Capuchins, in 1529, it was decreed, that never more than provision for one week was to be laid up, and nothing beyond it was ever to be received in alms. No superior was to suffer any cask of wine to be in the convent, but only an open vessel or jug, containing what was necessary.*

The philosophers of old used to have the images of their masters not only painted on their walls, but also graven on cups and rings, and other objects. Thus, Pomponius says, that he had ever before him the image of Epicurus.† The Christian sages of the cloister, in like manner, loved to be surrounded by memorials of the saints, to remind them of the deeds and sayings of the friends of God.

To monasteries, therefore, came the arts, which illustrate all the echoes of the human world, which tell of sanctity and justice, and mild compassion, "progeny immortal,—of painting, Sculpture, Music, and rapt Poesy,—swift shapes and sounds, which grow more fair and soft as man grows wise and kind." Our abbeys, even in their ruined state, are often still "populous with carved imagery,—beauteous, holy shapes,—whose marble smiles fill the hushed air with everlasting love." They are deserted now; but once they bore thy name, O Jesus, Prince of Peace! In the fifteenth century, when the heretics broke into St. Gall, they loaded forty-six wagons with the wood fragments of the images, which they burnt in a fire that was forty-three feet broad: those of stone were carried off, to be employed in making walls; and those of copper, which were the work of Tutilo, they broke to pieces. The choir was surrounded with exquisite carving, which they demolished. The walls of the church represented, in painting, the life of St. Gall and St. Othmar, which they whitewashed over. Many superb paintings stood over the different altars, and many curious works of ancient art surrounded them, all which they destroyed. The ruined abbey of St. Riquier is still full of emblematic sculpture and images of saints, with representations under each of some scene connected with his life. The walls are curiously painted in fresco, representing historical events, with inscriptions beneath, but in a character so ancient

* Ann. Capucinorum.

† Cicero de Finibus, Lib. x.

that my unpractised eye could not decipher them. Nothing can exceed the beauty of Our Lady's chapel behind the choir. In the church are many altars, over most of which are represented saints in the Benedictine habit.

But let us contemplate the houses that escaped the distroyers hands. How many stories, pictured on the cloister-walls in old Toledo! how many under the solemn arches of monasteries in the desert, from forgotten books, or from lips long silent in the grave! What an historic and religious interest belongs to these old portraits of founders and benefactors which are found in abbeys! where they recall, as at Haute rive, the heroic virtues of a Count William de Glana; or, as in the Dominician convent at Bologna, the countenance of the angelic doctor! In the abbey of Einsiedelin one sees painted the Emperor St. Henry, with St. Volfgang, his preceptor, a former monk of that house, standing by his side. On his left is represented St. Gerold, who from being a prince became a hermit there; and near him are Counon and Ulric, his two sons, who consoled his last days by putting on the cowl. The interest which many great artists felt in monasteries contributed to fill them with paintings, even when the monks themselves did not take up the pencil. Thus we find the frescoes of Pinturicchio, and a picture of the Blessed Virgin by Leonardo de Vinci, in a corridor of the cloister of St. Onuphrio. Similarly, Dominic Ghirlandajo having an especial veneration for the order of Dominicans, it was in their church of Santa Maria-novella, at Florence, that he had painted his masterpiece. His family had their burial there. His son, Rodolph Ghirlandajo, had felt the full power of the preaching of Savonarola, and he devoted his pencil to transmit his paternal tradition of art. Ghiberti, the most ancient historian of art in Italy, speaks with enthusiasm of a great composition with which Ambrose de Lorenzo had covered the walls of a cloister, in which he represented the life of a Christian missionary. One saw, at first, a young man taking the habit of a monk; then the same, entreating permission to be sent, along with others of the brethren, to Asia, to convert the Sarassins; then their departure, their arrival near the Sultan, who orders them to be scouraged; then the listening people; further on, the Sultan condemning them to die; their decapitation; and, after it, a horrible tempest, before which vast trees are broken and torn up by the roots, while the people fly in terror.*

In the refectory of the convent of San Salvi, one mile from Florence, there were painted, by André del Sarto, four figures of saints, and the Last Supper; and it is recorded, that, during the seige in 1529, when the Florentines were obliged to demolish all buildings in that part, when they came before this great fresco they were struck dumb and motionless with admiration. At the entrance of the cloister of the abbey of St. Venne, at Verdun, Dom Martene remarked a painting of the Emperor St. Henry, whose belt and pike were still preserved in the treasury there, offering to submit his crown and sceptre, and demanding the

* Rio de l' Art. Chrêt. 49.

religious habit from the holy abbot Richard, who commands him to resume the government of his states, with these verses :—

" Pertæsus regere Henricus venit ecce regendus,
Vult utrumque abbas, nempe regendo regi."*

The paintings in the monastic churches were often singularly impressive, from the lesson they were designed to convey. In the abbey of Einsiedelin our Lord is represented saying to Zacchæus, " This day I will lodge in thy house,"—to prepare men for communion. The promise of God to Abraham,—" Faciam te in magnam gentem,"—is made to indicate the propagation of the Benedictines ; and the alliance with Noah,—" Fac tibi arcam et fœdus ponam tecum,"—the deliverance of those who embraced the monastic state. Over the sacristy, meekness is represented by a symbolic figure, and on the ceiling the verse of the Apocalypse, " Around the throne were seated twenty-four old men, clothed with white, and wearing crowns." Here the sword is only borne as a sign of martyrdom, as the only blood shed by those who bear it was their own.

In the abbey of St. Denis was a mystic painting of St. Paul turning a mill, and the prophets carrying each a sack to it, to signify his office of interpreting the Old Testament. This abbey itself, with its imagery, was, like many others, history and theology. The historical portraits found in monasteries, were often deeply interesting. Thus in the cloisters of the Carmelites, at Florence, there was a great painting by Masaccio, representing a procession, at the end of which were introduced the most illustrious personages of Florence.

In the convent of the Celestins, at Paris, was a chapel founded by Louis d'Orleans, brother of Charles VI., in 1393, in which all members of that family were represented in robes of ceremony ; and in the cloisters of the Carmelite friary, in the place Maubert, the family of St. Louis were painted wearing their court-dresses. Dom Pez does not disdain to insert among his historical documents the inscriptions under the long series of portraits which are in the monastery of Clauster-Nenburg, representing the ancient marquesses and dukes of Austria, of the line of Babenberg, with their wives and daughters.† But it was sacred pictures which the monasteries possessed in greatest number. The monks felt deeply that art is godlike, a branch of the divinest studies. One holy brother, lately in the Escurial monastery, as a modern poet tells us, " Guiding from cell to cell and room to room, a British painter left not unvisited a glorious work, our Lord's Last Supper, from the hand of Titian, beautiful as when first it graced the refectory. There, while both stood with eyes fixed upon that masterpiece, the holy father in the stranger's ear spoke these words, ' Here daily do we sit, thanks given to God for daily bread, and here, pondering the mischiefs of these restless times, and thinking of my brethren dead, dispersed, or changed and changing, I not sel-

* Voyage Lit. 95.

† Pez. Rer. Aust. Script. tom. i.

dom gaze upon this solemn company unmoved by shock of circumstance or lapse of years, until I cannot but believe that they—they are in truth the substance, we the shadows.'" So spake the mild Jeronymite, his griefs melting away within him like a dream, ere he had ceased to gaze, perhaps to speak: "And I," adds the poet, grown old, but in a happier land, "have to verse consigned those heart-moving words, words that can soothe more than they agitate."

Still monasteries were not to be academies of art, as the philosophers of the cloister failed not to remind each other from time to time, as if to guard against the exaggeration which they foresaw might ensue. "It may be well," says Hugo of St. Victor, "that monks who dwell in cities, to whom the crowds of people resort, should have the delight of paintings for the simplicity of those who are not delighted with the subtilty of Scripture; but for us who are pleased with solitude, a horse or an ox is more useful in the field than on the wall. The one pleases the eye, the others minister to necessity."* St. Bernard on one occasion even complains of the grotesque sculpture found in the cloisters. "What," he exclaims, "is this ridiculous monstrosity, this certain strange deformed beauty and beautiful deformity? Why are these unclean apes there? What are these lions, these monstrous centaurs doing? What these half-men, these spotted panthers, these fighting warriors, these horn-sounding huntsmen? You can see under one head many bodies, and again on one body many heads. Here a quadruped with the end of a serpent; there a fish with the head of a quadruped. Here a beast with the forepart like a horse, and the hind like a goat; there a horned animal, half-horse. So many and so strange are the forms, that one is more tempted to read in marble than in books, and to pass the whole day in admiring these things."† In fact, even to the objects which were expressly for utility, there was generally a certain beauty or curiosity imparted. The very clocks of abbeys were often prodigies of art. That of Glastonbury, made by Peter Lightfoot, a monk in the fourteenth century, exhibited on the dial, divided into twenty-four hours, the diurnal and nocturnal time, with the solar, lunar, and other astronomic motions, while figures of armed knights on horseback were seen riding about in all directions.

Of the deep symbolic and religious imagery, *φωνᾶντα συνέτοις*, which covered the walls of monasteries, it would be difficult to form an idea without long observation of the ancient buildings. On one portal, in France, is represented the whole history of man from the creation, to the last judgment, according to the order adopted by Vincent de Beauvais, in his Mirror of the World: for there is seen, as Didron remarks, the creation and the obligation of man to labor through the twelve months of the year, and this represents the speculum naturale. Then, men having fallen, must rise again by science; therefore, in addition to manual labor, the seven liberal arts are seen, and this corresponds to the speculum

* De Claustro Animæ, Lib. ii. c. 4. † S. Bernard. Apolog ad Guillel. c. xii.

doctrinale. Thus man knows; but he must make a good use of his knowledge; therefore, in the next place, are shown virtues, social, domestic, and interior. Among the first are read liberty, promptitude, friendship; among the second all household virtues, represented by women as matrons working; among the third, faith, hope, and charity, as also the cardinal virtues; and this corresponds to the speculum morale. Lastly, man thus informed, proceeds to act, and hence are shown all the personages of the Old and New Testament, ending with a representation of the end of the world in the final judgment; and this answers to the speculum historale. As in these sculptures, containing 3000 images, all this is shown only in brief symbols, the whole is developed at length on the stained-glass windows of the church in 6000 figures; so that nothing can exceed the grandeur of this sublime poem. Moreover, the instruction conveyed by the separate part is admirable. Thus in all representations of Cherubim and Seraphim, the one cannot be distinguished from the other, for the reason that love and science were deemed inseparable. Again, the blood flowing from the Lamb is poured upon the martyrs, to show that the shedding of their own would be of no avail without that of Jesus Christ; and at the last judgment, the Christ appears without pity; he shows his hands pierced, and repels all with the spectacle. Even his blessed mother and St. John appear afraid. St. Michael weighs the souls; the season of mercy has past; it is now that of justice.

From an inspection of the monasteries, it is clear also that the poem of Dante exercised a great influence on art. The nine circles of hell were represented in an abbey of Friuli, and in the cloisters of the Olivetans, at Volterra.

With respect to the hands which executed these paintings in cloisters, we may observe, that the greatest number were either the work of the monks themselves, or else the pious offering of artists, and sometimes memorials of their gratitude; as when Rubens painted his great picture of the adoration of the shepherds for the Franciscans of Soissons, to show his sense of the charity they had exercised towards him during his sickness, when on his journey from Antwerp to Paris, in 1622.* "This year, 895," say the Corby annals, "Theodegarius, our brother, gave to the convent, to be in memory of him, our Lord's Passion, curiously depicted with a pen, an artificial work admired by all." From brother Conrad of Vienna, says another monastic diary, we received some solemn pictures.† Painting and sculpture were not, however, the only medium of instruction in the adornment of cloisters. Inscriptions for the same purpose were also generally used. "Upon the walls and pillars," says Weever, relating the destruction of the abbeys in England, "ceartain inscriptions used to be painted or engraven, which being holden to be superstitious, were then defaced, washed over, or obliterated. Thus under the blessed Trinity it had been usual to read,

* Hist. de Soissons. ii. 88.

† Necrolog. R. R. P. P. Minorum Conv. Vienn. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust ii.

'Ave Pater, Rex Creator, ave fili, lux, Servator.
Ave pax et charitas
Ave simplex, ave Trine, ave regnans sine fine
Una summa Trinitas.'

And under the crucifix,

'Quantum pro nobis Christus tulit esse videmus,
Et tamen à lachrymis heu lumina sicca tenemus.'"*

Lydgate ascribes a pious inspiration, which suggested to him the composition of a hymn on the passion, to his having read similar lines in an abbey when a boy :—

"Within fifteen, holding my passage
Middle of a cloister, depict upon a wall
I saw a crucifix, whose wounds were not small,
With this word vide written there beside,
'Behold my meekness, child, and leave thy pride.'"

John of Whethamstede, the learned abbot of St. Alban's, in the reign of Henry VI. among other images and ornaments placed in the church of that abbey, the figures of certain heathen philosophers, who had testified of the incarnation of Christ, and under them these lines—

"Istac qui gradieris hos testes si memoreris.
Credere vim poteris proles Deus est mulieris."

The walls of that abbey were covered with curious painted imagery, and also with pious inscriptions in golden characters. Weever gives the verses inscribed in the abbot's lodging, those in the walk between his chamber and the hall, those in the windows of the abbot's library, those in the chamber adjoining his study, and those upon the roof over the chancel. On one wall was writen an admonition to princes—

"Non bene concessum princeps regit ille Ducatu
Concilio procerum qui non regitur sapientum.
Judex quando sedes caveas ne jura supines
Jure quidem tradito. Plebs Rex est, Rex sine regno."

In one window of the library was written—

"Cum studeas, videas, ut sit virtus et honestas ;
Hic, et ubique tibi finalis causa studendi."

Suger says, "that on the doors of the abbey church of St. Denis, on which were represented the passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Saviour, these verses were inscribed—

'Portarum quisquis attollere quæris honorem,
Aurum nec sumptus, operis mirare laborem."

* A Discourse of Funeral Monuments.

Nobile claret opus, sed opus quod, nobile claret,
Clarificet mentes ut eant per lumina vera
Ad verum lumen, ubi Christus janua vera.
Quale sit intus in his determinat aurea porta.
Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit,
Et demersa prius hac visa luce resurgit.' "*

Similar inscriptions, suitable to the office of each place in the monastery, were generally found. Thus in the abbey of Mount-Cassino, over the place for washing, were these lines—

" Ut foris oblectet nitor hunc decet intus haberis,
Si tua mens sordet, quid erit si laveris ora
Aut oculos, puro corde lavato manus."†

Before the cross in the centre of the great hall of the dead, in the abbey of Citeaux, was this inscription—

" Hic deponuntur monachi quando moriuntur,
Hinc assumuntur animæ sursumque deferuntur."

In the cloister were these solemn verses, reminding men that the form of this world was passing away—

" Mundus abit, fortis sim, non ero : sim speciosus,
Non ero : sim dives, non ero, mundus abit.
Mundus abit, non Christus abit, cole non abeuntem."‡

In the palace of Lucullus the apartments were called after the names of the gods, Apollo, Jupiter, &c. In the monastery of St. Benedict the chambers are distinguished by the names of saints. Passing along the corridors in the convent of the Franciscans, at Loretto, I observed over the door of each cell some pious sentence from the holy scriptures, or the writings of the fathers. Sometimes the tradition respecting him who once inhabited the cell served instead of any device, as in the room next the library in that Dominican convent of St. Agostino, in which Albertus Magnus lived for a while. To walk through the Carthusian monastery of Calci, among the mountains of Pisa, and mark the inscriptions which are presented at every step, is a useful study in itself, and the words seem to come with a greater force than they could from any book. Over the entrance I read, " Ingrediatur gens justa custodiens veritatem ;" at one end of a long corridor, " Posuit eos Deus in Paradiso voluptatis ;" over the door of a cell, " In solitudine boni mores virtutesque omnes discuntur." Most of the lines, however, are commemorative of our Saviour's passion, or taken from his last sermon ; and one feels that one is in the house of his dearest familiar friends, who cannot rest without having his sweet image and his divine words ever before them. But it is

* Sug. Lib. de Rebus in Administratione sua Gestis, ap. Duchesne, iv.
† Hist. Casinensis.
‡ Martene, Voyage Lit. 219.

time to repose after this long inspection. Already from these first glances we can understand the justice of Dom Martene's observation, with respect to the monastery of St. Remi, at Rheims, when he says, "that every time he visits it, he remarks something new that had previously escaped his notice." So it is in general with all these ancient abbeys, where the friends of God may justly say, that they live at peace in splendid poverty Yes, the inscription in the church of the Carthusians near Pavia, "Nimis honorati sunt amici tui Deus," explains the magnificence of that incomparable monastery, and expres-es the true reason of the grandeur and beauty of all others. And, in effect, who can cease to admire the grandeur and the beauty of these holy retreats, where every thing glorious in art as well as nature seems concentrated to wait upon religion? What a triumph for all that value intellectual good that there should be thus already a happy earth where men of good-will can enjoy a foretaste of the calm of heaven! that for them there should be such a pure dwelling-place, where there is a quiet solemn voice of sober reason in all the parts, which reaches the most thoughtless ear, "while every shape and mode of matter lends its force to the omnipotence of mind, which, from its dark mine, drags the gem of truth to decorate this paradise of peace."

CHAPTER VII.

A MONASTERY, viewed on its heroic side, was a great country mansion, or ancestral palace, antique and venerable, full of charms for those who have an owl-like fondness for old walls and ivy, full of curious memorials, retaining traditions from the olden time, and boasting of ancestors who shed an eternal renown upon the family which inhabited it. How would an ordinary house have gloried in having for its founder such a hero as St. William, whose abbey in the desert yet bears his name? Orderic Vitalis says, that this glorious knight was the theme of minstrelsy with the Jongleurs. Ducatel has discovered an old romance in the honor divided into four parts, treating on the childhood of William, the coronation of Lewis, le charroi de Nismes, and the monastic life, le moinage of William,

Moult essauça sancte chrétientés
Tant fit en terra qu'es cieux est couronnés.*

Every kind of glory, in fact, shed lustre upon the memory of many founders

* Longueval, Hist. de l'Eglise, Gal. v. 122.

of abbeys in the middle ages, whose merit could not have been exaggerated by the gratitude of their respective communities. Charlemagne himself, in a certain charter to the monastery of St. Bertin at St. Omer, boasts of his being of the lineage of its founder. "Et quoniam," he says, "idem sanctus de genere nostro fuisse dignoscitur." And no less honorable to it was another to the same church, in which we find Roland and Olivier named as witnesses.* Well might the monks of Boulancour, in the diocese of Troyes, esteem as a glory their possession of many charts from such men as the seigneurs of Joinville and Villardouin, who had been the benefactors of that house, which they enriched with many relics that they had brought with them from the east.† Independent of religious grounds the monks in general seem to evince towards their founders that kind of reverential gratitude which Homer's men so invariably cherish for their benefactors, as when Eumæus says of his old master—

τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν, ὦ ξεῖνε, καὶ οὐ παρεόντ' ὀνομάζειν αἰδέομαι.

One is naturally led to take this heroic view of the monastic institution on being admitted into the treasury of an abbey which contained often so many titles to suggest and substantiate it.

Having seen enough now of towers and columns, of walls and gates, let us follow this good monk who is about to show the ancient estimable things preserved in the most secret recesses of his house; for the spectacle will be curious and instructive as well as religious. We first have to pass by the costly deposits which appertained not to his community, for such were often found in monasteries, as at Rheims, in the abbey of St. Denis where the public money and also the silver and jewels of private persons used to be placed for security in the hands of the abbot and canons exclusively, who alone had the key; and as at Durham and at Strata Florida, where the gentry of the country kept their deeds and genealogies, the registers of their baptisms and marriages, in the archivium of the monks. Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, writes to Hildain, saying, "I do not wonder that you should have thought of committing your treasure to our custody, since you did not know the situation of our monastery; but if you had known it you certainly would not have left it with us three days; for though the access is difficult to pirates, to whom, for our sins, no length of distance is long, yet the weakness of the place, and the small number of men fit to resist, kindles the avidity of the rapacious, especially as we are surrounded with woods through which they can easily escape."‡ Let us examine that part only which contains the property of the abbey, and we shall find that even the monastic treasures partook of an Homeric character—

* Chronic. Monast. S. Bertini, p. ii. cap. i. c. vii. ap. Martene, Thes. Anecdot. iii.
† Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 289. ‡ Lupi Epist. cx.

Gems, marbles, ivory, pictures, silver, precious vestments—

Sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curet habere.

The monks, and in ages of faith, many of those who visited them, verified the latter part of this line. When Pope Paschal came into France, say the chronicles, he visited the abbey of St. Denis, where he was received most solemnly; but a wonderful and memorable example did he leave on this occasion to all present and future, for he did not deign so much as to look at either gold or silver, or ornament of precious stones, which are in the abbey, but only prostrated himself devoutly and wept before the holy bodies as one who offered himself wholly to God and to his saints.*

Supposing the reader, nevertheless, ever so devout, I do beseech him now to raise up his eyes a little, and survey with me for a moment "bags of fiery opals, sapphires, amethysts, jacinths, hard topaz, grass-green emeralds, beauteous rubies, sparkling diamonds, and seld-seen costly stones, of so great price as one of them indifferently rated may serve in peril of calamity to ransom great kings from captivity."

"I delight," says Cardan, "in little instruments of ingenuity, in gems, in vessels, in brass and silver canisters, and in glass globes."† He would be delighted here then, where he would find so many exquisite things like that chalice in the treasury of St. Gall, ex electro, miro opere, or those cups in that of St. Maurice, composed of agates and alabaster; though sooth, at first, notwithstanding the authority of so profound a philosopher in favor of them, one cannot but wonder to find such objects in such a place; for though they are all gifts, yet being as unsuitable presents to monks as horses would have been to the prince of Ithaca,‡ the question still recurs how came they here? Their intrinsic value, however, explains the difficulty; for that rendered them, it was thought, worthy offerings to testify the piety of the donors. Thus Catherine of Lorraine, who preferred the quality of Benedictine nun to that of wife of the emperor Maximilian, gave to the Benedictine monastery of the holy-sacrament, at Nancy, which she founded, all the jewels that had been given to her by princes. I do not deny, but immemorial custom, and traces perhaps of ancient manners, to the influence of which, in some degree, men, in spite of themselves, continued to be subject, may sometimes have dictated the choice of objects. The usual gifts bestowed by Homer's heroes to their parting guests were golden cups and goblets. Menelaus says, he will give Telemachus the most beautiful and honorable present, a cup of silver circled with gold at the brim, the work of Vulcan; and then he mentions through how many princely owners' hands it has passed to his own.§ In monasteries we find cups and goblets thus presented, and a careful record kept of the history of each. Thus Witlafius, king of the Mercians, in his charter to the monastery of Crowland, in 833,

* Chroniques de St. Denis, ad an. 1107.

† Hier. Card. de Vita Propria, Lib. ii. c. 8.

‡ iv.

§ xv. 114.

among other gifts says, "I offer to the refectory the horn of my table, 'ut senses monasterii bibant inde in festis sanctorum, et in suis benedictionibus meminerint aliquando animæ donatoris Witlafii.'"* Charles the Bald "gave to the abbey of St. Denis le Hanap Salomon," supposed to have belonged to king Solomon, "which is of pure gold," says the chronicle of St. Denis, "and of fine emeralds and fine grains so marvellously worked, that in all the kingdoms of the world there was never so subtle a work."†

The hanap which the sultan of Persia, Aaroun, sent to Charlemagne, was in the abbey of the Madeleine, at Châteaudun. The abbey of St. Riquier, in the eighth century, possessed thirteen hanaps. In the abbey of Stavelot Dom Martene saw a golden cup, which Wibaldus had brought from Constantinople. These cups in very ancient times were used on great occasions in the refectory, not for the purpose of drinking to the saints—a custom anathematized by the council of Nantes, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, writing against such a profanation, and Charlemagne prohibiting it in his capitularies‡—but for festivity at great banquets, such as Dom Martene describes as having been given by the holy and humble abbot of Corby, in Saxony, on the day of his own arrival there, on occasion of the dedication of a chapel, when he remarked that whenever the abbot drank to the health of any one, the person, whatever might be his rank, stood up while he drank.§ The use of such goblets, however, did not even imply so much of festivity; for Salomon, abbot of St. Gall, who died in 920, who used to drink only water at meal-times, drank, nevertheless, out of a heavy golden goblet, set round with jewels, corresponding to the basin in his bed-chamber, which was a most exquisite work of old Greek art. In the treasury, moreover, the sacred vessels were also placed; respecting each of which there was often some curious history or tradition. Let us take an instance: In the time of blessed Henry, emperor, there was in Germany a certain blind man, who, being moved by what he heard preached, that he who left anything for God, should receive an hundredfold, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his wife, gave his cow to the poor. Soon afterwards, going as usual to matins, his foot struck against something; so, stooping down, he found a bag on the ground, which was small but heavy. On returning home he gave it to his wife, who opened it, and found it was full of gold; part of which she kept, carrying the rest to a goldsmith, who purchased it from her, pretending that it was only brass. Now it happened that St. Henry came to that city at this time, and one of his servants lost a gold spur. This man, fearing for the result, went to the same goldsmith, and purchased from him another in its stead. The emperor, however, perceived that one of his spurs was new, and inquired the cause; when the whole history was brought to light, as the emperor sent for the smith, and inquired respecting the quality of the gold, which,

* Hist. Ingulphi, p. 9. † Ad an. 877.

‡ Le Grand d'Aussy, Hist. de la Vie Privée des François, iii, 316. § Voyage Lit. i. 257.

after hearing the story, he concluded was celestial. Taking the gold from the blind man's wife, he gave them in exchange for it the villa which is now called Plinlendroff, and of the gold he caused to be made an immense chalice, with two handles, which he gave to the church of blessed Laurence, at Aystedt; and with this chalice mass used to be offered for the emperor's soul after his death. This is shown once a year on Maunday-Thursday.*

The ancient ex votos, could the history attached to them be all known, would be a study in itself not a little curious and edifying. "I remember," says the historian of the abbey of Monte Sereno, or Lauterberg, "having heard one of our brethren say, that the person who brought the silver ship, and offered it at the altar, mentioned at the time that he had been delivered from a great tempest."† How many affecting memorials of heaven's mercy and of man's injustce are treasured here, could we but read them right! but the mysterious tale is only half-disclosed, and sealed is now each lip that could have told it.

The riches of the monasteries in plate arose from the prodigious quantity of gold and silver which existed in the middle ages, a large part of which passed to them in the way of offerings from the devotion of the lay nobility. The Comte de Foix, in 1457, gave a banquet, at which were twelve tables of seven services each, and for each service there were 140 silver plates. Le Grand d'Aussy remarks, that Louis XIV. could show nothing comparable to the riches in this respect of King Charles V., an inventory of whose plate still exists.‡ When Louis-le-Gros died, he left all his gold and silver plate to be distributed among different abbeys. Philippe-Auguste by his last will left to the abbey of St. Denis all his jewels, precious stones, and crosses of gold, on condition that twenty monks should there daily say mass for his soul. The curious drinking horns and vases, mounted on stags, and lions, and boars, used by kings, were often left to monasteries. Henry V. gave a gold service, representing Agincourt, Honfleur, and other places where he had triumphed, to the convent of Sion, which was only melted down within late years by some London Jews, to whom it had been pledged for money to supply the necessities of that poor community during their abode in Lisbon. In the annals of Corby, under the date of 1171, we read, "Henry de Aslob, in honor of the twelve Apostles, gave to St. Vitus twelve cups, each with the effigy of an Apostle, and Othelricus de Svalenberg gave a silver goose on the feast of St. Martin for fraternity."§ "These peices of plate in abbeys," says Le Grand d'Aussy, "were never used by the monks, but they were preserved in the treasury among other curiosities which used to be shown on certain days and hours." The abbey of St. Riquier in the eighth century possessed, besides these hanaps already spoken of, knives adorned with gold and jewels, and a

* Anon. Leobiensis Chronic. Lib. i. An. mviii. ap. Pez, Script. Rer. Austriac. 1.

† Chronicon Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. 11.

‡ Hist. de la Vie Privée des Francois, iii. 262. § An. Corb. ap. Leibnitz Script. Bruns. iii.

silver inkstand. Similar presents used to be shown in the convent of Fontanelle, and in many other religious houses. The monastery of Fleury sent many pieces of plate, amongst which were two candelabras weighing 30 marks, to Louis-le-Jeune, when he was to set out for the Holy Land.

"Charles the Bald," says the chronicle of St. Denis, "gave to the martyrs his great imperial crown, which on grand festivals is suspended before the high altar, with the crowns of other kings."*

The kings of France in general left their crown to the abbey of St. Denis. "Siconolf," says the historian of Mount-Cassino, "carried off the treasures of the abbey, consisting of the rich presents of Kings Charles and Pepin, of Karlomann and Louis, and others—in form of chalices and patens, crowns and crosses, phials and vases, and precious ornaments, and 130 pounds of the purest gold, and silk with gold and gems, besides the golden crown of his father, admirably adorned with carbuncles, and a quantity of gold and silver coin."†

When the Danes arrived at the abbey of Peterborough, in 1070, they took away the golden crown in the church, embellished with gems, from the head of the crucifix, and the golden stool, set also with gems, from beneath its feet, two golden biers, and nine others of silver, adorned with gold and gems, and twelve crosses, some of gold and others of silver, gilt and gemmed, and an antipendium, all of gold and silver and precious stones.

In the monastery of Ripon were four Gospels, written on a purple ground in letters of gold, enclosed in a golden casket, which had been ordered by St. Wilfrid. The furniture for St. Ina's famous chapel in the abbey of Glastonbury, the construction of which cost 2600 pounds of silver, while the value of the altar was estimated at 264 pounds of gold, was suitable to its splendor. The covers of the Gospels were of gold, above twenty pounds in weight. The priest's vestments interwoven with gold, and cunningly ornamented with precious stones. The treasury of Crowland abbey was equally remarkable. We read of one abbot of St. Alban's, Simon Langham, giving to that abbey at one time copes, vestments, and other ornaments, to the value of 437 pounds. The chalices, remonstrances, crosses, shrines, and binding of books, which the Lutheran plunderers found in the abbey of St. Gall, in 1532, were of immense value, and many of these objects had been in the abbey 600 years.

We may observe that many things also, of pure curiosity, existed in the treasuries of abbeys. Torquemade, who delights in the marvellous, says, that the Franciscans of a convent in Valencia possessed some enormous bones, which Synforian Campegio, who saw them, supposed to be those of a giant. No doubt in many monasteries fossil remains, and other objects of great natural curiosity, were preserved from ancient times, but things historical were chiefly regarded. In the treasury of the abbey of the Isle Barbe was preserved the horn of Roland, which

* Ad an. 877.

† Chronic. S. Monast. Casinensis, c. 20.

the head of the family of Mont-d'or, who believed itself descended from him, enjoyed the privilege of exposing once every year. The chess-board and men of Charlemagne, were preserved for many ages in the abbey of St. Denis. Innumerable precious works of art came into the monasteries of the west on the taking of Constantinople, in 1204, by the crusaders. In the abbey of Rheinau was a wooden cross, nine inches high, cut out of a single piece, which showed in more than 100 figures the chief passages of our Saviour's life, with Greek inscriptions added, which the monks then acquired.

What curious and precious works of art were in the monastery of St. Florentine, of Saumur, in 1004! The abbot Robert, who was a diligent inquirer, obtained a multitude of unheard-of ornaments, great screens of wool, which were extended in the choir on high solemnities, representing scenes from the Apocalypse, curtains and tapestry covered with figures of great lions in the fields of blood, and others with white borders, in which were beasts and birds: he also made two shields of wondrous size and beauty. The abbot Mathew also made two dorsals, and abbot Adhebert is said to have made two silver candelabras.*

Among the inestimable treasures of jewels in the abbey of St. Stephen, at Troyes, Dom Martene saw the Psalter of Count Henry, the founder of that abbey, written in letters of gold, still fresh after more than 800 years. In the treasury of Cîteaux he remarked the ancient breviaries of the monks, written in small letters, on little movable sheets, for the purpose of being given in parts to monks who travelled. He saw there also the chair which belonged to St. Bernard when he was a novice. In the abbey of St. Maximin, at Treves, he says is a text of the Gospels in letters of gold, covered with inestimable jewels, a present from the Princess Ada, daughter of King Pepin, sister of Charlemagne, at the end of which are these verses in uncial letters:

'Hic liber est vitæ, paradisi, et quatuor amnes,
Clara salutiferi pandens miracula Christi,
Quæ plus ob nostram voluit fecisse salutem:
Quem devota Deo jussit prescribere mater
Ada ancilla Dei, pulchrisque ornare metallis,
Pro qua, quisque legat versus, orare memento."

In the abbey of St. Riquier he saw a text of the Gospels in golden letters, on purple vellum, given to St. Angilbert by Charlemagne, and also the original manuscript chronicle of the monastery by Hariulfe.

We may observe, that the very charters and letters preserved in old monasteries possessed a high degree of interest, "Please it you to understand," writes one of Cromwell's miserable agents, "that in the reading of the muniments and charters of the house of Ramsey, I found a charter of King Edgar, written in a very antique Roman hand, hardly to be read at the first sight. I am sure you would delight to

* Chronic Turonense ap. Martene Vet. Script. v.

see the same, for the strangeness and antiquity thereof." In monasteries there were often preserved the letters of ancient kings and great men. Thus the Dominicans, at Barcelona, possessed a letter, in the hand writing of St. Louis, to father Francis de Cendra.* The famous charter, de Libertatibus Comitatus Devon., granted by King John, and its confirmation by his son Henry III., were preserved in the abbey of Tavistock.†

In the abbey of St. Germain-des-Près was preserved the charter of its foundation by Clotaire, or a very ancient copy of it, and a diploma to the abbey of St. Denis in the seventh century, both of which I have seen in the archives of the hotel Soubise. Both are legible, the original material having been cemented in later times upon a kind of cloth. Many of the diplomas, however, published by the Benedictines, are only copies ; for Louis-le-Debonnaire authorized several abbeys to write out afresh their charters, though some real original diplomas unquestionably exist. Such is that of Clovis to the abbey of St. Denis on papyrus, so carefully preserved in the treasury of that abbey, and but rarely shown. On this is the signature of Eligius, St. Eloy, in great Roman characters. Muratori, speaking of the eleventh century, remarks a laudable custom of those rude ages, as he terms them, when any doubt existed as to the authencity of a charter ; an accurate examination of it was instituted by the judges. The form of character —the date—the signs—were all considered ; and if the diploma were proved to be a forgery, it was cut with a knife to prevent it from being ever again used.‡

But the most interesting objects preserved in the treasuries of abbeys were undoubtedly the vestments, clalices, or books which had belonged to the eminent saints who had either lived or occasionally resided within their walls.

In the abbey of Bobbio one saw the coffin, the chalice, the holy staff, and the missal of St. Columban, its founder ; in the abbey of St. Gall, before the heretics plundered it in the fifteenth century, the bones of St. Gall and of Constance ; in the abbey of Einsiedelin those of St. Othmar and St. Notker, which had been removed thither by the monks, to escape destruction, in the night between the 23rd and 24th of February.

" In the abbey of Stavelo," says Dom Martene, " we saw in the treasury the chasuble, stole, manipule, sandals, cowl, and comb of St. Remacle, whose body is here enshrined. I was greatly moved at seeing his cowl. It is of course stuff, brown, and all patched. It was the habit of a man who appeared with such eclat in the court of our kings, and who renounced his see to live in penance in this solitude. The form is that of the ancient chasuables, covering the whole body, and without sleeves. It is the most precious monument of antiquity of the kind that we possess."§

In the convent of Chelle, on the Marne, he saw the chalice of St. Eloy, which

* Touron. Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. i. 5.

† Oliver, Historic Collections relating to the Monasteries of Devon.

‡ Antiquit. It. Dissert. v. § Voyage Lit. ii.

was nearly half a foot deep, and the same in diameter. In the abbey of Clairvaux he said mass with the chalice of St. Bernard, and with that of St. Malachy, both of them small, not half a foot in height, but the cup is large, though shallow. "On St. Edmond's day," he says, "I said mass under the shrine of the saint in the abbey of Pontigni, with his chasuable, which is wholly round at the bottom. I had the consolation also to see his sacred body, which God had preserved without corruption. His head is bare, and he is clothed in his pontifical habits. His body is white. In the treasury I saw also his pastoral ring, the chalice and paten with which he was buried, and also his goblet. Here also are shown the pontifical vestments of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the chapel in which he used to pray, and where he had a revelation of his martyrdom." It was at Troyes that he saw the rochet of St. Thomas, of fine linen, in the form of a great tunic, on which were marks of his brains.

These bodies of saints constituted the most valued relics which monasteries possessed. These were the treasures which attracted the devout pilgrims from every side, who were drawn into these solitudes by the memory of some man of holy humility and austere penance. Indeed, so great did this attraction prove, that many abbots and monks were unwilling that their monasteries should be so enriched, lest the concourse of pilgrims in consequence should disturb the tranquillity of their secluded life. St. Cuthbert, in his dying discourse to the monks who came to Farne Isle to visit him, said, "I would rather be buried in this island: and I think it would be even better for yourselves that I should rest here, because of the numbers who will claim sanctuary. Whatever I may be in myself, yet, as I shall be remembered, as a servant of Christ, they will flock to my body; so that you will be compelled to intercede for them with the powerful of the earth, and will, consequently, be subject to much trouble on my account." It is a fact, that in many monasteries the monks were obliged to celebrate their office in a chapel separate from their great church, in consequence of the multitude that flocked to it through reverence for holy relics. Thus within the cloisters of St. Gall there was also St. Peter's chapel, in which the divine office was sung; for in the great church it would not have been possible, from the crowd of pilgrims to the shrine of St. Gall. The capitularies, from the year 794 to 798, at Frankfort, actually prescribe, that in all monasteries containing the body of a saint there should be built a chapel adjoining for the divine office.*

"There is a devout house of our order," says the Carthusian Sutorus, "in the diocese of Mans, founded by the noble family of Alençon. Gaufrid of Mans, who lies buried there, shone with miracles, so that multitudes flocked to his tomb; and while I was in that monastery it was in consequence deliberated whether that blessed and canonized pontiff should not be transferred elsewhere."† The incon-

* Ildefons, Von Arx Geschichte, des S. Gall. i. 63.

† Pet. Sut. de Vita Carthusiana, liv. ii. Tract. iii. c. 6.

venience must have been grievous when such a question could be discussed, seeing the immense value attached to such treasures.

Indeed the possession of these holy bodies was regarded as furnishing an additional incentive, to all who dwelt under the same roof, to be on their guard against any spirit that would derogate from the peace and sanctity of the monastic state "Beware," says Petrarch to Brother James, the Augustinian friar of Padua, "how you forget or disgrace the glorious name of Augustin, and the sacred delights of the eremiticial life of so many devout, religious men: but remember that under the same roof with you repose the venerable bones of that Augustin, and let his image be ever present to your imagination, and, as it were, a witness of all your actions and words, that you may fear in presence of such a witness to offend Christ the Lord, who is his and your master, as of us all."*

Any wilful misrepresentation as to the authenticity of particular relics was deemed a crime of the deepest dye. Speaking of an attempt at Ratisbon to claim the possession of relics which were elsewhere, the chronicles of St. Denis use this expression. "They forgot the fear of the Lord."†

Having, in the third book, explained the discipline of the Church in regard to this devotion, we need not delay now to hear the cavils or the sneers of the wrong-headed men who systematically oppose the veneration which she pays them. "I could never understand," says Michelet, "the disdain of the Protestants for relics. These were great historical testimonies. In the abbey of St. Denis the history of France was thus related by relics. Here was a portion of the real cross, given to Philip Augustus by the Greek emperor when Constantinople was taken by the Crusaders. Here were relics of St. John the Baptist, given by the emperor Heraclitus to Dagobert. Here were the head of St. Denis, the head of St. Hilary of Poictiers, the cross and sceptre of Charlemagne, the chalice used by Suger, that true founder of the Capetian monarchy, the crown and ring of St. Lewis, and a portion of his bones."

But it is wrong to speculate on the errors of these unhappy men in such a place. Let us fall upon our knees, and behold with reverence what is now to be unfolded. In the treasury of the abbey of Clairvaux, where most of the relics were presents from the emperors of Constantinople, Dom Martene was shown the skulls of St. Bernard and of St. Malachy. But only observe how rich in such holy treasures were once the English monasteries.

In Saxon histories there is a long catalogue of places in which the bodies of saints rest. Thus it says:—St. Augustin, who preached the faith to the English nation, rests in the church of St. Peter, in Canterbury, now the Augustins', with the holy bishops Laurence, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius; and in the church of Christ, within the walls, rest the holy archbishops Dunstan, Odo, Ethelgar, and Elphegus; in Rochester, rests St. Paulinus, archbishop of York; in London, St.

* Epist. Lib. x. 17.

† Ad an. 1050.

Erconwald and St. Theodred; in Abingdon, St. Vincentius; in Winchester, in the old monastery, St. Swithin, and St. Ethelwald, and St. Birinus, and St. Hedda, and St. Birstan, bishops, and St. Justus, martyr; and in the new monastery, St. Grymbald, priest, and St. Judoc, confessor; in Teignmouth, St. Oswin, king; in Durham, St. Cuthbert, bishop; in Beverly, St. John, bishop, and Bretun, abbot; in Wynchelcumbe, St. Kenelm, martyr; in Derby, St. Alhmundus, martyr; in Lichfield, St. Cedda; in Sherburne, St. Wulsius, bishop; in Hereford, St. Egelbrith, king; in Malmesbury, St. Aldelm, bishop; in Tamworth, St. Edgitha; in Ramsey, St. Merewen and St. Ealfled, abbess, and queen, St. Baltilda; in Coventry, St. Osburga; in Ripon, St. Wylfrid, and St. Acca, and St. Egelsig; in Ely, St. Etheldritha, and St. Withburga, and St. Ermenilda, and St. Sexburga; in Oxford, St. Fretheswyth; in Ramsay, St. Yvo and St. Felix, bishops, and St. Ethelred and St. Ethelbrith, martyrs, and St. Egelfled, queen; in Thorney, St. Athulfus, and St. Firmin, St. Herefridus, bishops, and St. Bothulf, abbot, and St. Benedict, abbot of Weremouth, St. Tisse and Hune, priests, and St. Tancred, and St. Torhred, hermits, and St. Tova, virgin; in Croyland, St. Guthlac, priest; in Shaftesbury, St. Edward, king and martyr, and St. Elgiva, queen; in Melrose, St. Drihthelm; in Thanet, St. Ermengytha.

"Hæc propter utilitatem legentium inseruimus," adds the historian, "ut qui aliquem sanctum adire voluerit, sciat quo eum requirat."

Of the zeal and ingenuity of the Crusaders in acquiring relics, when Constantinople was taken in 1204, there are many curious details in the chronicles of the monasteries to which they gave them. Henry of Ulm, speaking of a particle of the cross which he has given to an abbey, says, "that it is the treasure above all earthly possessions the dearest to his heart."

The bare sight of these relics was acknowledged as a divine favor, with pious gratitude. Thus another exclaims, "Per omnia benedictus Deus qui mihi, servo suo licet indigno et fragili peccatori fere in senio jam existenti, divina pietas videre concessit!"* The chronicles of St. Denis, describing the Emperor Charles IV., visiting the relics of the abbey and of the holy chapel, say, that being unable to walk, he caused himself to be carried, with great pain and suffering, before the shrine; that he joined his hands and wept, and prayed long, and with great devotion; and then, supported on the arms of his attendants, approached and kissed it.† He declared to the university of Paris, that his chief object in visiting France was to behold these relics; and accordingly, the king intimated to the abbots whose houses he visited, that it was his desire to be received as a pilgrim come to venerate them. Of the relics which Abbot Martin sent to Paris, Otho, of St. Blase, says, "these shed lustre upon all Germany and Alsace;" and Gunther says, "by the coming of these, all Throtonia began to be counted by men more glorious, and by God more happy."‡

* Rigord, c. 48. † Ad an. 1378. ‡ Ap. Hurter, 25.

The monks of Fossa Nuova, though Cistercians, would not have consented that the body of St. Thomas, who had died there, should be translated to the convent of his order in Toulouse, if it had not been in consideration that the relics of St. Dominick, the apostle of the south of France, were in Italy, at Bologna. It being resolved secretly to remove the body of St. John of the Cross from Ubede, where he died, to Segovia, an officer of the court arrived by night at the monastery, and, having desired an audience of the father prior, for a matter of the greatest consequence, he intimated to him the order of which he was the bearer; by which he was enjoined, on pain of excommunication, to take up the body secretly, without apprising any one of what was to be done. This was an unexpected blow to the prior. Nevertheless, to obey the first superior, he took the necessary measures; so that, when every one in the monastery was asleep, he went down into the church, accompanied by the officer and two monks, whom he had bound over to secrecy under the same penalty as that under which he lay himself, and, when all was arranged, they opened the grave. The saint had been dead a year: but, lo! the body was still perfect, and the flesh undecayed. As his bones only were demanded, the prior concluded that it was impossible to effect the object intended, at that time; so, having covered the body with quicklime, they placed it again in the grave, and sent back the officer to report what had been done. After nine months he returned; and, with the same precautions as before, the grave was opened, and the body, which was still perfect, being only dried up by the lime, was placed in a leather case, and committed to him. This man left the monastery about midnight, and, it is said, that strange visions were seen by many the same hour. One monk was so impressed with a conviction of what was passing, that he left his cell and came down to the church; but he found the prior standing at the door, who refused to let him enter, and desired him to return to his cell, and bury his suspicions within his bosom. The officer, who bore the body to Segovia, declared, that, after leaving Ubede, while passing the desert mountain, he heard many voices, which he thought could not be human, and that he was greatly terrified.*

When Heloise wrote to Peter the Venerable, requesting that the body of Abelard might be interred in her convent, according to his own desire, long before intimated, the monks of Cluny, who had seen the sanctity and fervor of his last years, esteemed it so valuable a treasure, that they would have opposed their abbot if they had suspected that he would comply. Peter, therefore, promised to grant her request; but on condition of her keeping his intention secret, and leaving the choice of the time to him, as it was an affair of difficulty. The summer and autumn passed; but, some days after All Saints, the abbot of Cluny went to the priory of St. Marcel, on pretence of making the usual visit; and then, one night, while the monks reposed, he caused the body of Abelard to be raised up, and immediately set off with it, and arrived at Paraclet on the sixteenth of Nov-

* Vie par le P. Dosithée, Lib. viii.

ember. But who can describe the joy and the sorrow of Heloise, when she heard the lugubrious chants of the choir on the entrance of the body into the church? The abbot of Cluny sung high mass: after which he made a pathetic exhortation; and then the body was placed in the vault, half of which was without the sanctuary, and half in the nun's choir. The abbot left the convent full of holy affection for Heloise and for the community, which he associated in a spiritual society with Cluny. After this solemnity no more is heard of Heloise. The pen falling from her hand, she writes no more letters, bu 'passes the remaining twenty-two years of her life in the exercise of penitence, and in the wise and holy government of Paraclet, which became under her the ornament of the Church of France, and an example to all the monasteries of the age.

With respect to the material value associated with these relics, it will be sufficient to observe, that these were contained in shrines or reliquaries which were often prodigies of art. Dom Bouillart, in his history of the abbey of St. Germain-du-Près, has given engravings to represent the form of some of the most ancient that were in the treasury of that abbey. The body of St. Brigit, at Kildare, was overhung with gold and silver crowns; and the relics of St. Columba, which the abbot of Ioua removed for safety to Ireland, in 830, are stated to have been enclosed in a shrine of gold. But the monk, with an angelic smile, waves us on: lo! it is the church we are entering.

CHAPTER VIII.

"DOMINE, qui operati sunt justitiam, habitabunt in tabernaculo tuo, et requiescent in monte sancto tuo." How solemn are these first sounds, and what joyful fervency is excited at the spectacle which presents itself! The churches of the monasteries have never a neglected air, as if those who served them had forgotten that care about minutiæ is the peculiar mark of an intense and reverent affection. The monks deemed that "there could be no nobler task for a rational being than that of providing, with the most punctilious exactness, for the due celebration of the Creator's worship; and no worthier dedication of the offerings of nature, and the devices of art, all alike his gift, than in the adorning of his earthly dwelling-place." No tepidity penetrates, as an atmosphere, into their churches? No cold, dead, formal sounds, falling on the ear more monotonous than the drop of rain in the pool of a grotto, indicate a substitution there of custom, void of soul, for religious fervor and

active zeal, ministering to the desires of the interior life! "The variety of holy observances dispels weariness and apathy," says St. Bernard, alluding to the offices in the abbey of St. Denis, after the conversion of Suger, which had led to the reform of the whole community.* The words which I read in the abbey church of Einsiedelin,—"Verè Dominus est in isto loco,"—seem only to express what is uppermost on the tongue of all who enter the church of a religious order. What is also singularly striking in them is that profound silence, that extraordinary respect, observed. Nothing can be more impressive than to see the community assembled,—that profound recollection; those kisses of peace; those low salutations, which the monks make to each other; that general prostration; those foreheads in the dust, when the bell announces the opening of the door of the tabernacle in which the Lamb without spot reposes:—all that produces a great effect, and speaks a language of the soul which it understands, and seldom hears elsewhere.

"Incidence to be noted," says the chronicler of St. Denis: "it happened, at his time, that a man who had quite lost his senses returned to a right memory in the church of this abbey."† Rightly, he does not affirm it a miracle, but an incidence. In effect, to account for it by secondary causes would not be impossible. It was not unprecedented either. In the chronicle of Mount-Cassino we read that a mad woman, who used to wander through mountains and valleys, woods and fields, by day and by night, never resting except when compelled by exhaustion, coming one day to the oratory of St. Benedict, was from that hour restored to a sane mind.‡ What strikes one so in these monastic churches,—what soothes and inspires such delicious calm,—was, not the material, but the living temple; not the vista of arches and columns, but the man of cowl adoring. While in the monastic churches it must be remembered, that all which was visible was only a type and shadow of what really existed within the minds of the men who served them. The soul of the monk was the interior temple, of which, the visible was only a material development.

After the solemn consecration of the church of the monastery of Cava, by Pope Urban II., on the fifth of September, in 1092, in presence of Duke Roger, and all the people of Salerno,—of which, there is such a splendid and curious account in Muratori,—the pomp being finished, the pontiff, with the cardinals and Duke Roger, returned to the cloister; and then, having assembled all the monks, the pope spoke to them as follows:—

"Vidistis dilectissimi—You have seen, my beloved, how many sacred unctions, how many ceremonial rites, and how many prayers we used, while this house, by the ministry of our humility, was dedicated to the Lord: all which things, without doubt, were done for your sake, and for the sake of all who are to come after you, to the end of time; in whom will be spiritually fulfilled the things

* St. Bern. Epist. 78. † Ad an. 1193. ‡ Chron. Cas. 86.

which this day have been foreshadowed on these walls: for what has now been done in the visible house, Jesus Christ daily works in the souls of the faithful. For these are known to be truly and really the temples of the Holy Ghost. You, O my sons! are the temple of the living God; as the Apostle said, 'The temple of God is holy, which you are.' Consider, therefore, in your minds, brethren, how great is the dignity of a devout monk, whom God hath led from the boisterous waves of the world into the calm port of religion, that the eye of his mind being purged by the monastic discipline, he may the more easily perceive how all human things are narrow, mortal, and full of error and of vanity; and although still on earth, he is nevertheless celestial, and already, in a certain manner, associated with the blessed. For these are the true ornaments, these are the admirable insignia, of monks. Therefore,hold fast what you possess, that no one may take away your crown; and, dearest brethren, since you cannot in the way of authority, at least by your prayers, assist us to bear our burden, and condole with us with the affection of piety."

Then the brethren having been admitted to kiss his feet, the Serene Duke, and all who had accompanied him, returned to Salerno.*

Monks were men of prayer; and perhaps that is to include all in one word. "Consider," says St. Thomas, "what a felicity is granted to you in prayer, to speak with God, to engage in conversation with Christ, to choose what you wish, and to ask what you desire."† With all this, we must take into account the saintly and impressive looks of the monks and friars, the solemn historical recollections awakened by the sight of their holy abbot; the effect produced by observing them pass, now seen, now lost, as they glide under arched cloisters to or from the interior of the convent; and the feeling which arises from it, that one is thus admitted to catch a glimspe of the domestic life of the meek men of God, who think upon the ancient days, and have in mind the eternal years; who meditate by night with their heart, and exercise and search their spirit. All this acted powerfully on the imagination. The pavement of these churches was thought to burn under the feet of evil men, if they dared to enter them.‡

The annals of Corby, in Saxony, relate, under the date of 1415, that Justin Strober, a devout rustic among the peasants of Stahl, would never enter the church unless barefooted, through reverence for the holy place.§ Donizo, the Benedictine, says, that one day the great Boniface, duke of Tuscany, came to the abbey of Pomposa; and, when assisting at the divine office, from a lofty tribune, though not with a proud heart, looking on the choir, he saw the faces of all the boys fixed upon the ground, while sweetly singing the Hours; and having asked why they stood so immoveable, he was told by the monks that they always stood so: then he gave secret orders that some one should go on the roof of the church, and

* Rer. It. Script. tom. vi.

† ii. 2. 9. 83. a. 2 ad 3.

‡ Cæsar. Heist. Illust. Mirac. xi. 54.

§ Ap. Leibnitz Script. Bruns. Illust.

throw down pieces of money. And, lo! when ten livres fell with a great noise upon the pavement, in the midst of the choir, the eyelids of the boys were never raised, and no one stirred to touch the money.*

When Othgar the Paladin, that glorious hero and friend of Charlemagne, had resolved upon leaving the world and embracing a religious life, he made a journey, for the purpose of visiting, as a strange pilgrim, various monasteries, in order that he might judge with his own eyes where the regular discipline was best observed. For this purpose he procured a staff, to which were attached many little thongs of leather, and at the end of each thong was an iron ball, which he used to let fall with violence upon the pavement of whatever monastery he entered; artfully and diligently remarking whether the monks, at the sound of this staff, would lightly turn round through vanity of mind. Having in this manner visited many monasteries, he found, it is said, nowhere such absence of vanity as in that of St. Faro: for there, when he had dashed the appendages of his staff upon the pavement, and made a prodigious noise, not one of the monks moved, or turned round to see what was the matter, with a mind recalled from the intention of devotion, excepting one boy, who was shortly after struck with the wand of discipline, and made to return with his eyes from that distraction. The behavior of this society appeared the most strict; and there, accordingly, he assumed the habit of a monk, where he lived in great sanctity till his death. His tomb, of which Mabillion gives an engraving, was one of the greatest curiosities in that monastery.†

Nothing could exceed the magnificence of the monastic churches in the middle ages. We have already remarked the prodigious scale on which many of them were built. No less striking was the elegance of their architecture. The pillars in the church in the abbey of Lobbe, in the country of Liege, were so slender, that the duke of Alba, coming there, did not dare to enter the church, lest the vault should fall on him, and exclaimed, "this will be the monks' tomb."‡ Dagobert I. covered that of the abbey of St. Denis, on the outside, with fine silver, as the chronicles record.§ What must have been its brightness within? The riches of the church of this abbey, the splendor of its altars, the beauty of its paintings and mosaics, are all described in detail by the abbot Suger. Desiderius, the abbot of Mount-Cassino, brought over artists from Constantinople to adorn the church of that abbey with precious mosiacs, tessellated pavement, stained glass, and paintings, besides which, the man of all prudence caused the boys of the monastery to be taught by these artists, in order that the art should never afterwards be lost in Italy.‖ In the twenty-fourth dissertation of Muratori on the Antiquities of Italy, many details may be found on this subject; but one cannot open any monastic chronicle without meeting with striking instances. The an-

* Vita Mathildis, Lib. 1. c. 14. ap Murator. Rer. Italic. Script. v.
† Acta S. Ord. Benedict. Sæcul. iv. pars i. ‡ Voyage Lit. de Deux Bénéd.
§ Liv. v. c. 9. ‖ Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. Lib. iii. c. 29.

nals of Corby, in Saxony, under date of 1330, record that John de Stienburg gave to that abbey figures of the twelve apostles, as large as life.* Images of this kind were often of solid silver. "In the church," says St. Bernard, "are not only crowns, but wheels, studded with jewels, and surrounded with lamps, shining no less with precious stones than with their lights. For candelabras we see immense trees of brass, fabricated with wondrous art, and not shining more with lights than with the jewels set in them. The pavement is full of images of saints and angels, and inlaid with beautiful colors. Perhaps this is well, according to the prophet, 'Domine, dilexi decorem domus tuæ.' We may suffer this in the church, because, although they are injurious to the vain and avaricious, they are harmless to the simple and devout.†

We read that Immo, abbot of St Gall, began, and nearly finished the golden tablet which is before the altar of St. Gall, which is more precious for the art employed in it than for the materials."‡ The walls of this abbey church were painted and inlaid with gold. The high altar was covered with gold, and ten other altars were of silver. The splendor with which the divine worship was celebrated in monasteries corresponded to this magnificence. We read of the same abbot, that he also made the chasubles, in one of which our Lord's ascension is wrought in gold, and in another is woven with divine images. Similarly he provided the golden stoles and dalmatics, and other ecclesiastical ornaments, finished with such subtle skill; and so many other things he did, that there is no prince in the world in our age who, in so short a time, could accomplish so many magnificent works. "Whence," demands Burkhard, "could he have such a weight of gold so many pearls, such precious purple, so many subtle workmen?"§ One remonstrance in the abbey of Einsiedelin contained 2,911 pearls, 595 diamonds, 38 saphires, 154 emeralds, 857 carbuncles, 26 hyacinths, and 19 amethysts. It was of solid gold, and eleven years of work were required to make it.‖ In the ninth and tenth centuries nothing was spared to add grandeur to the divine worship in St. Gall. The same attention was paid to it in the abbey of St. Denis, after it had embraced the reform under Suger. On certain festivals sixty great wax candles used to be lighted round the high altar. In the abbey of Einsiedelin, before the holy chapel, sixteen enormous wax tapers, weighing ninety pounds each, used to burn day and night, at the expense of the Swiss cantons. Dagobert the First had established a rent of 100 livres for the lights of the abbey of St. Denis, to be furnished with the best oil from Marseilles; and Pepin added a privilege, that the six carts which were to convey it were to be exempt from all toll the whole way from that city to the abbey.¶ Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, gave to the monks of Ouches every year, at the beginning of Lent, 100 livres from his revenue of Alençon, for lights day and night in their church, before the figure of our Lord upon the cross.**

* Ap. Leibnitz.
† S. Bern. Apolog. ad Guillel. c. xii.
‡ Burkhard de Casibus S. Galli, cap. i.
§ Id. cap. i
‖ Regner, Chronique d'Eins. 78.
¶ Chroniques de St. Denis, v. 9.
** Ord. Vit. v.

And there was no monastery to which donations were not made for supporting the lamp,—that lamp, "whose narrow fire is shaken by the wind, and on whose edge devouring darkness hovers;— that small flame, which as a dying pulse rises and falls, still flickering up and down, was emblematic of our life, which even now thus wastes and sinks." The churches generally were brilliantly lighted in the time of Charlemagne. Aldric, bishop of Mans, ordained that every night there should burn in the elder church three lights of oil and one of wax, from vespers till sunrise; that during nocturns there should burn ten of oil and five of wax; but on Sundays and minor festivals, thirty of oil and five of wax should burn through the night, and on the greater festivals this number was to be tripled.* In adorning their churches with such magnificence the monks acted not without deep thoughts. "Let each one abound in his own sense," says Suger, "But I confess what most pleases me is that whatever is most dear and precious ought, above all, to be made subservient to the administration of the thrice holy Eucharist. Some oppose to us, that it suffices to bring to this administration a holy mind and a pure soul, and a faithful intention. And we also indeed hold that these are especially required. But we profess also, that on nothing so much as on this holy sacrifice ought all external nobleness to wait in conjunction with all interior purity; for in all things universally ought we decently to serve our Redeemer, who in all things universally, without exception, did not refuse to provide somewhat for us, who united under one admirable individual, our nature with his own, who promised that placing us on his right hand, He would grant us to possess his kingdom, who liveth and reigneth our Lord through all the ages of ages.† Dom Gervaise, abbot of La Trappe, praising Suger for the holy magnificence with which divine worship was celebrated in his abbey, adds, "I know indeed that St. Bernard declaimed against the splendor of ornaments in churches, and wished that men might be content with bringing a pure heart; but neither am I ignorant that all the saints were not of his opinion, as may be witnessed in St. Chrysostom."‡ If one can seek in these things to please his own vanity, one can also have a design to honor God; and it was with this intention that Suger spared no expense in providing for the pomp of worship. His own cell was as poor as those of the other monks; it had neither tapestry nor curtains, and he slept upon straw: he used no carriage or litter, but always travelled on horseback, even in his extreme old age. His table had all the simplicity of a monastic board, and two persons always sat with him when he dined.§

In some monasteries there were three distinct choirs of 100 monks each, with children, which succeeded each other in singing the divine praises. So that there was a perpetual psalmody night and day.‖ This was the case in the abbey of St. Medard at Soissons, founded by Clotaire I. in 557, one of the most celebrated ab-

* Gesta Aldrici ap. Baluze Miscellan. tom. i.

† Sug. Abb. Lib. de Rebus in Administratione sua gestis, ap. Duchesne, iv.

‡ Hom. 81, in Mat § Hist. de Suger, liv. vi. ‖ Gerbert de Cantu Sacra.

beys in the world, illustrious for the learning of its monks and the multitude of its saints, most of them of noble, and some of royal blood. Organs, which came into France first in 757,* and which some orders, as the Theatines, persisted in rejecting, were often built in the monasteries. Cardinal Bona says, that the Cistercian abbeys were celebrated for the grandeur of the divine music which resounded in their churches night and day. The offices were celebrated in them with such solemnity and devotion, that it seemed as if one heard there the voice of angels.† Men versed in liturgical antiquities were pleased with certain peculiar customs, vestiges of early times, which were found in the celebration of divine worship, in religious orders, as in the Carthusians and Dominicans, and in particular monasteries, as in that of St. Martin of Tours. Thus, in the abbey of St. Denis, there were practices observed since the time of the Merovingians. Such as the anthem Ante Evangelium, and that Venite Populi before the communion of the people: on certain festivals the communion was given in two kinds, by means of a tube, and the mass was sung in Greek.‡ In the abbey of St. Gall, also, on certain days, the Gloria, Credo, and Pater used to be sung in Greek, of which, the notes in music are still preserved; and in that of Paraclet mass had been sung in Greek on the feast of Pentecost, from the time of Heloissa. One of the rules of the Capuchins was, that in towns or cities where seculars can flow into churches to hear the divine office, on the three days of holy week, matins should be sung not in the evening, but at midnight, according to the custom of the ancient fathers.§

It was the custom at Cluny, for the priest who said mass, at the high altar, to administer the holy communion under the two kinds to the deacon and subdeacon, and two ministers, who served.‖ The Carthusians, instead of merely kneeling, prostrated themselves on the ground and kissed it, at the Homo factus est.¶ In the abbey of Mount-Cassino, as in the basilica of St. Paul at Rome, there were certain tones of the chant which differed from the Gregorian.** In the abbey of St. Gall the choral song was singularly solemn. It rose high and then sank into depth, unlike that in other places, which was more uniform.†† The proses or sequences used in this abbey before the Gospel were sung through all Europe. The hymns peculiar to some houses, in honor of their respective patrons, used to please also by the strangeness of their tone, "not cheerful, nor yet sad, some dull old thing, some outworn and unused monotony, such as the country matrons catching from them sing and spin till they almost forget they live." But what chiefly charmed those who had minds susceptible of the sublime in this order, was the solemnity and religious reverence with which the divine office was celebrated in all religious houses. In monasteries the tone of voice, the time, every thing

* Chronic. Quedlinburgense ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. Illust. iii. † De Divin. Psal. 451.
‡ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse Paris, iii. 198.
§ Constit. of the first Gen. Congregation in 1529
‖ Chronic. Cluniacens.
¶ Pet. Sutorus de Vita Carthusiana, ii. iv. 5.
** Gerbert de Cantu Sacra.
†† Ildefons Von Arx.

was regulated by a general sense of what was best, from which no one was permitted to deviate. St. Jerome says, that a man loses dignity, who, on account of an immoderate and indiscreet mode of singing the divine office, incurs a charge of madness or of gloominess. St. Benedict in his rule desires that morose tediousness should be avoided; and William of Paris and Garson both command that wearisome and dismal prolongations should be repressed, and that spiritual hilarity should be observed. Such attention was paid to the music of the choir, that frequent notices occur in ancient books of circumstances relating to it. "I have heard," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "that there was a certain monk in Mount-Cassino, who had so sweet a voice, that when on the vigil of Easter he blessed the paschal candle, the dulcet tones of that benediction resounded in the ears of all as a celestial melody."*

The truth is, that the divine offices in general could never be sung with such effect as in these regular communities, in which they were loved and studied, and understood profoundly. That deep meditation of the monks and devout sisters on the prayers, must have produced great effects in the celebration of external worship. St. Theresa says of that of our Lord, "When I have finished it I can proceed no farther. This comprises all consolations; this conveys a solid instruction for the mind, and a great remedy for all the troubles of the heart."† It was in monasteries that the affecting symbols of the Catholic liturgy were most fully appreciated. Poujoulat speaks of his seeing an old monk weeping, when the prior came to wash his feet with the rest on Maunday Thursday. The reason of course was, that he saw Christ in his superior. We find that when monks used to be presented to eminent saints, who were supposed to obtain from God whatever they prayed for, what they used to beg on these occasions might be demanded for them, was the gift of tears in the church; one would desire that he might always weep during mass; another at the solemn vigils of the second and fifth Feria and on the Sabbath.‡ When travelling and in strange churches monks were to observe the same demeanor as others, for those who have only one heart and one soul ought not to appear di-similar externally.§ The devout, reverential step of hooded men and their profound genuflections in their churches, were actually so many acts of faith—the result of a deep and practical conviction of the respect which God requires us to pay externally, as well as internally, to the mysteries or the symbols of religion. Let us hear a narrative of Cæsar of Heisterbach to illustrate this remark. "In the abbey of Hemmenrode was a certain convertite, a native of Cologne, by name Liffard, an humble, meek man, whose office it was to tend the swine of the monastery. Towards the end of his life, as Lord Hermann, then abbot, related to me, he was tempted by the spirit of pride; for he began to say to himself, 'What am I doing here? I am well

* Illust. Mirac. Lib. iv. c. 8.
† The Road of Perfection, 42.
‡ Cæs. Heist. Illust. Mirac. ii. c. 22.
§ St. Bonaventura Speculum Novitiorum.

born, but on account of this vile office, despised by all my friends. I will not stay here any longer.' So he resolved to leave the monastery next day. But that night, as he watched in his bed, there appeared to him a venerable person, who made signs that he should follow him. He rose up, took his shoes, and followed to the door of the dormitory, which opened of itself. Thence they past to the door of the church, which in like manner opened to them. The figure moved up the choir of the convertites; he followed, and as they passed by the altar of St. John the Baptist, made a profound inclination. The other, who went first, said then, 'You have done well to bow reverently.' Then coming to the south door of the church, which leads into the cloister, they found it also open, as well as that which leads to the cemetery, all which are regularly locked every night. On their entering the cemetery the graves of the dead were all open, and the figure leading him to that of a man who recently died, stopped and said, 'Do you mark this man? You will soon be like him. Now, whither do you wish to go?' Then as he was about to lead him to other putrid bodies, the convertite cried out, 'Spare me, Lord, spare me; for I cannot bear the sight.' Then replied the other, 'Why through pride will you desert the port of salvation? Promise to me on this spot that you will remain;' and he promised him. Then the grave closed, and they returned, each door shutting after them as they went through, and on passing before the same altar, he again humbled himself as before, and then felt an interior conviction how that first act of humility had endeared him to God; and entering the dormitory, the door shut of itself after them, and when he lay down again on his bed, the figure vanished, and from that hour the temptation left him.*

Hugo of St. Victor explains why in the diurnal and nocturnal offices the name of authors are not pronounced as they are at mass, by saying, "that herdsmen and workmen who assist at the latter would not know who wrote these passages, if they were not told; whereas clerks and domestics of the church know who are the authors, from having often heard them." The monks loved the divine employment of the chior; and what is loved is well done. Cardinal Bona mentions a monk of the Cistercian order, who from ill health had leave from his abbot to absent himself from matins; yet he hardly ever availed himself of the liberty. Being asked why he exposed himself unnecessarily, "I cannot do otherwise," he replied, "for remembering the consolation I experience in my soul during the divine office, I am pained to the last degree not to be present in the church where angels and Jesus Christ himself are present with the children of men."†

When Laurentius Ferrarus, abbot of St. Martin's at Palermo, used to hear the bells for the divine office,—"Let us go, brethren, joyfully," said he, "to recreate our minds,"‡ "While suffering under my severe master at school," says Guibert

* Illust. Mir. iv. 4. † De Divin. Psal. 521. ‡ Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1082.

de Nogent, " I did not try to avoid the ecclesiastical office; nay, when the hour came, I did not even prefer my supper to it."*

When Gobert, of the abbey of Villiers, was travelling and singing the office with his companion, the barking of some dogs would induce him to break off until they had passed, that he might lose nothing of the harmony of the sacred chant; for though he was only a lay brother without clerical knowledge, the mere sound of the holy words filled his heart with sweetness.†

Monks used often to remain in the church during the night, even while there was no office. In the decretals of Lanfranc, referring to the season from October to Advent, we read, " that the prior at midnight, before matins, is to go through the church with a dark lantern, lest any one should be asleep there, and that if any one is praying, he is to pass him by in silence." We read in the chronicle of Melrose, at the date of 1259, that there was a monk in that abbey who for twenty years was never known to use his bed; he slept before the altars. Even in the winter he used to spend a great part of the night in playing sacred melodies on the harp in honor of the Blessed Virgin. By day, while reading the Psaltar, he used to sit near the door of the church with a basket of bread; and no poor persons departed without having something to carry away from it."‡

Sugar always went to matins when he was at St. Denis; and when affairs of state called him to the court, or when he was travelling, he used to rise by night to say them at the same hour as he would have risen if he had been in the abbey.§ Dom Martene, on occassion of his visit to Clairvaux, remarks that the abbot, in his 80th year, assists at nearly all the offices, and rises constantly at two o'clock for matins. He retires to rest at ten, having eaten but one meal in the day, and drank no wine.

How interesting is it to find the great St. Bernard, whose counsels directed kings, whose pen guided the Christians of the east as well as of the west, explaining to a monk of Clairvaux, why he had not replied to his letters on receiving them, by saying, that he was occupied in the celebration of the divine festival. " Your letters came to my hands on Christmas-day, when the solemnity of course did not permit me to think of any thing else."‖ Similarly he apologises to Oger, a canon regular, for replying to him in a very short letter, on the ground of its being the season of Lent. " There is a time for silence," said the wise man; " but what time will have its silence if confabulation is to claim for itself even the sacred days of Lent? When we cannot even speak to the present what we wish, can we dictate to the absent? but while I dictate or write, what leisure or silence can I have? But you say, I can do all this in silence? You cannot say so seriously, for what a tumult is in the mind of the dictator when a multitude of sentences resounds, where a variety of words and diversity of senses con-

* Guib. Abb. de. Novigento de Vita Sua, Lib. i. c. 6.

† Hist. Monast. Villar. Lib. ii. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii.

‡ Chronic. de Mailros. Rer. Anglic. Scrjpt. i. § Hist. de Suger Lib. vi. ‖ Epist. 86.

cur, where often what occurs is rejected, and that which vanishes is required; when it is considered what is the best expression, the most consequent sentence, the most clear, the most useful, what is to come first, what last, and other things of the same kind? And do you tell me that this is quiet? and, because the tongue is silent, will you call this silence?"* All that dramatic interest, therefore, attached to the festivals, of which we spoke in the fifth book, was felt in monasteries in the highest perfection, where it was the desire of every one to co-operate, in the deepest recesses of his soul, with the intentions of the church.

The secular clergy, who in a certain sense must move with the world, seem obliged sometimes to give up things of venerable and of useful observance, through compliance with the manners around them. If the public becomes too dissipated, or too much occupied with the world, to have leisure for assisting at the divine offices, these offices in the churches of the secular are either suppressed; (and whatever councils or synods may say,† requiring that the whole Paschal week, and the second, third, and fourth ferias after Pentecost should be celebrated with pomp as the chief day, all these great anniversaries are reduced to little more than an ordinary observance,) or else, as we see recommended in publications styled Catholic, they are to be changed and stript of their ancient universal character;‡ so that, in fine, to a certain extent, the result of their acquiescence amounts to an interdict, which comes to be considered an indulgence.

But the monks had no occasion for such sacrifices: whether people of the world chose to be pious or indifferent, their churches resounded with the praises of God and the holy circle of ecclesiastical rites was maintained in all its sublime order, unmained and unadulterated. The monks, not content with faithfully celebrating in their own immediate church, even made foundations to provide for the solemn rites of the divine office, wherever their influence extended. There was a priory at Aunay belonging to the abbey of Cluny, in which were to be always two monks along with the prior, who were to say mass there daily, and to sing vespers with notes every day.§

The monks would not suspend their offices through any human motive. They had no parties of pleasure to arrange at certain periods of the year, which they prefered to the commemoration of an apostle. Not even the destruction of their monastery would cause an interruption to their psalmody. Ingulphus relates, that at day-break, the morning after the fatal night in which the abbey of Crowland was burnt, the monks performed their office with a lugubrious voice in the hall of Grimketulus, the corrodiarius of the abbey; and not till afterwards did they proceed to examine the smoking ruins, where the fire was not even then extinguished.‖ And let it be observed, that this constancy was the result as much of private inclination as of strictness of discipline. Thus, during the

* Epist. 89.

† Synodus Ingilenhemens. ap. Caniss. Lect. Antiq.

‡ Cath. Mag. No. 38. 1840.

§ Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 1716.

interdict, in 1199, occasioned by the conduct of Philip Augustus to Ingelberge, the prior of St. John-des-Vignes, at Soissons, and three of his monks, afflicted at the silence in their church, left the city on the day of the Assumption, and proceeded to a neighboring mountain, where there had been formerly a hermit. In that desert place they sung vespers, and after a frugal repast took repose till midnight, when they rose to sing matins, during which, it was said, they were consoled by a choir of angels.* Even in death the desire of the monks always appeared to be to continue their holy song on earth to the last moment, before departing to the world, where it was to resound for ever. St. John of the Cross, dying in the convent of Ubede, after receiving extreme unction, at eight o'clock in the evening, requested the father provincial, and the other monks who wished to remain with him, to retire and take some repose, telling them that he would send for them in time. After the community had retired, he remained, kissing the crucifix, and murmuring words of love till nine o'clock, when he asked the hour; and the infirmarian having told him, he said, "We shall depart hence, to say matins in heaven, at midnight." Then, after reciting many psalms, and hearing some chapters read from the book of Canticles, he continued to ask repeatedly what the hour was, and when it was half-past eleven he begged that the community might be summoned, and then responded to the prayers in recommendation of his soul. As soon as the clock had struck midnight, a monk left the room to sound the bell. Opening his eyes, at the sound, he asked what it was, and when they told him that it was the bell for matins, "Glory to God," he exclaimed. Then having looked round on all present, he put his mouth to the feet of the crucifix, and said, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum," and the same instant expired, as if he fell into a sweet sleep. This was on the 14th of December, 1591, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his profession.† How sublime was this undeviating course of the regular hours, which nothing could interrupt; not even the holy spectacle declared to be precious in the sight of God, of a death-scene such as this! No wonder that the bell of the monastery, which announced their celebration, should awaken such emotions in all who heard it from afar. Methinks these details will even give an additional interest to that allusion to it by the poet, who describes the ride of Sir William of Deloraine,

> "When Hawick he pass'd, had curfew rung,
> Now midnight lauds were in Melrose sung."

When the fleet of French paladins, under Philip Augustus, bound for Palestine, encountered the dreadful storm in the straits of Messina, after the horses and provisions had been thrown over board, the wind and thunder seeming to grow more terrible, all hopes of safety were beginning to vanish; but after midnight the king consoled the men, saying, "Cease your fears: already the brethren of

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 67.

† Dosithée, viii.

Clairvaux are risen to matins. The saints, who do not forget us, are reciting their holy service in honor of Christ. Their prayers will deliver us from this great peril." As he spoke, the tumult of the atmosphere subsided—the fury of the wind was appeased, the moon and stars again appeared, and the sea grew calm.*

We may observe, in conclusion, that monks in the middle ages were not deficient in theological science to defend the wisdom of their discipline, in this respect, against the cavils of objectors. "The worship of the choir," says the annalist of the Capuchins, "is not a religion of indolent and ignorant men, as Wycliff and his peers imagine, but of divine men, such as the Athanasians, the Basils, the Cyrils, the Chrysostoms, the Cyprians, the Hilaries, the Ambroses, the Augustins. Heretics in every age have attacked it, while the church has always pronounced blessed the nations in which it was observed." The benefit resulting from having these churches, or monasteries, at a short distance from their homes, was deeply appreciated by the people in ages of faith. "Near a monastery," was then the qualification to enhance the value of an estate; as now it is, "near a pack of hounds." The neighborhood of St. Gall, or St. Denis, of Glastonbury, or St. Alban's, was then indeed desired on different grounds from what it would be now. At these places many felt their hearts opened, and their souls instantaneously enfranchised from all the servile bonds of this world. These were extraodinary instances, but no less admirable were the general results to the society around them.

The solemn and tender melodies of the church, by means of these institutions, gained access to those who, for want of them, would have degenerated, as we now see so many, from the dignity of their baptismal vocation; for music of this nature is a strengthener both of the mind and of the heart. If a modern philosopher doubts whether the admirable order of the Lacedæmonians was more owing to the laws of Lycurgus than to the elegies of Tyrtæus, we need not wonder that those who lived near monasteries, should have imbibed so many holy and generous sentiments merely by singing the Gregorian chant with hooded men. Affection for the divine offices dictated a delicate solicitude for the wants of those who were employed in their celebration, of which we find many traces. Hence, Charles the Bald founded in the abbey of St. Denis, "fifteen tapers for the refectory, to be placed on the tables in winter, because," as the chronicles observe, "the community sometimes goes very late to collation, from the service in the church not having been finished before night-fall."† "There was a poor man," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "who had kept flocks in his youth, but in old age was obliged to beg at the door of our abbey church. He never would leave the church as long as there was any part of the divine office celebrating. Therefore, he was loved by every one."‡ Indeed, from an old complaint against the monks of Mount-

* Philipeid. Guillaume le Breton, Cant. iv.
† Chroniques de St. D. an. 877.
‡ Illust. Mirac. Lib. vi. c. 83.

Cassino, that "they mutilated their books in order to make psalters for the use of women and children," we may infer how well their offices were followed by the surrounding poupulation. Three aged ladies lived close to the monastery of Bec. Their liberality to the convent was unbounded, and they received all kind attentions from the monks. Of the last who survived, we read, that she continued her habits of devotion to the end, and in extreme weakness still assisted in the church daily. So deeply was the scene of her adorations impressed on her thoughts, that even when carried home and sitting by the fire, she still constantly thought herself in the church. In the annals of Corby, we read, that "about the middle of the fifteenth century Regina Salmsen and Veronica de Steinbrug were so devout, that neither cold, nor the night air, nor hunger, could ever drive them from the church of the abbey, but they lived in it constantly, to be objects of imitation to others."*

In the monastic churches, besides the regular offices, many devotions were observed, which endeared them to the people. Thus, in the annals of Corboy, we read, under the date of 1402, that "the chapel of St. Gertrude is repaired, and it is commanded that every morning mass shall be celebrated for the sick in general, wherever they may be.† "In the abbeys of Ouches, Noyon, and in others, there was instituted," says Orderic Vitalis, "a solemn anniversary in favor of the fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters of all the monks of the monastery. Their names were inserted in a long register, which is placed on the altar. The same day the almoner received in the abbey as many poor people as there were monks, and gave them an entertainment; after which, the ceremony of the Mandatum was performed by all the religious." The verses for the solemn procession of the relics of St. Gall describe the faithful crowd sweetly singing, bearing the blessed burden through hills and vales—

"Scandens et descendens inter montium confinia,
Silvarum scrutando loca, valliumque coucava,
Nullus expers ut locus sit istius solaminis,
Jamque cœlum, jamque terra, jamque pontus laudibus
Plandat, atque circumquaque vox emissa plebibus
Auctorem patremque tanta tamque clari luminis."‡

The Benedictines of Einsiedelin, in their processions in the open air, use a portable organ to guide the voices of their choir. It was a custom then observed by all the inhabitants of the town, to wear long cloaks while in the church of the abbey, to which they used to hasten at all the regular hours, as if they were themselves monks. Indeed, there are few of the ancient chronicles, in which we do not find most remarkable testimony, to the benefit resulting from the churches of the monasteries to the community at large. Let us hear what is recorded under the date of 1330:—

* Ad an. 1452. † Ap. Leibnitz, iii. ‡ Lib. iii.

"It is an ancient custom of the citizens of Pavia to visit often the thresholds of the saints. On the nativity of our Lord they proceed solemnly to the monastery of St. Saviour with musical instruments, tymbrels, and trumpets, and silk banners, with the chief magistrate at their head. Similarly on the festivals of St. Peter and of St. Augustin, they proceed to the monastery of St. Peter in Cœlo-aureo, and offer palliums, the multitude of which may be seen on these festivals when they are extended in the church. On the vigils of St. Peter and of St. Augustin, crowds from many parts of Lombardy pass the whole night in the church. In the monastery of St. Peter, in Cœlo-aureo, where is the body of St. Augustin, there is, on every second feria of the year, a solemn sermon, at which nearly the whole city assists. On every third feria there is a sermon in the house of the hermits of St. Augustin. On the fourth, the sermon is in the church of the Dominicans. On the fifth, in that of the Carmelites. On the sixth, in the convent of the Minors; and on the Saturday in Lent alone it is again in the convent of the Dominicans. Besides these, there are particular sermons occasionally in different holy places. And the crowds which attend them are so great, that one might suppose the people rarely heard the Word of God; and there is always at the end a general confession and benediction. On festivals, and every day in Lent, the sermons are more numerous. On Good Friday every one, from the least boy of the town to the most decrepit old person, repairs very early to the convent of the Minors to hear the sermons on the Passion. I am deceived if I have not seen such multitudes that the whole city remained deserted. There one witnesses tears and groans abundantly, and the whole day is spent in hearing sermons in different places. In a word, the men have as much devotion as the women. So that if there be some bad amongst us, the greatest numbers of the inhabitants are devout and intent on the Divine Word."* It is marked in a calendar of the fifteenth century, that on Good Friday, in the church of the Great Augustins, at Paris, there is always, in different parts of the church, a sermon in Italian, German, and French.† At Durham, we hear of the fair iron pulpit, from which one of the monks used to preach every day of devotion at one in the afternoon. Salomon, abbot of St. Gall, shortly before his death, on Whitsunday, preached four times to the people. There was hardly a city or town in all France in which a Franciscan theologian from Paris did not preach in Advent or Lent. There was hardly one convent of the order that did not furnish six, ten, or twelve devout preachers;‡ the force of which distinction may be conjectured from what St. Thomas says, that "it happens frequently that they who approach with hardened hearts, by means of the word of preaching, are kindled to the divine love."§

The churches of the monasteries possessed also a deep historical interest from

* Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, c. 17. ap. Murator. Rer. It. Script. tom. xi.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, i. ii. 2.
‡ Wadding, An. Minor. an. 1234.
§ Opusc. iv. I.

the innumerable memorials which they contained, of pious gratitude and domestic affection commemorative of the dead who reposed beneath them; for they were generally full of sepulchres, many of them in the highest degree remarkable. Here lay emperors, philosophers, statesmen, and heroes, who had so often reposed a while in abbeys from the cares of their respestive stations, or in their latter years had sought in their peaceful solitude that calm for which they vainly sighed throughout a troubled existence. The historian makes us acquainted with the events of their lives: the monk recalls their memory in a manner perhaps still more forcible, by leading us to their tombs.

The abbeys of the west, so many of them founded by the Crusaders, bore record in marble of the perils and escapes of their benefactors amidst those great events. Thus in the Cistercian abbey of Breüil-Benoît, on the river Eure, founded in 1137, was a chapel erected in pursuance of a vow made by William de Marcilly, son of the first founder, to testify his pious gratitude for his miraculous deliverance from the hands of the Turks, and return to his parents and country. But what, above all, arrested the attention of those who visited monasteries with a view to interest of this kind, was the sepulchral lore in which they were so singularly rich; for in consequence of many considerations, the desire to be interred within them was throughout the middle ages almost universal.

Louis-le-gros used often to explain his motive for wishing to be buried in the abbey of St. Denis, amidst the saints. "It was," he said, "in order that by the prayers of the pilgrims and others passing, he might obtain pardon of his sins."* Even when humility shrunk from burial with the martyrs, men still clung to the hope of being associated in the grave with the monastic dead. Orderic Vitalis says, that in the year 1108, Philip, king of France, fell sick, and seeing that his end was near, he convoked the grandees of the state and his friends, and spoke as follows: "I know that the sepulture of the French kings is at St. Denis: but as I feel that I am a great sinner, I do not dare to have my burial near the body of so great a martyr. I revere St. Benedict, that tender father of monks, and I desire to be buried in his church on the Loire." According to his desire he was, therefore, buried in the monastery of St. Benoit de Fleuri, between the choir and the altar."† We find instances of restitution being made to monks, with a view to gaining burial in their church.

Frederic d'Etampes, son of Gaudric and Isembard, surnamed Payen, made a solemn restitution of ecclesiastical goods to the monastery of Longpont. Frederic came there and deposed the act upon the altar. The monks proceeded to associate him in the prayers of the community, in giving him the book of the Gospels to touch, and they promised to bury him in their church. After which, he gave the kiss of peace to each of the monks.‡ When they could not have act-

* Chroniques de St. Denis, an. 1137. † Lib. xi.

‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xi. 262.

ually sepulture with the monks, still men sought to have the benefit of their prayers. Thus, the archbishop of Tours approaching his last hour, caused letters to be written to Pope Innocent III. which after his decease were delivered under his seal to that pontiff by Magister Peter de Vico, in which he humbly besought him to charge, by letters, the prior and monks of Grandemont, to pray to God for his soul.*

It is easy to account for this general solicitude. From the peace of the living to the peace of the dead, the transition of thought was natural. The monks who provided for the former, had leisure to study what was conducive to the latter; they had time to think of those who were departed to the other world, and hence with fervent and fraternal love they sought to secure for every man a tranquil grave and an eternal rest. They were ingenious in exercising charity to the dead. In the abbey of Einsiedelin, there was an anniversary office for the souls of the poor strange pilgrims who had died there.

"Let not the brethren slumber," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "when they chant for the dead; because as knights are gathered together to a tournament, so flock souls to the office of the dead."† Men observed with what fidelity and reverence monks of all orders sung the requiem of those whose souls were commended to their prayers. Moreover, the Christian world could not be heedless of the fact, that it was in a monastery, that of Cluny, under Odilo, in 998, that the feast of All souls, that most affecting, most tender commemoration, was first celebrated, which in the following year was regularly instituted for the whole church by Pope Silvester the second. It was evident that the interests of the dead were most studied and attended to in these communities. What could be more natural than that men should desire to come in personally for a share of the benefit? Those who best knew what passed in monasteries, from being themselves their inmates, may be proposed as taking the lead in manifestations of this desire. Thus the holy founder of the celebrated abbey in the forest of Fontevraud being on his travels, and preceiving himself about to die, had no other fear but that of not being interred in his beloved house. "O Fontevraud, Fontevraud," he cried, "I wished so much to rest with you!" Sending for the bishop of the city, he said to him, "Father, know that I do not wish to be buried at Bethlehem, where God deigned to be born of a virgin, nor at Jerusalem near the holy sepulchre, nor at Rome among the martyrs; it is at Fontevraud, no where but at Fontevraud that I wish to repose." There accordingly Dom Martene found his tomb at the side of the altar. Those who in life had given the strongest proof of attachment to the monks by founding abbeys, may be cited as following them nearest in regard to this solicitude. "King Henry," says Orderic Vitalis, "died at the castle of Lyons, in Normandy; but at his desire, his body after the delay of a month, in consequence of unfavorable winds, during which time it lay in the choir of St.

* Epist. Inn. iii. Lib. x 47.

† Illust. Mirac. viii. 96.

Stephen, at Caen, was at length placed on board a ship by the monks, who were charged with the office, and transported to England, where it was buried with great honors in the abbey of Reading."* Of the zeal envinced by surviving relatives to fulfil such desires, even when they were only presumed, many instances occur. Thus, in 1146, the marchioness of Lucard, taking offence at having been refused some favor by the abbot of Mount Sereno, and a few days after dying at Gerbestad, was buried there by advice of Hojer, count of Mansfeld. At that time the Marquis Conrad returned from beyond the sea, and on arriving in Bavaria learned the sad event of his wife's death. Hearing that she had not been buried in the abbey of Mount Sereno, by advice of Hojer, he became very angry, and declared that he would compel him to dig her up with his own hands. Hojer hearing of his anger, and wishing to regain his favor, went by night and persuaded the guardians to disinter her; it being six months after she had been buried. This being done, he conveyed the body to Wittin, where he met the marquis. Thence it was borne to the monastery of Mount Sereno, and honorably buried the same day; the marquis making donations to endow three altars for the repose of her soul, to each of which six manses were appropriated.†

Again, we must remember that monasteries were often the only asylums for the bodies as well as the souls of men on whom the world frowned. Hence we find such persons in their last sickness, eager to reach them before they died, like Wolsey pursuing his journey to Leicester, and greeting the abbot and his convent there with these words: "O father abbot, an old man, broken with the storms of state, is come to lay his weary bones among you; give him a little earth for charity." In the Saxon chronicle the account of the imprisonment and blinding of the innocent Etheling Alfred, son of King Ethelred, who was afterwards led to the monastery of Ely, concludes with these lines:

" Then to the monks they brought
Their captive; where he sought
A refuge from his foes
Till life's sad evening close.
His body ordered then
These good and holy men,
According to his worth,
Low in the sacred earth,
To the steeple full-nigh,
In the south aisle to lie
Of the transept west;
His soul with Christ doth rest."

There was, in fact, a spirit of generous independence in the religious orders, which prompted them to disregard all base fear in granting burial to the dead, when by that act they might incur the resentment of the powerful. Hence, the abbeys abound with tombs of unhappy men, unjustly doomed. How many gentle, and

* Lib. xiii. † Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. 11.

brave, and generous, over whose dark fate no lorn bard breathed one melodious sigh, whose honor is avenged by monks in the inscriptions on their sepulchre! Ratherius præsul, sed ter Ratherius exul, is the sentence on the tomb of that great bishop of Verona, who after being successively expelled from the sees of Verona and Liege, died in the convent of Lobes, where he had originally been a monk, and where his tomb was erected with only this epitaph.*

In the Cistercian house of the Complutensian academy, at Alcala, is the tomb of William Walsh, a Benedictine monk and bishop, on which, it is stated, that after suffering an imprisonment of thirteen years for the Catholic faith, he died there an exile.† In 1134, Robert II., duke of Normandy, died at Cardiff, in the twenty-eighth year of his imprisonment, after having been taken at Tinchebrai. Orderic Vitalis only adds, "he reposes buried in the convent of the monks of St. Peter, at Gloucester."‡ Count Waldeve, accused of treason against William, was kept in prison at Winchester. "During a year," says Orderic, "he did penance there for the sins of his past life, and never failed every day to sing one hundred and fifty Psalms of David, which he had learned in his childhood." He surpassed most men in generosity as well as in courage. Devout adorer of God, he listened with reverence to the monks, and cherished tenderly the church and the poor. For these reasons he was beloved by all who fulfilled the will of God, and his deliverance was ardently desired. Ingulphus says, that the Count's confessor, the venerable Archbishop Lanfranc, declared that he was innocent of the conspiracy, and that his death would be that of a martyr; but that his impious wife contributed to his death, and also, that the Normans longed for his lordships of Northampton and Huntingdon; so, in fine, his enemies prevailed, and sentence of death was passed and executed before the citizens of Winchester had risen from their beds. His body was cast into a trench, and no one dared to touch it. But after fifteen days it was taken up, still quite fresh, by Visketel, abbot of Croyland, washed, and carried with general mourning to the monastery of Croyland, where it was buried. Ingulphus says, that the abbot continuing to extol him in his sermons, the Normans became enraged and summoned him to a council at London, where he was deposed, condemned to prison, and sent to Glastonbury, to be far from all that knew him. It was on this occasion, that Ingulphus, who after studying at Westminister and Oxford, and making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, had been prior at Fontanelle, in Normandy, was elected abbot of Croyland. Under him in the next reign, the monks grieving that the tomb of their benefactor, Count Waldeve, should be exposed to the wind and the rain, resolved, by advice of Ingulphus, to translate his remains into the church. When the day came, a crowd of faithful people assembled, and the monks proceeded with lights and all reverence, expecting to find only his bones and ashes; for it was the sixteenth year of his sleep: but when the tomb was opened, they found his body as whole

* Trithem. Chronic. Hirsaug. † Notit. Abb. Ord. Cis' ‡ Lib. xiii.

as the day he was buried. The head was joined to the body, and only a thin red mark like a thread was round the neck. The abbot Ingulphus knelt down and kissed him on the face. The body was then solemnly borne into the church, and placed in a tomb by the side of St. Guthlac, on which, the monks placed the following inscription: "This stone covers the intrepid son Siward the Dane, the excellent Earl Waldeve. He lived with honor, feared for his prowess. Yet in the midst of corruptible riches and honors, he loved Christ and endeavored to please him. He served the church, loved with respect the clergy, and in a peculiar manner the monks of Croyland, who were faithful to his memory. Finally, struck by the sword of Norman judges, his limbs were confided to the earth on the last day of May. The marshes of Croyland rejoiced to possess the tomb of a nobleman, who, as long as he lived, loved this place with a great respect. May the Almighty grant to his soul eternal rest in the citadel of heaven."*

Soon after his election, Ingulphus had ridden to London, and made such interest with great men, that he procured the deliverance of his predecessor, Visketel; and he accordingly sent an escort to conduct him from Glastonbury to Croyland, and, says Ingulphus, "with all favor and filial love beholding his worthy and venerable person, so excellent with the most holy piety, I replaced him in his ancient stall in the choir, and while he lived I only regarded myself as the procurator of the monastery. From him I learnt much concerning England. The venerable man died on the feast of St. Jerome, in 1085."

In the great abbey of the Celestins, at Marcoucies, was another memorable instance; for here, in the middle of the choir, with his feet towards the altar, lies a sculptured figure of the founder, John de Montaigu, who is buried under it; and the inscription on the tomb proves the pious fidelity of the monks to his memory; for it ends thus, "lequel en haine des bons et loyaux services par lui faits au Roy et au Royaume fut par les rebelles ennemis du Roy injustement mis à mort à Paris;" and on another place these verses—

"Pour ce qu'en paix tenois le sang de France;
Et soulageois le peuple de grevance,
Je souffris mort contre droit et justice
Et sans raison: Dieu si m'en soit propice."

By his side was buried Gerard de Montaigu, bishop of Paris, brother of the founder. It was the sight of this tomb, and the noble reply of the monk who showed it, that made Francis I. declare that "he would never sentence any man to death by commissioners."†

In Spanish histories we read, indeed, that the magnificent sepulchre of Alvarus de Luna, at Toledo, was destroyed by the infante Henry Peter; but, in general, this charity of the monks furnished an occasion of which princes availed them-

* Lib. iv.

† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, ix. 276.

selves, to evince magnanimity, as when King John of Castille restored the sepulchre of that disgraced minister, and rejected with indignation the advice of his courtiers, when they complained that a man beheaded by his orders should have a tomb among kings.*

Men who had owed deliverance from the hands of their enemies to the intercession of these men of peace, would naturally desire that their bones might rest near them, where the same prayers which had moved cruel men would be offered in their behalf to the God of mercy. Accordingly, the tombs of such men are often found in the monastic churches. Thus, in the Carthusain monastery of Mawrbach, we find the sepulchre of Frederic III. of Austria, who, in 1322, after the battle of Emphingen, in which he was defeated by the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, was thrown into prison, first in the castle of Dornberg, and afterwards in that of Trawsennicht, where he remained in misery until in 1325, when, after fruitless attempts by the pope and many great personages to obtain his release, he was delivered by means of the prior of this monastery, in which he now lies buried. One ancient chronicle remarks, that he bore his misfortune with great equanimity, and preferred suffering that cruel imprisonment to gaining his liberty by unlawful means; adding this curious tale, that when some one with more zeal than knowledge sent by necromancy an evil demon into the prison, by whom Frederic might have been delivered, the pious hero refused, and ordered the monster to depart, and guarded his forehead and breast with the sign of the cross. However, at lentgh Gotfried, prior of Mawrbach, true to the etymology of his name, a peace-maker, went in the spirit of fortitude to Lewis, and said, "O prince, why do you not pardon your relative and friend? why attend to the counsels of the vain, who endeaver to subvert the clemency of princes? Do you not perceive that you will gain more honor by dispelling your indignation than by cherishing it?" Lewis was moved at the words of the monk. He ordered Frederic to be led into his presence, where the prior celebrated mass and gave them both the sacred communion from one Host. Frederic and Lewis then gave each other the kiss of peace, and became ever afterwards as closely united as Jonathan and David. Frederic returned to Austria as he came out from prison without having shaved his beard, so that he could be scarcely recognized by any one. His return was heard of with immense joy by all the people. Thenceforth he attempted nothing against Lewis, but lived quietly, and went no more to battle; but as Horace says, "post Punica bella quietus." Finally, in 1329, he found this quiet grave with the men who had delivered him.†

That the monastic charity, in regard to the burial of the dead, was extended also to the those who died in a state of utter destitution, appears from a statute of the Capuchins in their first general congregation, held in 1529. "We decree,"

* Rod. Santii Hist. Hisp. pt. iv. c. 83.

† Anon. Lesbiensis Chron. Lib. v. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

say those fathers, "that no dead bodies, besides those of our brethren departed, should be admitted into our churches, unless perchance of some poor persons to whom burial had been refused by the parish priest* on account of poverty. If such bodies should be brought to our convents and to our deserts, they must be received and buried; for it is a work of piety. Let nothing be received for their sepulture; but for charity let us pray to God for their souls."†

Perhaps one of the most affecting instances of this solicitude occurs in the history of St. Hughes, who brought with him, from the Carthusian cloisters to the see of Lincoln, all the monastic tenderness. To the burial of the dead he continued so devoted throughout his life, that the historian of his order attributes the singular magnificence of his own funeral—at which assisted two kings, three archbishops, fourteen bishops, more than one hundred abbots, and a crowd of counts, barons, and knights, English, Norman, Franc, Burgundian, Irish, and Scotch,—to the especial ordinance of the providence of God, as indicating how much his piety towards the dead had pleased heaven.‡ It is related of him, on one occasion, that being at Rouen, and invited to dinner, by Richard, king of England, he refused to go to the palace until he had assisted to bury the dead; and to the courtiers who urged him to hasten, replied, "Let the king sup in the name of the Lord; for it is better that he should sup without us, than that we should neglect humility according to the command of the eternal King."§ Such were the lessons he had learned in the school of St. Bruno.

For all these reasons, then, the churches of the monks contained the sepulchres, or at least, the bones, of those who had drunk to the dregs that cup of manifold adversity which is administered for wise and beneficient purposes to many amongst the children of men. But now abandoning this particular view, let us take notice of the tombs, which evince the desire of the great in general to obtain burial in monastic ground. The number of these in the ancient Benedictine abbeys of Europe might be styled infinite; and after the thirteenth century, the Mendicant orders took full part in the same ministry. The crowd of magnificent sepulchres in the convents of the Franciscans show, indeed, with what peculiar love that order was regarded by the devout nobility. "From the first coming of these and the Dominicans to Venice," Dandolo says, "that we find the dukes generally choosing to be buried either before their doors or in their churches."‖ What a multitude of great princes and nobles were entombed in the convent of the Minors, at Vienna!¶ and in the houses of that order in France how many sepulchres of heroes! many of whom, like Count Elzear de Sabran, in the convent at Paris, had been buried even wearing the habit. It was in the Franciscan convents, in Ireland, of Athlone and Kildare, that were found the tombs of

* A case however which subjected him to ecclesiastical censures.

† Annales Capucinorum, ad an. 1529. ‡ Dorlandi Chronicon Cartus. Lib. iii. 13.

§ Id. Lib. iii. c. 8. ‖ And. Danduli Chronic. passim, ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. xii.

¶ Necrolog. R. R. P. P. Minorum, Conv. Vienn. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

the Dillons and the lords of Offaly.* Everywhere the same desire was manifested, insomuch that some prelates and secular clerks even denied the last sacraments to those who chose their sepulchre in the convents of the Franciscans; and Pope Alexander IV. was obliged to write against such injustice, to declare that these holy friars might continue to provide those who turned to them in death with quiet graves.†

While proceeding now to view the tombs, we may remark what an additional interest must have attended such inspections, from the circumstance of having for guide a monk who was often a learned historian and a saint. The office of escorting strangers to the sepulchres of the kings in the abbey of St. Denis, was, at one time discharged by Mabillon. What must it have been to hear the comments of such a guide standing over the grave of St. Louis! We have only to cast our eyes around us as we walk on, or to descend, holding these lighted tapers, to the crypts where so many sleep in dull cold marble, to find an interest in monasteries, which, if there had been nothing else to allege in their favor, ought to have secured their preservation to the end of time. Are we in the abbey church of Cluny? how many sepulchres of saints and illustrious personages on all sides! Are we in that of St. Vaast, in Arras? we have around us the noblest tombs in all the low countries. Dom Martene, on visiting the abbey of St. Germain at Auxerre, observes, "This place is perhaps the most venerable in the whole kingdom; and, after the catacombs of Rome, I do not know if one can find any more holy. More than sixty canonized saints repose here."‡

"The abbey of St. Victor without the walls and near the port," says Dom Martene, "is the most venerable place of Marseilles; all the land about it used to be called paradise, from the sanctity of the monks who inhabited it. Cassien was its founder; his sepulchre of marble is there, as also that of Pope Urban V., who had been abbot of this house." The subterraneous church again of the Minims at Arles, which was formerly a priory dependent on Lerins, inspires, he says, a respect which cannot be expressed. Here one sees seven marble tombs; amongst others, that of St. Hilary of Arles. Around the church are an infinity of marble sepulchres. Dom Martene thinks, "that the tombs around the little church of the Holy Cross, thought to have been built by Charlemagne, which stands near the monastery of Montmajour, to the south of Arles, were not those of the soldiers of that king slain by the Sarassins, but that the place was the ancient cemetery of the monks, who had a chapel in the midst according to the old custom."§ But some ancient authors are very positive on this point. They say that great was the desire of many to be buried in this field of Eligius, from the idea that no diabolic delusions, like those read of in the gospels as dwelling near tombs, were suffered to linger round the dead bodies that rested in it. All that in Gaul, or round the Pyrenæan mountains, or the Apennines, fell in battle with

* Wadding, Ann. Min. iii. vi. † Id. iv. ad an 1260. ‡ Voyage Lit. i. 56. § Id. 281.

the pagans, wished, they tell us, to have their burial there, and were borne thither, some on chariots, others on horses, others in boats that descended the Rhone, whose waters, to prevent their passing beyond it, would whirl them round in ceaseless circles if there was an attempt at further progress.* In this inspection of the tombs of the monastery, those of the religious naturally should have precedence. Let us observe a few of the most curious and venerable as we pass. But ere we take a step in advance, it is impossible to resist the solemn impression which comes over the mind on approaching them.

Luther, arriving on the eve of Palm Sunday at Erfurth, descended at the convent of the Augustins, where, a few years before, he had taken the habit. It was nightfall; a little wooden cross over the tomb of a brother whom he had known, and who had lately departed sweetly to the Lord, struck his attention and troubled his soul. He was himself no longer the poor friar travelling on foot and begging his bread. His power equalled that of Charles V., and all men had their eyes on him. That morning, on his march, he had sung the famous war hymn which Heyne compares to the Marseillaise; and the emperor was about to resist him, as he said in his imperial rescript, "though at the peril of his own blood, of his dignity, and of the fortune of the empire." The triumphant innovator was recalled to himself for an instant by seeing the tomb of a faithful brother. He pointed it out to Doctor Jonas: "See, there he rests; and I——:" he could not finish. After a little while he returned to it, and sat down on the stone, where he remained more than an hour, and till Amsdorf was obliged to remind him that the convent-bell had tolled the hour for sleep.† Well might the heart, in which such tempests were still gathering, have wept at the image of that quiet grave. Let us now approach and mark each singly.

In the abbey of Clairvaux, Dom Martene saw the tombs of St. Bernard, of St. Malachy, and of some holy martyrs, which were behind the great altar. In a crypt near the cemetery of the abbots were ranged the bones of the monks who were contemporary with St. Bernard, and who are revered as saints. In the abbey of St. Germain-des-Près, the names of many monks of happy memory were handed down in ancient inscriptions, though all trace of their actions had been lost. But here we need not pause. These graves are all too old now to remember the sorrow which consigned its charge to each. Some tombs of monks convey lessons of humility, as in the epitaph of St. Bruno—

> "Doctor eram, præco Christi, vir notus in orbe;
> Desuper illud erat, gratia, non meritum."‡

Others attest in a remarkable manner the virtues of their tenants. Such was that of John Walleis, an English Franciscan, commonly called Arbor vitæ, on account of the fruits of erudition for spiritual nourishment which he produced.

* Gerv. Tilb. Otia Imperialia, xc.

† Audin, Vie de Luther.

‡ Pet. Sutorus de Vita Carthus. i. 3. 5.

He died at Paris, smiling, with the words, "I am going to my country." And on his sepulchre, in the convent of the Minors, there was a tree sculptured in allusion to his name.* Such also was that of John Ballin, the historian, and monk of the abbey of Clairmarais, which was at the end of the cloister near the image of the Blessed Virgin; for his epitaph consisted of a picture of the flagellation of Christ, having on the right our lady of sorrows, and on the left his own portrait, with that of his patron St. John.† Orderic Vitalis seems to think that the very carved images on some tombs bespeak the sanctity of those they represent; for, speaking of the abbey of St. Ceneri, in which 140 monks had cultivated the Lord's vineyard, but which, having been ravaged by Hastings, became a retreat for a tribe of murderous robbers, who took possession of the rock on which it had stood: he says, "the stone tombs placed in and about the church evidently attest, to those who visit them, what respect is due to the monks who there repose."‡ On the tomb of St. Bonaventura, in the convent of the Minors, at Lyons, were these verses—

"Ille hominum plausu nequidquam excitus inani;
Sed cura majore actus, melioraque versans
Pectore consilia, insani præconia vulgi
Despicit, et varios ultro aversatur honores."

On the death of this great doctor, which filled the whole church with grief, the pope by letters recommended all prelates and priests throughout the world that each should sing a mass for his soul. The whole city of Lyons, where he died, attending the council, assisted at his obsequies with tears. The Calvanists, on arriving here, threw his body into the Arar; but the head and other detached parts were preserved from falling into their hands.§ On some of these sepulchres we may read the whole history of a cloistral life, as in the epitaph of John d'Authon, composed by John Bouchet:—

"Dix ans avant que mourut ce bon pere,
Austere vie il tint en monastere,
En mesprisant par merveilleux desdaing
Les gens du monde et tout honneur mondain."

He slept on no soft couch:—

"Tousjours estoit le premier à matines.
Combien qu'il fust noble des deux coustez,
Il ne vouloit ne chasse, ne venerie,
En solitude il vivoit tout seulet,
De conscience estoit fort timoreuse."

He departed, repeating many fine verses:—

"Le corps duqel repose sous la l'ame:
Priez à Dieu que pardon face à l'ame."‖

* Wadding, An. Min. iv. † Piers. Hist. des Abb. de Watten et de Clairm. ‡ Lib. viii.
§ Wadding, iv. an. 1274. ‖ Goujet, Bibliothèque Française, tom. xi.

Very striking were the tombs and epitaphs of the great convertites in abbeys. Mark, for instance, this inscription in the cloister of Cluny: "Hic requiescit vir celebrandæ memoriæ, magnusque seculi contemptor, Hugo, olim Dux Burgundiæ, postea sacerdos et monachus hujus sanctæ ecclesiæ Cluniacensis. Anima ejus requiescat in pace! Amen."* Deeply interesting were also those of Palmers, such as that of Antonio, surnamed Peregrinus; of the noble family of Manzonia, of Padua, who at length, after living unknown for some time in the monastery of St. Mary de Porcilia, in Padua, passed thence to Christ, in 1261, who is commemorated on his sepulchre in that abbey as one "qui omnia loca sancta visitavit." The magnificent tomb over the humble Louis de Blois, on which he was styled "the ornament and miracle of his age,"—and the sepulchre of St. Remy, in the abbey which bears his name, round which were represented the twelve peers of France, as large as life, with their usual symbols as in the coronation of the French kings,—convey, moreover, a testimony to the virtue of the times themselves, when sanctity received such honors. Another class of these sepulchres, which cannot be viewed without intense emotion, attests the learning and renown of those monks, with whose writings we are now so familiar. Thus we find the tomb of Richard of St. Victor, on which these lines were engraved, on brass:—

"Moribus, ingenio, doctrinâ clarus et arte,
Pulvereo hic tegeris, docte Richarde, situ.
Quem tellus genuit fœlici Scotica partu,
Te fovet in gremio Gallica terra suo.
Nil tibi Parca ferox nocuit, quæ stamina parvo
Tempore tracta, gravi rupit acerba manu.
Plurima namque tui superant monimenta laboris,
Quæ tibi perpetuum sint paritura decus.
Segnior ut lento sceleratus mors petit ædes,
Sic propero nimis it sub pia tecta gradu."

Gaspar Jongelinus, when he visited Cisteaux, saw the sepulchre of the great and celebrated Doctor Alanus, which was at the left side of the cloister, near the entrance of the church. The epitaph was as follows:—

"Alanum brevis hora, brevi tumulo sepelivit,
Qui duo, qui septem, qui totum scibile scivit,
Labentis sæcli contemptis rebus egens fit.
Intus conversus, gregibus commissus alendis,
Mille ducenteno nonageno quoque quarto
Christo devotus mortales exuit artus."†

When Dom Martene visited that abbey, where Alanus, he says, had left, as a convertite, an immense fame, he found a French epitaph on his tomb, nearly to the same effect.‡ Round the sepulchre of Dun Scotus, in the convent of the Franciscans at Cologne, the names of fifteen doctors were inscribed in brass, amongst

* Chronic. Cluniacens. † Notit. Abb. Ord. Cisterc. ‡ Voyage Lit. I. 214.

whom, William of Ware is designated, as Magister Guillelmus Varro, Præceptor Scoti.* The testimony of some monastic tombs may be cited also as attesting miraculous foresight. Such is that of Didacus Badam, a Minor friar, in the convent of Majorica, in Spain, on which is a rude inscription relating his history: the year and day of his death being stated, these lines follow :—

" Die hoc et mense migravit prædictus.
Quiescat in pace, sitque benedictus. Amen
Vivens sic scribit de sua certus morte :
Incertus de hora, gaudet mortis mora ;
Tempus si addatur, Summo dirigente,
Versus mutabitur, vivo congaudente."

In another chapel lies his brother, Garsias Badam, a man of holy life, on whose tomb we read,—

" Is qui jacet, mortis dum novit et horam.†

The sepulchres of the monks, again, are often made to convey solemn lessons to the living. Such is that of Willeram, a monk of Fluda, who flourished in the eleventh century, on which were these lines :—

" Fuldensi onachus Wilram de fonte vocatus,
Hic licet indignus Pastor eram positus,
Nominis officium corrupit fictio morum,
Qui sibi nempe malus, cui valet esse bonus ?
Correxi libros, neglexi moribus illos :
Justi suppliciis conscius ipse mihi ·
Sed quia deliqui, tua Christe flagella cupivi,
Te tamen hoc solum det mihi propicium."‡

Such also was that tomb of Ponce, abbot of Cluny, predecessor of Peter the Venerable, who was represented upon his sepulchre in that abbey, lying with his feet tied and his hand cut off, to signify that he died excommunicated.§ Such too was the tomb of Father Lupus, at Louvain, one of the most celebrated doctors of that university; of which the epitaph, composed by himself, was as follows :—

"Hæres peccati, natura filius iræ,
Hic jaceo, dignus nomine reque Lupus.
Indignus, non re, sed solo nomine doctor,
Verbis non factis me docuisse fleo.
Perdocuisse alios, et non docuisse seipsum,
Quid juvat? O mundi fumus, inane, nihil !
Agne Deus, Patris doctrina, redemtio mundi,
Nunc tibi prostratum commiserare reum.
Et latro et meretrix gratis tua regna subintrant.
Gratia peccatis fiat, et ista meis."

The first line appears to have been borrowed from the epitaph on the great Adam

* Wadding, iv. † Ibid. tom. iv. 1257. ‡ Schannat. Historia Fuldens., pt. i.
§ Voyage de Deux Bénéd. i.

of St. Victor, which was engraved on brass upon his tomb in that cloister at Paris. This, perhaps, was the most beautiful that could any where be found: it was as follows:—

" Hæres peccati, natura filius iræ,
Exiliique reus nascitur omnis homo.
Unde superbit homo? cujus conceptio culpa,
Nasci pœna, labor vita, necesse mori.
Vana salus hominis, vanus decor, omnia vana:
Inter vana nihil vanius est homine.
Dum magis alludit præsentis gloria vitæ,
Præterit, immo fugit, non fugit, immo perit.
Post hominem vermis, post vermem fit cinis, heu, heu!
Sic redit ad cinerem gloria nostra simul.
Hic ego qui jaceo miser, et miserabilis Adam,
Unam, pro summo munere, posco precem.
Peccavi, fateor, veniam peto, parce fatenti:
Parce Pater, fratres parcite, parce Deus."

"These lines are a proof," says Pasquier, "that there were brave scholars at St. Victor's at that time: et certes j'oppose ceste pièce à tous epitaphes, tant anciens que modernes, et nous pouvons de cet eschantillon juger que les bonnes lettres estoient lors à bonnes enseignes, logées dans ce monastere."* Finally, we may observe that the sepulchres of the monks often attest the divine peace which they enjoyed in the cloister, and expected in the future life. Such was that of brother John de Pontisara, in the abbey of St. Germain-des-Près, "in quo," as the epitaph attested, "sensus erat, bonitas, pax, et moderamen;" and that of brother Peter de Nangis, in the same monastery, whose peaceful goodness was also commemorated.† On an ancient tomb in Rheims was this inscription:—

" Hic tegitur, cujus in factis gratia, cujus
Pax in corde fuit, cujus in ore modus."

The epitapn on Folrad, abbot of St. Denis, contained these lines:—

" Felix illa hominum est mors et pretiosa bonorum
Gloria quam sequitur, vita, salusque quies."‡

The words on the tomb of Father Domenico, in the convent of the Carmelites at Pausilypo,—"De paradiso ad paradisum transiens, 1522,"—were perhaps still more expressive in their simplicity.§ Amongst the tombs of the monks we find also often those of great prelates, who sought communion with them in the grave. Thus the archbishops of Rheims wished to be buried in the abbey of St. Remy. In the abbey of Clairvaux, near the great altar, was the tomb of John de Blauchemain, archbishop of Lyons, who renounced his see, to retire to this monastery. In the north transept were the tombs of five holy bishops, who from the same

* Recherches de la France, Liv. iii. c. 29. † D. Bouillart. Hist. de l'Abb. de S. Ger.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi. § Antiq. et Hist. Campaniæ ap. Græv. Thes. Antiq. [redacted]

place passed to heaven. Under the choir of the church of the abbey of St. Matthias, at Treves, was a great crypt, where Dom Martene saw the tombs of the first bishops of Treves, who were all saints. "We counted," he says, "fourteen of them. This is perhaps the most venerable place in Treves." In the abbey of Fecamp was the tomb of William, bishop of Bayeux, on which were these words, inscribed by Hildebert: "On the sixth day which precedes the month of April, his course ended, his recompense commenced." At the cloistral gate of St. Maurice, at Angers, is the tomb and image of Ulgerius, who, from a poor scholastic, became a celebrated master, and finally bishop of that see. He died in 1148. The following is the epitaph:

"Hic jacet Ulgerius teneris consuetus ab annis
Lingua, mente, manu fructificare Deo.
Hugus opus multis prodesse, monere, docere,
Flentem solari, nudum vestire, superbum
Frangere, ne quemquam lædere, recta, sequi."*

But, leaving now the tombs of religious men, let us cast a hasty glance at those of the ancient kings and feudal princes who lie near them; many of whom, as we have already observed, were moved by a true faith, while others, no doubt, were actuated only by an unavailing sentiment of remorse and terror, in their desire to have burial here. It was no consoling spectacle, though it must have been deeply interesting, to behold many tombs of Merovingian kings in the abbeys of St. Germain-des-Près and of St. Denis. Those tragic figures, so barbarous and so terrible, which pass before us in the pages of St. Gregory of Tours,—it was here that they rested. Our proud Norman kings, too, and Plantagenets, who often in their lives desired so ill of peace, and of these the hardest, most iron, and implacable, who warred against their own fathers, seemed softened at the memory of the cloister, and to recognize their error when they chose their tomb. The mausoleums of Henry and Richard, kings of England, are found, not in regal chapels under martial trophies of heraldic blazon, but with that of Queen Eleanor, in the spot where holy virgins only chant round them, in the choir of their church of Fontevrault. On the other hand, to find the tombs of those heroic and beneficent princes who are gathered to the kings of thought,—

"Who waged contention with their time's decay,
And of the past are all that cannot pass away,"

men had to repair likewise to the churches of the monks; it was there that they found them: Alfred, Edward the Confessor, and St. Louis, lay buried in monasteries. Charles Martel, that great instrument in the hands of Almighty God to defend the western Church, lay buried in a tomb of alabaster, in the abbey of St. Denis, by the side of the high altar. Iona, founded on Druidical ruins,—Iona,

* Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris ii.

the mother of monks, the oracle of the west in the seventh and eighth centuries,—contained the sepulchres of seventy kings. Like Arles, in Gaul, it might be styled a "city of the dead." In Cisteaux were found the tombs of the early dukes of Burgundy: sixty princes of that house are buried there, along with many bishops. In the abbey of Longpont there were interred thirteen counts of Soissons; but their tombs were without epitaphs, excepting those of Raoul de Nesle, and of his wife Ade.* In the monastery of the Holy Cross, at Ratisbon lay the early dukes of Austria. Here was the tomb of its founder, St. Leopold, duke of Austria and Styria; and also that of Sigismund, king of Hungary, called by some the Solomon of Hungary. On a controversy arising between him and his brother respecting the kingdom, he began to despise the earth; and so, unknown, came to this abbey, where, for twenty-four years, he lived in all patience and sanctity, as a lay-brother and swine-herd; but, in the article of death, he revealed his name and condition to the abbot. On his account the abbey was richly endowed by the kings of Hungary. Here lie the bodies of many dukes and marquises, with no other monument but a square stone, round which is inscribed the date of their departure. Thus on one we read, "15 cal. Novembris obiit Leopoldus, dux Bavariæ; 10 cal. Februarii obiit Ernestus, marchio Austriæ; Pridie cal. Septembris obiit Henricus, dux de Medlico; 17 cal. Maii obiit Fredericus, dux Austriæ." Here are buried also Albert, marquis of Austria; Ægra, duchess of Austria, wife of Henry, duke of Medlico; Gertrude of Brunswick, duchess of Austria and Styria; Rigardis, landgrave of Waldersdorff; and Offnia, countess of Schaumberg; with a multitude of German nobles.†

In the abbey of St. Remy, at Rheims, were the tombs of Carloman, brother of Charlemagne, of Louis IV., and of Lothaire, at the side of the high altar; of Frederone, wife of Charles the Simple; of Gerberge, daughter of the Emperor Henry and wife of Louis IV., king of France; of Rigenolde, first count of Roucy; of Aldrade, daughter of Louis IV.; of Boston, brother of King Raoul, killed at the siege of St. Quentin in 935; of Hugues, son of Count Roger; and of Count Burchard, an Englishman, who died there on his return from Rome. Some of these, indeed, excite no great curiosity; but what a deep historic interest must have been awakened in the pilgrim's breast when he beheld in the abbey of St. Faron, at Meaux, the tombs of Ogers and of Benoist, two of the most illustrious courtiers of Charlemagne, who consecrated themselves there to God;‡ and when he was shown in the abbey of St. Michael de Coxen, founded by Charles-le-Chauve in that spot which only the love of the cross could make agreeable, the tomb of St. Peter Urseole, doge of Venice, which stands in the choir, his relics being in a wooden shrine in an adjoining chapel; it being to this monastery that he retired! With what deep feeling must he have beheld in the abbey of St.

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 153.

† Gaspar Jongelinus, Notit. Abb. Ord. Cisterc. per Univers. Ab. Lib. iv. 11.

‡ Voyage Lit. de Deux Bén. 27.

Arnoul, at Metz, the tomb of Louis-de-Débonnaire, and in the monastery of St. Alban, at Mayence, that of Fastradana, the wife of Charlemagne, of which the epitaph concluded with the words, "Spiritus hæres sit patriæ, quæ tristia nescit;" and in the abbey of Einsiedelin, before the chapel of St. John, the tombs of the noble warriors who fell in the battle of Morgarten, where the Swiss defeated Leopold of Austria, in which was a perpetual anniversary founded for their souls' repose;* and in the abbey of Fulda, even the tomb and ancient epitaph of Wicelinus, son of Eginhard, who had been sent there by his father to study under Raban Maur.† But it would be long to tell of these. How much time should we require in the noble monastery of L'Espina, in Placentia, the cloister of which was built by the family of De Meneses, and the church by that of Alburguerque, before the sepulchre of the great John de Attenza, recapitulator of the laws which the Spaniards name de Las Patidas, and before the tombs of the Lords de Vega, the most noble family in Spain,‡ or in the abbey of Strata Florida, in which so many princes and nobles of Wales lay buried before the sepulchres, that revealed as much history as the annals of the country then preserved;§ or in Melrose Abbey, founded about year 636 by the pious Oswald, king of Northumbria, which St. David gave afterwards to the Cistercians, before the sepulchres of St. David and of Alexander II., kings of Scotland; of James, earl of Douglas, who died in 1388; and of his wife Euphemia, daughter of Robert Stuart, king of Scotland.‖

From the tombs of founders alone a history of nobility and knighthood might have been written, so exact and diffuse were the monks in commemorating the virtues of their benefactors. When such men composed their own epitaph, it is true that the style was often two much imbued with the monastic humility to render the testimony of much avail, as in the monastery of the Camaldolese, in a desert of Poland, where near the great door of the church, was the tomb of the founder, Nicholas Wolski de Podhayco, without any other epitaph but the following words composed by himself:

> 'Commissa mea pavesco, et ante te erubesco:
> Dum veneris judicare, Domine, noli me condemnare."

This noble Pole had been bred with the archdukes of Austria, and was distinguished for his chivalrous graces. In his youth he had visited Germany, France, England, and Italy, and was sénéchal in the imperial court of Rodulph II. After sixteen years he returned, full of learning and all virtue, to Poland. Great were his alms to the poor, and his munificence to the churches. Daily he heard mass, and recited the office of our lady. He built and endowed two monasteries of canons regular, besides this in which he lies.¶ But when the monks wrote the

* Tschuldi Einsied. Chronik. 64. † Schan. Hist. Fuldens. ‡ Ib. Lib. vi. 5
§ Ib. Lib. viii. 10. ‖ Ib. viii. 15. ¶ Annal. Camaldulens. 74.

epitaph of such men, there were many details given which might serve the purposes of history. In the ancient abbey of Lagny, in the diocese of Paris, was the tomb of its great restorer, Herbert, count of Champagne and Brie, in the time of King Robert, with this inscription,—

"Exempla morum, procerum lux, norma bonorum,
Solamen miseris, exitium sceleris,
Gloria virtutis, laus famæ, forma salutis."

Thibauld the Great, the fourth of this name, count of Champagne, who had loaded this monastery with goods, was also buried there in solemn state, in 1152. Moreover, the tombs of founders were often the only memorials of ancient families in existence: each monastery thus prevented from perishing some illustrious name and memory.

In the abbey of Hauterive was found the tomb of its knightly founder, William, count of Glana, whose portrait was pointed out to me in the hall, representing him clad in complete steel. His son, the first abbot, lay buried near him, as Wolfgang Lazius relates in his book, De Migrationibus Gentium. Orderic Vitalis, speaking of the year 1107, says that many great lords of England, Richard of Reviers, and Roger, surnamed Bigod, died, and were buried in the convents which they had founded on their own estates; the latter at Tetford, and the former at Montibourg, in Normandy.* In the abbey of St. Mary, at Longueville, belonging to the monks of Cluny, in Normandy, was the tomb, he says, of Walter Gifford, earl of Buckingham, with this epitaph: "He founded and built this church in which he now rests. This powerful duke was the munificent friend of his country; mighty by his valor, illustrious by his piety, and full of respectful tenderness for monks."† In the abbey of Potiere, near that of Molêsme, Dom Martene saw the tomb of its founder, the celebrated Gerard de Roussillon, prince of Burgundy, and of other provinces, who died in 890. But it was not alone in the capacity of founders that the knightly and feudal dead lay buried here. One of the three cemeteries in the abbey of Clairvaux was set apart for the noble strangers who happened to die in that house on their journey; and this provision may account for many tombs which are found within monasteries, that seem only fraught with reminiscences of the chivalrous world. In the abbey of Clair-lieu, Dom Martene observed the tomb of Nicholas de Luxembourg, on which he read, —"The knight who lies under this stone lived in high renown."‡

"En sens, en pace, en vertu consommê."

The monks had thus around them many tombs of men of knightly fame, to whom, however they still loved to ascribe a pacific character, the epitaphs abounding in repetitions of the same noble soothing words. "Moult piteuse et grand, sage, courtois et plein d'honneur," as one reads on the tomb of Raoul, duke of Lorraine, in the abbey of Beaupré, near Nancy. In monasteries also we find the tomb-

* Lib. xi. † Ib. ‡ Hock Gerbert und Seinjahrhundert, 104.

of greatest poets. Ronsard lies in the priory of St. Cosma, near Tours, on the left side of the altar: Tasso in the convent of St. Onufrio; Dante with the Franciscans at Ravenna. In fine, it was often within religious houses that those who cultivated a taste for curious researches discovered the tombs of men of dark mysterious fame, who perhaps, for many reasons, could not have had burial elsewhere. Cornelius Agrippa was interred in the church of the Dominicans, at Grenoble, as was in Melrose Abbey Michael Scot, whom some persist in counting with the wizards. The sway of their strong genius, which foresaw this hope, compelled men, studious and learned, to obey their last mandate, who at their burial, round their secret strength, thronged in solemn mourning. These were the tombs about which wild legends were so often sung, like that respecting the grave of Sylvester at the porch of St. John, which used to become damp before the death of a cardinal, and to emit water, so as to flood the place, whenever a chief pontiff was about to die. However, in general, it must be acknowledged all were aliens in such cemeteries, save the holy and the good, whose graves were moistened with the tears of men; as at the funeral of Lord Nicolas, marquis of Est, in 1388, in the church of the Minor Friars, at which more than a thousand persons clothed themselves in black through veneration for his virtues.* These were the graves which acquired such importance in the middle ages, from the opinion which then prevailed, that men could strengthen their hearts and kindle their piety by visiting them; "for it was felt," as St. Bernard says to the knight templars, "that less devotion is experienced often where the living conversed, than where the dead repose."† Hence those long affecting pilgrimages to see a tomb, like that of the young Emperor Otho, in the year 1000, to Gnesen, to the grave of the friend of his youth, the holy Adalbert of Bohemia; progress, marked with such a solemn character, undertaken with such earnestness and singlemindedness, when, accompanied by many noble Romans, he entered the city on foot, bare-headed, and with naked feet; and again repeated, when, after celebrating Easter in the convent of Quedlinburg, where his sister Adelheid was abbess, of whom he took so affecting a leave, he proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he caused to be opened the grave of his great predecessor and model, Charlemagne. Thus did the heroic dead in the ages of faith fulfil the poet's words:

"———We meet again
Within the minds of men, whose lips shall bless
Our memory; and whose hopes its light retain
When these dissevered bones are trodden in the plain."

By the low vaulted stairs, through which our guide and we did enter these dark precincts, let us now ascend, he first and we following his steps, till on our view the beautiful stained lights of the sanctuary dawn through the broad arch, that, thence issuing, we may again behold the sun.

* Chronic. Estense ap. Murat. xv. † Exhort. Ord Mil. Temp. c. xi.

CHAPTER IX.

NOW have we left the church, and pursued the steps of our sage conductor to the library and the scholastic halls, where after brief space we shall be presented to the living, who in this vast sanctuary inherit peace. To the churches from the beginning were confided archives; for the holiness of the place secured their preservation. Justinian accordingly prescribes that his laws should be laid up in the holy church with the sacred things belonging to it. In great churches the need for a separate place for the purpose was soon felt; and, at least, in the fifth century, there was a place, as at Nola, set apart with appropriate officers of librarian or chancellor.

The first certain evidence of the existence of a church library, is in a letter of St. Jerome to Pammachius in 394. Soon afterwards St. Augustin speaks of the library of his church in Hippo.* In Rome, Pope Anterus in 238 had made a collection of the holy Scriptures; and mention of libraries is made by Leo the Great, in his letter to the Emperor Leo. Hilary gave books to the church of the Lateran. In the time of St. Gregory the Great, it had already become the custom for remote bishops, whenever they had any difficulty about a book, to apply to the pope. Such requests came to Gregory from Gaul respecting the Gesta Irenæi; when his words to the bishop Ætherius were, "De eo vero quod ecclesiæ vestræ concedendum ex antiqua consuetudine deposcitis."† Similar demands came from Alexandria respecting the martyrology of Eusebius, but he could not find their books in Rome. Martin I. excused himself to the holy Amandas, bishop of Tongres, as he could not give him the desired books, "nam codices jam exinaniti sunt a nostra bibliotheca, et unde daremus ei, nullatenus habuimus." To the bishop of Saragossa he says, "that it is impossible to find the Libri Moralium of St. Gregory, out of the multitude of books." At the sixth general council of Constantinople, in 680, the Roman deputies appeared with many writings of the holy fathers, which the pope had given to them. Paul III. was entreated by Pepin to send some Greek books to the abbey of St. Denis, which he found and sent in 757. "We have directed to your excellence what books we could find, an antiphonale and responsale, the grammar of Aristotle, the books of Dionysius, geometry, orthography, and grammar, all in the Greek tongue."‡ In

* De Heres. ad Quodvultdeum. c. 87. † Epist ix. 50. ‡ Cenni Codex Carolin. i. 148.

855, Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, wrote to Benedict III. to obtain a great quantity of books, which he promised, however, punctually to restore.*

In the monasteries from the first, were libraries. Thus St. Augustin speaks of an abbey near Treves. " Coming to a certain house where dwelt some of thy servants, the poor in spirit, in whom is the kingdom of heaven, they found there a manuscript, containing the life of Anthony."† St. Gregory the Great also speaks of a book in the monastery of the holy Archangel in Sicily.‡ In the sixth century, the cloisters were the great schools of manuscripts, for St. Benedict requires the monks to practise such arts as were analogous to their state.§ The first splendid instance of a rich monastic library was that of the monastery of Squillace, the gift of Cassiodorus, who had been born there, and who, after collecting a library at Rome as a statesman, continued to search for manuscripts to enrich the collection of his monks,‖ for which he advised them to write out more copies,¶ endeavoring to facilitate their task by composing his book De Orthographia. From the seventh till the eleventh century, this example was followed at Bobbio, Mount-Cassino, Nonantola, la Chiusa, Pomposa, Piscara, and other Benedictine abbeys. Guibert, of Nogent, speaking of the first disciples of St Bruno, says, " Choosing to live in the utmost poverty, they nevertheless collect a most rich library."**

Wordly books, however, were much neglected, excepting by Cassiodorus at Squillace, Gerbert at Bobbio, Hieronymus at Pomposa, and by a few others. The libraries of chapters in cathedrals also were extensive. Those of Verona and Milan in the ninth, and that of Vercelli in the tenth century, were very rich collections. In monasteries it was in the twelfth century, above all, that the reformed Benedictines, especially the Cistercians, enriched their convents with books. Yet the zeal of the Italians, says Blume, did not equal that of the French monks, whose maxim was " Claustrum sine armario, quasi castrum sine armamentario,"†† or, as John of Salisbury says, " A cloister without books is a citadel without arms."

In the thirteenth century, the Dominicans and Franciscans surpassed all their predecessors in zeal for writing and collecting books; but towards the end of the fourteenth century, the flourishing period of the spiritual archives drew to its close, and the invention of printing diminished the importance of the monastic libraries. The monks were deprived often of their choicest books. Even Ambrosius Traversari expresses joy whenever a manuscript was given to him which had belonged to a monastery, and he made no scruple in taking from religious houses the books of deceased monks. Thomas Phädrus took from Bobbio a pile of the most important manuscripts, which had originally come from England or Ireland: these he removed to Rome, where some have been lately brought to

* Muratori Antiq. vii. 111. 835. † Confess. viii. 6. ‡ Epist. viii. 15. § Regul. 58
‖ Cap. de Instit. Divin. Script. Præf. ¶ Id. c. viii. e. 15. 30. ** De Vita sua, i. 10.
†† Gaufred. Canonic. Ep. xviii. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. i.

light by the illustrious Maï. The spoils with which Poggius returned from St. Gall to Italy are well known. The most important manuscripts with which the Vatican had been enriched from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, had all come out of monasteries: many of the books of Bobbio were removed to Rome, Turin, Milan, Naples, and Vienna. Mabillon took at least one manuscript from it to Paris. A worse fate awaited these collections in England; and wherever the modern heresies penetrated, books could have no chance, when even the famous Angervillian library, first collected by Angerville, bishop of Durham, was destroyed with the two noble libraries of Cobham, bishop of Winchester, and that of Duke Humphrey. Weever says, that from Merton College alone a cart load of manuscripts were carried off and thrown away. Libraries as old as the seventh century, like that of Weremouth, to which the abbot Benedict had brought over such a quantity of books from Italy, then perished.

But let us return to happier times, and mark the progress of the monastic collections. Men of all classes contributed to form them. The monks, if Gerbert expresses their sentiments, applied to the work of collecting books, with a view to the peace resulting from study. This learned monk of Aurillac, writing to Eccard, abbot of Tours, says, "that the cause of his undertaking such labor in collecting books in Italy, Germany, and Belgium, was his contempt for the treacheries of fortune, which contempt was the result in him, not alone of nature, but of an elaborated doctrine. Moreover," he adds," in leisure and occupation, we learn by means of books that of which we were ignorant."* It was to his love of peace that the monk of Croyland ascribes the liberality of the Abbot Richard, in the time of Richard III., to the library of that house, which he enriched not only with books that he purchased, but also with many that were written with his own hand.† Trithemius, who was such a great collector, speaks of his own motive thus, "Nothing is pleasanter, nothing more delightful than reading. I have passed nights without sleep, studying the Scriptures, and omitted to take my meals in order to save time for reading,—quicquid in mundo scibile est, scire semper cupiebam."‡ But it is Richard of Bury, who above all reveals what was in the mind of monks, when they applied with such diligence to form libraries. "In books," says this great churchman, "every one who seeketh wisdom findeth it. In these, Cherubim extend their wings, and excite the intelligence of the students, and they look from pole to pole, and from the rising to the setting sun. In these, the most high incomprehensible God is contained apprehensibly and adored. In these lies open the nature of celestial and terrestrial, and infernal things. In these are revealed laws by which all policies are ruled, the offices of the celestial hierarchy distinguished, and the tyrannies of demons described. In books I find the dead as if alive: in books I foresee the future, in books are manifested the laws of peace. All things else fail with time. Saturn ceases not to devour his off-

* Epist. 44. † Hist. Croyland. ‡ Nepiachus ap. Eccard. 11.

spring; for oblivion covereth the glory of the world. But God hath provided a remedy for us in books, without which all that were ever great, would have been without a memory. Towers fall to the earth, triumphal cities perish, nor can any king or pope confer a lasting privilege, unless by books. Finally, think what convenience or learning there is in books; how easily, how secretly, how securely, we may lay bare without shame to books the poverty of human ignorance. These are the masters who instruct us without rods, without anger, and without money. If you approach, they sleep not; if you interrogate them, they do not hide themselves; if you mistake, they do not murmur or laugh. O books, alone liberal and making liberal, who give to all, who ask and emancipate all who serve you. The tree of life you are, and the river of paradise, with which the human intelligence is irrigated and made fruitful. The contemplation of truth is more perfect by books, which do not suffer the acts of the intelligence to be interrupted; therefore, books seem to be the most immediate instruments of speculative felicity; consequently, no price ought to hinder a man from the purchase of books, unless on account of the malice of the seller, or the need of waiting for a more convenient time; for as wisdom is an infinite treasure, the value of books is ineffable, and therefore Aristotle, whom Averroes thinks was given as a rule in nature, gave 72,000 sestercii for a few books of Speusippus. The monks, who are so venerable, are accustomed to be solicitous in regard to books, and to be delighted in their company, as with all riches, and thence it is that we find in most monasteries such splendid treasures of erudition, giving a delectable light to the path of laics. O that devout labor of their hands in writing books; how preferable to all georgic care! O devout solicitude, by means of which neither Martha nor Mary can be corrupted. Truly the love of books is the love of wisdom, and a sensual or avaricious life cannot be combined with it; Therefore some one says,

"Nulla libris erit apta manus ferrugine tincta,
Nec nummata queunt corda vacare libris,
Nummipete cum libricolis nequeunt simul esse:
Ambos crede mihi non tenet una domus."

No one can serve books and mammon; for the former reveal God. Truly an image of future beatitude is the contemplation of sacred letters, in which one time, the Creator, at another, the creature is seen, and from a perpetual torrent of delight faith is drawn: how admirable is the power of books, while by them we behold the universe, and as if in a certain mirror of eternity, the things which are not as if they were! We ascend mountains, we dive into abysses, we see creatures of all kinds, we distinguish the properties of earthly bodies, and we even pass to comtemplate those that are heavenly. Lo, thus by books we attain to the reward of beatitude, while we are as yet only travellers journeying towards it."*

On promotion to great dignities in the state, monks loved to make donations

* Philobiblion, 15.

of books to the houses they left. Thus Simon Langham, abbot of St. Alban s, when he went out of England, left the monks books to the value of £830. It was the pleasure they derived from purchasing books for their libraries, that rendered Paris so delightful to the monks and other ecclesiastics of the middle ages who visited it. "O blessed God of gods in Sion," exclaims Richard of Bury, "what a flood of pleasure rejoices our heart whenever we are at liberty to visit that paradise of the world, Paris, where days always seem to us too few and short, through the immensity of our love! There are libraries more redolent of delight than all the shops of aromatics; there are the flowering meadows of all volumes that can be found any where. There indeed, untying our purse-strings and opening our treasures, we disperse money with a joyful heart, and ransom with dirt books that are beyond all price. But lo how good and pleasant a thing it is to gather together into one, the arms of clerical warfare, that there may be a supply of them for us to use in the wars against heretics, if ever they should rise up against us!"*

The house-diaries of abbeys are very particular in noticing donations to the library. Thus in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read "This year 1094, John de Mantrop gave to the library a folio book in Arabic, brought from Pannonia. In 1097, Marchwartus made a law that every novice on the day of his profession, should give a useful and valuable book to the library. He desired also that every superior of a monastery subject to ours, should collect a chronicle of his house, and send it to him to be a memorial for future ages. In 1215, Balthasar Rummer of St. Ansgarius gave us a manual, in which all his holy labors in the north are briefly and studiously noted, according to years and days. In 1379, Joachim de Bramburg gave to the library various Arabic and Hebrew books, which had been formerly taken in war in Hungary."

Laymen also co-operated. St. Louis left his books to be divided between the Franciscan and Dominican orders. Malatesta Novello of Rimini built and furnished a noble library in the Franciscan convent of Cesena. Henry III., archduke of Bavaria, gave a noble library to the abbey of Tagernsee, where he spent many hours of devout meditation.† The spirit of private collectors was hardly known. In every town in Italy, indeed, as Gerbert observes, books in abundance were to be found.‡ Frederic II. formed an excellent library,§ as did in the fourteenth century Robert, king of Sicily. The crusades probably caused a number of Greek books to be brought to Italy.‖ Coluccio Salutato, Petrarch, Niccolo Niccoli, and Thomas of Sarzana, afterwards Pope Nicholas V. were all eminent instruments in collecting and collating classical manuscripts; but still these men were far removed from seeking to have private libraries. Petrarch wished to sell his books in order to erect a chapel of the Blessed Virgin.¶ Nic-

* Id. c. 8. † Jaeck. Gallerie der Klöster Deutschlands. ‡ Tirab. iii. 8. 1.
§ Petri de Vin. Lib. iii. Ep. 67. ‖ Heeren Gesch. des Stud. der Klass. Litt. t. 1.
¶ Epist. 84.

coli's library at Florence was placed in a monastery; and also in the following age, the public libraries founded by private persons were always attached either to a monastery or to a church. One may pause here an instant to admire the wisdom of these men in this respect. "It is natural," says Blume, "that the property of communities should endure longer than what individuals may have accumulated for themselves. I know of no library which has been kept together in the hands of a private family for longer than 200 years. They are either dispersed or transferred to a foundation. Therefore it would be useless to write a history of private libraries."*

What an affecting comment on this statement might be furnished by the letter of John Francis Picus of Mirandula, on the death of his uncle John Picus, to Baptist the Carmelite, in which, after observing that his death is as admirable as his life, since he departed full of holiness and charity, he adds, "It is not yet known what is to be done with his rich library. I hope, however, that I may be able to collect and arrange all the fragments and particles of his writing. Alas! fallacious hopes and vain desires! I beheld many chests full of scraps, nor did I find any thing which could be brought into light on its own feet. O if you had seen what things he had conceived, what he had undertaken, you would scarcely have been able to refrain from tears. In him revived all the philosophers and theologians, all the ancients and moderns, if not excelled, at least, if you will believe a disciple who loved him, equalled. Do you and these who are under you pour out prayers to Christ for this friendly man."†

What is to be done with his library? Such is the sad question now at every scholar's death, which the wiser men of the middle ages in general took care to obviate, by collecting books for abbeys rather than for themselves. Muratori treats on the libraries of the monasteries, and gives some catalogues of books left to them by monks.‡ The library of Fulda, which perished in the thirty years' war, dated from the Carlovingians. Down to the beginning of the seventeenth century its collection of manuscripts was precious. Twelve monks had always been constantly employed in writing out books for it.§ This vast library, the admiration of the Italian philosophers of the fifteenth century, was divided into forty-eight classes. Some fragments of its catalogue in the time of Charlemagne exist: the books were then chiefly lives of the holy fathers and monastic rules.‖ The library of Corby in Germany, was also immense. This was plundered in the wars of the sixteenth century, and transferred to that of Wolfenbüttels.¶ The library of Gemblours, so rich in the historical antiquities of Belgium, was more than 700 years old at its late dispersion. In the abbey of St. Gall, in the eighth century, there were still but few books. The abbot Gotzbert was the first to enlarge the collection. The abbots Grimald and Hartmot enriched it with their

* Blume, Iter Italicum, i. † Epist. Lib. i. ‡ Antiq. Italiæ, Diss. xliii.
§ Ziegelbauer, Hist. Lit. de l'Ord. S. Ben. l. 483. Brower, Antiquitates Fuldenses, 45.
‖ Schannat. Hist. Fuldensis, P. i. ¶ Heeren, Gesch. d. Class. Lit. i. 162.

private collections. The former gave the Epistles of St. Paul, Missals and Gospels, Homilies, Works of the Fathers, Lives of the Saints, a book on astronomy, another on medicine, a Virgil, a Chronica Julii Cæsaris, De Vita Caroli Imperatoris, De Bonitate Hludovici Imperatoris, De Regibus Merovingorum, and Epistola Alexandri de Situ Indiæ. It is not to be wondered at, that the books in this abbey were found by Poggius and Cincius concealed and neglected in the tower, when we consider the deplorable state to which it had been reduced for some time previous by the enemies of the monks, and by the barbarous lay nobles who had destroyed theancient discipline.* For as Trithemius remarks, whenever there was decay of discipline, the library, like every thing, was neglected, as in the abbey of St. Martin, at Spanheim, till the year 1459,† when it again deserved the epithet of Bibliothecam illam solemnem.‡ When the reformers came to St. Gall, many precious manuscripts and records were seen carried out by children through the streets. Some were taken from them by the magistrates and laid up in the council-house. In one chest were found more than 600 brief but very old charters. There was also a census of the nobles and plebeians in the time of Louis-le-Débonnaire. Some of these manuscripts came into the hands of Goldast, others into those of Schobinger.§ In the books of the archives of St. Gall there are notices of the place from which each came. Thus in manuscripts of the ninth century we read, "Hæc a cœnobio S. Dionysi venit expositio;" again, "Istud, de vitibus a palatio Aquisgrani venit;" again, "Ado Episcop. Wienensis reliquias S. Desiderii cum actibus ejus vitæ misit ad S. Gallum." The library of Lobes, of which, the abbots were great promoters of learning, was also very great and precious. Trithemius increased the library of his abbey, enriching it with many and most rare MSS. on parchment and paper. During the twenty years when he used to visit different abbeys of his order in various provinces, he was able to examine all their libraries, and wherever he found a duplicate copy of a book which he had not, he procured it either by purchase or promise of another in its stead. "It happened often," he says, "in different monasteries and orders, that I found many volumes of astronomy, music, mathematics, philosophy poesy, oratory, history medicine, and art, which the good fathers either did not understand, or, fearing they might be an occasion of violating their holy rule, asked me to take away for myself, and to give them others printed, which they more wanted. So in the course of twenty years I have brought to this abbey about 2000 volumes. I have not seen or heard in all Germany of such a rare and wonderful collection as this became, containing such a number, not alone of common books, but of rare, hidden, secret, wonderful books, such as are scarcely to be found any where else." The manuscripts from this monastery, with those of the abbey of Lorsch, which were also precious, were removed to the Vatican in the time of Pope Gregory

* Ildefons Von Arx. ii. † Trithem. Nepiachus. ‡ Epist. ii. 8.
§ In Notis ap Vadiani Farrag. iii.

XV., when the library of Heidelberg was presented to the Holy See by Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, in the year 1622.

In France the monasteries were very rich in books. Stephen Pasquier cannot sufficiently express his admiration of them. "Though much," he says, "has been lost through the length of years and the misfortunes of our time, one may still gather out of the libraries of the mona-teries, plusieurs beaux brins dont l'on peut embellir le public."* "I cannot omit mentioning," says Paradin, "that at St. John's in Lyons there are certain very ancient books written on the bark of trees, of which one is legible and contains a commentary on the Psalms; but the other, which is unbound and torn, is written in old characters, which, to confess the simple truth, cannot be read, though the letters are fine and clear. To many who are not skilled in such matters, they seem to be Greek letters, but they are Latin characters, of which the form only is unlike ours; so that, however clever a man may be, he would find it hard to read a page in a week. These are, in fact, the works of St. Avitus, archbishop of Vienne. Some think that they are witten on linen, others that it is on junk of the Nile, others that it is on little pieces of wood glued together. It is impossible to divine exactly what they are. Certainly they are venerable and worthy of being preserved, through reverence for antiquity."† The library of the abbey of Cluny before the Protestants pillaged and burnt it in the sixteenth century, was deemed one of the wonders of the world, and in fact it equalled that of the emperors at Constantinople.‡ The literary treasures in the abbeys of St. Remy at Rheims, of St. Benedict on the Loire, of St. Victor and St. Germain at Paris, and of St. Denis after its discipline had been reformed by Suger, were also immense.

The most important manuscripts of the Petavian Library, collected by Paul Petau, and afterwards purchased by Vossius, from his son Alexander, for 40,000 livres, which forms the kernel of the present Alexandrine Library in the Vatican, came in 1562 out of the plundered abbey of St. Benoit-sur-le-Loire, from which Bongars also enriched his collection. The library of St. Victor was full of the most rare and excellent books. Frequently the original manuscripts of the great men who had rendered particular abbeys illustrious were preserved in them. Thus in Gembloux Dom Martene saw that of the chronicle of Sigebert, the letters of Guibert, and some works of St. Ratherius. In the twelfth century the library of the abbey of St. Médard at Soissons was celebrated; and Vincent of Beauvais speaks with rapture of that of St. Martin at Tours. Respecting the libraries in the Italian abbeys, we find abundant details in the interesting work of Blume. The library of the Augustinian hermits at Padua was celebrated; writers of the middle ages speak of it with admiration.§ Many of the manuscripts had been written there, though Tomasini found that many were lost or damaged, the Paris

* Recherches de la France, iii. 19.
† Hist. de Lyons, liv. ii.
‡ Gervaise, Vie d' Abbeillard, v.
§ Comment. Savonarolæ de laudibus Patavii.

theologians and other professors who used to proceed from this monastery, having probably taken a great part away with them. The library of St. John in Verdara, at Padua, was perhaps the richest in that city. The Dominican library of SS. John and Paul at Venice, is described by Tomasini and Montfaucon. Here was a Thucydides of the tenth century, and works by Guillelmus Pastrengicus, who from being a Turk became a monk of that house, and enriched it with many oriental manuscripts. In Bobbio, of which the library was celebrated already in 823, Mabillon found a Sacramentarium Gallicanum of the seventh century. Gerbert, who was abbot here in 972, left part of his treasures on leaving it. Dungal brought here forty volumes. In all there were 700 volumes of most ancient manuscripts, a treasure which the richest library in our times would envy. Here was a martyrology of the ninth century; also the Liber S. Columbani of the tenth. On another ancient book were these lines—

> "Sancte Columba, tibi Scotto tuus incola Dungal
> Tradidit hunc librum, quo fratrum corda beentur,
> Qui legis ergo, Deus pretium sit muneris, ora."

Here was also a vast collection of books on agriculture and on the laws and division of ground. The library of La Chiusa, between Susa and Turin, was famous in the eleventh century, when Geraldus, its librarian, was a most learned man.* At the fire in 899, which destroyed the renowned abbey of Nonantola, a great part of the books were preserved. Already in 1279 there was a catalogue made of its privileges, which began upon Papyrus. Another rich catalogue was made in 1632 by command of Cardinal Antonio Barberini. In the eleventh century a catalogue existed of its manuscripts, many of which Traversari found almost consumed by age. In the seventeenth century, under the Barberini most of these were removed to the library of the S. Croce of Jerusalem at Rome. At Camaldoli the archives were in the lower monastery at Fontebuono; the library was in the upper at the hermitage, one mile higher up the mountain, where lived the clebrated Ambrosius Traversarius, who added greatly to this collection. The French removed both to the town of Bibbiena; but the autographs of Ambrosius are found in the Camadolese convent of St. Michael at Venice. The Cistercian convent of S. Maria Maddalena at Florence had a great library, much enriched by the celebrated Ferdinando Ughelli, a monk of the house, who is said to have found a treasure here, which he expended in the purchase of books. The Dominican library of S. Maria Novella vied with that of the Franciscans of the Santa Croce. In the abbey of Pomposa was one of the most beautiful libraries in Italy. The oldest history of this collection is a catalogue written in the eleventh century. Its author names the abbot Hieronymus, his predecessor, as the founder. By his order, a monk from the desert, by name and example Bonus, skilled in all arts, employed himself in collecting books, whether beautifully written or other-

* Mabill. Acta. vi. 2.

wise; for the said abbot resolved to have them all rewritten, so as to form one body of a library. No church, no city, not even Rome, could contend with Pomposa in the quantity of its holy books. All the old monasteries of Ravenna were also rich in collections of diplomas, many of which were on papyrus. But we have not time to pursue these inquiries far; a few more notices and we have done. Throughout all Europe celebrated was the library of the great Archimandrian monastery of St. Saviour at Messina, which contained manuscript autographs of almost all the Greek Fathers.* In Spain celebrated were the libraries of the abbeys of Alvelda near Logrono, of St. Benedict of Sahagun, of St. Paul at Barcelona, of St. Vincent at Oviedo; and in Portugal at that of Alcobaça. Finally, most curious were the libraries in the monasteries of the islands of the Archipelago, as at Andros, Patmos, and Lesbos, and also in later times those on Mount Athos, which only date from the ninth and tenth centuries, of which the best account is given by John Commenus, and in Villois's Prolegomena to Homer.†

The inscription in the library Maruccelliana at Florence, "Publicæ et maxime pauperum utilitati," may serve to indicate the rule observed in the abbeys of the middle ages, where such collections were originally formed to benefit the poor. Richard de Bury expressed but a general desire when he wrote as follows: "Moved by Him who alone granteth and perfecteth a good will to men, I diligently inquired what among all the offices of piety would most please the Almighty, and most profit the church militant. Then before the eye of our mind there came a flock of chosen scholars, or rather of the elect, in whom God the Artificer, and Nature his handmaiden, had planted the roots of the best manners and sciences, but whom penury so oppressed that they were dried up, because these fruitful seeds, in consequence of want, were watered with no dew in the uncultivated soil of youth; so that their virtue lay hidden and buried. So the crop withered away, and the corn degenerated into tares; and they who might have grown up into strong columns of the Church, by the capacity of a subtle genius, were obliged to renounce studies. Thus they are repelled violently from the nectarean cup of philosophy, for which they thirst the more from having tasted it; and being deprived of the writings and helps necessary for contemplation, as if through a kind of apostasy, they return for the sake of bread to mechanical arts, to the loss of the Church and the scandal of the whole clergy. So mother Church cannot bring forth sons, but through want of the few and little things with which nature is contented, she loses pupils that would afterwards have become champions of the faith. Alas! how suddenly the sun is eclipsed in the bright Aurora, and the planets made to move retrograde, and the stars to fall. What can a pious man behold more deplorable? What can more excite his compassion? What can more easily dissolve into warm drops a congealed heart? Therefore we considered how much it would profit the Christian republic to bear assistance to the poor, and

* Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1001.

† Heeren. Gesch. d. Class. Lit.

pressing to him my regret that these treasures were not still in the hands of monks at Corby, though I should then have had to ride two leagues to see them. Truly I might have added, it would have been better to have had to speak to a Benedictine than to a corn-factor, or to the grenadier whom we find at the door of the Bourbon library at Naples.

In the middle ages there was more liberty of access to books. When Bessarion opened his library of St. Mark's church, he only forbad the removal of books beyond the city, and ordered that whoever was entrusted with a book within the city should deposit double its value. Antonio Agustin took a manuscript out of the Marziana library into Mendoza's house. Another was sent to him out of the public library in Florence.* When in some monasteries the effects of lending books were found so evil that the custom was prohibited, the council of Paris, in 1212, complained of the abbots who refused to lend books, and forbade them to pledge themselves in future to such refusals, "quum commodare inter præcipua misericordiæ opera computetur."†

Blume, after complaining of the ill management and difficulties opposed to strangers in the capitular libraries, says, that in monasteries in the country he always met with the most obliging reception.

Nothing can be more affectionate than the terms with which monks of the middle ages invite visitors to their libraries. Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, in the diocese of Sens, writes to the abbot Altisigus, in the diocese of York, saying, that as every animal loves its like, so he desires to be united with him in friendship and sacred prayers, on account of their common studies of wisdom.‡ And the letter of Wibald, abbot of new Corby, to the archbishop of Bremen in 1151, is enough to excite the envy of many of our contemporaries. "It was gratifying to us," he says, "that you visited our brethren and consoled them: but I wish you would return and remain longer; and, as you promised, that you would turn over and search not alone the volumes of our shelves, but also the schedules. I wish that we may have this delight together, in peace, and quiet, and leisure; for what greater happiness in life."§ These old writers accordingly are continually observing, that they have seen and read certain books in certain solemn monasteries, often in distant lands.

We find that the most delicate attention was inculcated by the monks from early time in the use of books. The rule of St. Pachomius enters into many details respecting their distribution and classification in the library, and the care to be taken of them; for instance, in not leaving them open when any one left his cell. The Coutumier of Cîteaux, speaking of the intervals of study, says, "If it be necessary to go any where, let the person to whom it was entrusted place it back in the drawer, or if he wish to leave it on his seat, let him make a sign to the

* Ant. Aug. Opp. t. vii. p. 185.

‡ Lupi Epist. lxii.

† Annales de Phil. Chrét. tom. xviii. 450.

§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 424.

brother sitting nearest him to guard it."* The rule of St. Isidore requires that the books should be returned every evening. The regulations of the library of the abbey of St. Victor, at Marseilles, are ordained expressly, as the statute of Mainerius, in 1198, states, with a view to extirpate the least root of dissension which might interrupt the unity and peace so necessary in all places, but so much more inidispensable where the love of Christ causes many persons to dwell together under one roof.†

In respect to the care of books in the middle ages, we may form some idea of the prevailing manners from reading the curious instructions of Richard de Bury. "Not alone do we serve God," he says, "by preparing volumes of new books, but also by preserving and treating with great care those we have already. Truly after the vestments and vessels dedicated to our Lord's body, sacred books deserve to be treated with most reverence by clerks. In shutting and opening volumes they should observe a mature modesty, not too hastily loosing the clasps, nor failing to shut them when they have finished reading; for it is far more important to preserve a book than a shoe. The race of scholars requires to be bridled with the rules of elders; for some act with petulance and presumption, judging of things as if they had experience when they are void of it. You will see one youth lazily reclining over his studies, and in the winter season, when suffering from a sorry rheum, permitting drops from his nose to fall upon the page. I wish that such a scholar, instead of a book, may have to sit over leather with a shoemaker. He has a nail, too, like a giant's, with which he marks the margin of the passages that please him. He has, besides, innumerable straws, which he puts between the leaves to help his memory: these accumulate so as to swell the junctures of the binding, and there they are forgotten, and left to rot. He scruples not to eat fruit and cheese over the open book, and to pass the plate dissolutely over it, and, because he has no bag provided for alms, he commits the fragments to the book. What more shall I add? Leaning on his two elbows, he rests upon it, invites sleep, and doubles down the corners of the leaves, to their no small detriment. Then when the showers are passed, and the flowers have appeared in our land, this scholar, whom we describe, rather a neglector than an inspector of books, stuffs his book with the first violets and roses he can find, and turns over the leaves with hot hands, never thinking for a month to close the book, so that insects penetrate and eat into it, and at last it is so distended than one cannot shut it. There are impudent youths who will even make letters in books; so that wherever there is a broad margin you will find a monstrous alphabet, or something frivolous that occurred to their imagination, which immediately their unchastened pen presumed to put down. There are some thieves also who cut out leaves or letters, which kind of sacrilege ought to be prohibited under anathemas. An honest scholar will always wash his hands before taking up a book after

* Ap. Martene, Antiq. Monach. Rit. Lib. 1. c. 7. † Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1020.

dinner, and a crying child should never be suffered to admire the capital letters of books, lest his wet fingers should pollute the parchment; for he touches whatever he looks at. Moreover, laics, who handle a book turned upside down, as if properly directed, are altogether unworthy of having communion with books. In fine, all negligence in regard to books is excluded by the example of our Saviour; for when he had read from the book which was delivered to him, we read that he did not return it to the minister until he had closed it again with his most sacred hands; from which students ought to take example never to commit the least negligence with regard to books."*

This minute attention to the preservation of books belonged not merely to such men as Richard de Bury, who used to breathe books, like Cato, whom Cicero describes sitting in the library of Lucullus, not so much reading as inhaling them: "quasi heluari libris videbatur;"† but also to all members of every religious community which had maintained its discipline. In the manuscripts executed by direction of Regimbert, librarian at Richenau, under the Abbots Wald, Heit, Erlbald, and Rudhelm, certain lines are generally inserted, which, after stating that he had procured these books for the use of the brethren, conclude thus:

'Adjurat cunctos Domini per amabile nomen,
Hoc ut nullus opus cuiquam concesserit extra;
Ni prius ille fidem dederit, vel denique pignus
Donec ad has ædes quæ accepit salva remittat.
Dulcis amice gravem scribendi attende laborem:
Tolle, aperi, recita, ne lædas, claude, repone."

Hugo of St. Victor observes, that the resin of the cedar-wood is useful to preserve books; for that, when anointed with it, neither insects nor age can consume them.‡ The binding of books formed one occupation of the monks, to which much importance was attached. Although hunting had been interdicted to all ecclesiastics, by the councils of Agde in 506, Epon in 517, and of Pont Andemer in 1276,—which prohibition had been extended expressly to monks in the time of Charlemagne, and even to the Knight-Templars,—yet, under that emperor, liberty was given to the monks of St. Bertin at St. Omer, and of St. Denis, to hunt in their woods, in order to procure skins for binding their books.§ Geoffroy, count of Anjou, founding a Benedictine house at Saintes, in 1047, gave to it the tenth of the deer on some lands in the Isles of Oleron, to supply covers for their books.

At the abbey of Pfeffers, as elsewhere, it was the custom in time of war to conceal the library and the church treasure with such care, that only few persons knew the place. The consequence was, that, on their death, these valuable things were often lost. Accordingly, in the tenth century, under Abbot Ulrich,—and

* Philobiblion, c. 17. † De Finibus, iii.
‡ Hugo de S. Vict. Institut. Monastic. Lib. iii. c. 56.
§ Chron. Monast. S. Bert. l. ix. ap. Martene Thes. Anec. iii.

again in 1155, under abbot Henry,—lost treasures of this kind were unexpectedly discovered. On the last occasion the convent came into possession of ten silver chalices, with vestments; and a rich library, containing,—besides Missals, choral books, and works of the holy fathers Augustin, Jerome, Gregory, Isidore, Bede, and Alcuin,—a vast collection of classical authors: "Virgil, Juvenal and Persius in one volume; Statius, Terence, Servius on the Bucolics, Lucan, Oratius, Salust, Sedulius, two books of Arator, Cato and Avianus; Waltar, Omerus, Fulgentius, and the Trojan history, Donatus, Theocritus, Topics of Tully, the Prædicamenta of Aristotle, two books of Porphyry, a book of Geometry; and the Cantica Canticorum, metrically and Teutonically composed."* It is remarkable that Richard de Bury, when enumerating the injuries caused to libraries by wars, cites only instances from heathen times. No doubt, the monasteries, in Christian ages, preserved them from any wide destruction. Suffer they did, however, at times, as in the abbey of St. Salvator de Settimo, at Florence, which contained an immense library, from the ruins of which the celebrated Mediceean collections were formed or increased. "I remember," says Gaspar Jongellinus, "that, when living in that house, I used to wonder, on seeing how many volumes were covered with mud, and torn and defaced; but an old monk told me what he had heard from the ancient fathers, that it was Florentine soldiers who had caused that destruction: for, being placed in ambush in the monastery, and sallying forth to repel the enemy from the walls, they had scarcely proceeded beyond the ditch, when the substructure failed; and their being a great confusion, in order to facilitate the return of those who were without, and who would otherwise have been slain in the trench, they took a quantity of books and made a bridge across with them, on which they passed back."†

But now we come to the place where so many of these volumes were written. On entering the Scriptorium, in the abbey of Fulda, you read this inscription:—

"Hic sedeant sacræ scribentes famina legis
Nec non sanctorum dicta sacrata patrum
Hic interserere caveant sua frivola verbis,
Frivola, nec propter erret et ipsa manus.
Correctosque sibi quærant studiose libellos
Tramite quo recto penna volantis eat.
Est labor egregius sacros jam scribere libros,
Nec mercede sua scriptor et ipse caret."‡

An ancient manuscript in the library of Einsiedelin describes St. Gregory writing his dialogues with Petrus Diaconus, on the deeds of holy men in Italy, in the monastery which bears his name at Rome, to which he used to retire from the burden of the pontifical office. These are the lines:—

* Ildefons von Arx. i. 294.

† Notit. Abb. Ord. Cisterc. Lib. vii. 38.

‡ Schannat. Hist. Fuldensis, i.

Sanctorum veneranda cohors sedet ordine
Divinæ legis Mystica dicta docens.
Hos inter residens Agapetus jure sacerdos
Codicibus pulchrum condidit arte locum.
Gratia par cunctis, sanctus labor omnibus unus,
Dissona verba quidem, sed tamen una fides."*

St. Gregory of Tours relates, that Leobardus the Recluse was frequently occupied in thus writing out books; and Sulpitius Severus says, that, in the greater monastery of St. Martin, no art was cultivated but that of writing, to which the younger were devoted, while their elders had leisure to pray. This, as Mabillon observes, was the great labor of the Benedictines, who thus transmitted the treasures of antiquity to our time.† The Abbot Frederick of Hirschau, whom Trithemius styles the humblest of men, had his place and seat among the writers in the Scriptorium of that abbey, in nothing taking any distinction to himself.‡

The Scriptorium of monasteries used to be liberally endowed. Thus to that of St. Edmondsbury was assigned the profits of two mills; to that of Ely, the revenue of two churches; to that of St. Swithin at Winchester, the tithes of a valuable rectory. The art of transcribing manuscripts flourished till about a century before the discovery of printing. Heeren says, that by far the greatest number of corruptions in our manuscripts are to be ascribed to the negligence of writers during that interval; and that the care practiced in the tenth and fourteenth centuries in transcribing is evident at the first glance.§ Gerbert, in his history of the Black Forest, says, that, if there was nothing else, the beautiful writing of the tenth century, by means of which so many valuable monuments have been transmitted to us, ought to convince us that it was not a barbarous age. "Books were then so beautifully painted and embellished with emblems and miniatures, that the whole seemed to be the produce, not of human, but of angelic, hands. The fervor of abbots in that tenth century, in employing writers to preserve valuable books by multiplying copies, can never be sufficiently praised. Tangmar, in his life of St. Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim, says, that he established Scriptoriums, not alone in the monasteries, but in divers places, by means of which he collected a copious library of books, both of divines and philosophers. In fact, the art of writing never attained to such perfection as in the ninth and tenth centuries; and all antiquarians will admit that the form—more or less elegant—of characters in the manuscripts of different ages places before our eyes the state of the sciences at that time, according as it was more or less flourishing."‖

The same parchment was sometimes twice or thrice written upon; but if in this way many manuscripts of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries were destroyed, it is some excuse that the monks who did so only followed the example of the Romans, who had always observed this custom; and that from the time when

* Annalium Camaldulensium, Lib. ii. 70. † Præf in i. Sæc. 9. ‡ Chronic. **Hirsaug.**
§ Gesch. de Class. Lit. im Mittelalter, i. 372 ‖ Hist. Nigræ Silvæ, i. **163.**

men began to write books, with a separation between the words, it was thought fair, before the art of investigating antiquity was advanced, to put aside, as not fit for use, the Romish Merovingian and Scottish writings, in which all the words were joined together, and to make them serve for some other work.

Writing books was the main employment of the monks of St. Gall in the ninth and tenth centuries, to collate which they brought manuscripts from Italy and France; and this was the object of most of their epistolary correspondence. They wrote only on parchment, which, out of the hides of wild beasts, they manufactured with such skill, that it is often whiter and thinner than the finest post paper. In the beginning of the ninth century their writing was obscured by many Merovingian and Longobardish signs; but from 820 this cursive writing was generally laid aside for the Carlovingian Roman characters. The great antiquarians, Mabillon, Baluze, Basnage, Calmet, and Gerbert, found few manuscripts to equal in beauty those of St. Gall. They were the work of many hands. Some made the parchment, others drew the lines, others wrote the books, others put in the gold and the initial letters, others painted them, others compared the text with the original, which work was generally done by night in the Scriptorium between matins and lauds; and the last hands were employed in binding them within thick boards, cramped with iron, lead, or ivory. The best and most eminent writers of this time were Sintram, Folkard, Wolfkoz, Gotzbert, Bernwick, Alfart, Thiothard, Rifine, Wikram, St. Notker, Burgolf, Albrich, Egloff.* Writing was learned by the verse, every where known, containing nearly all the letters of the alphabet,

"Adnexique Globum Zephyrique Kanna secabant."

The labor was great, and Eadbert complains of it, saying, "Qui nescit scribere non putat esse laborem, tres enim digiti scribunt, totum corpus laborat."† They sought also to write without ink, and to engrave the letters on the parchment with a style, of which examples are found in the manuscripts of St. Gall.‡ Waldo, abbot of St. Gall, affirming something, says, "Never, while I have strength in these three fingers;" for he was an admirable writer, adds Ratpertus.§ "All the Cisalpine world," says Eckehard, "admires the fingers of our Sintram, who wrote out the Gospel which we possess. It is astonishing how one man could write out so many books, since we find works by him in most places of this kingdom. His writing was most delicate, yet you will rarely find that he had to erase one word in a page through any mistake."‖ A book of the Gospels, in gold letters, by him, still exists. Almost every monastery in Germany could boast of having some book written by his hand.

* Cartæ Traditionum, et Catalogus Mistorum S. Galli, sec. 9. † Cod. MSS. 243.
‡ Ildefons von Arx. § Ratpert. de Origine S. Galli, ap. Goldast. Rer
‖ De Casibus S. Galli, ap. id.

In the manuscripts of the abbey of Tagernsee, in Bavaria, the names of monks who could write and illuminate best are recorded. Thus we read that Ellinger made a beautiful copy of Pliny's Natural History, with figures of the animals.* James the Florentine, a holy monk of St. Mary of the Angels at Florence, who died at an advanced age in 1396, was celebrated for his skill in writing the choral books. To him that house owed twenty of the finest that the world ever saw. He wrote others, which are found in Rome, and in the churches of St. Michael and of St. Matthias in Venice.† An old chronicler of the monastery of St. Riquier describes that pious community as similarly employed in the time of Robert, king of France. "Books of great science, excellent pearls," he says, "are now restored; while others are written out for the first time."‡

Students of St. Gall, who had made some progress in the ars lineandi, were always employed in writing out books. When Eckehard found any boys slow to study, he made them apply to writing: but there was a distinction made; for we read, "If the work be to write the Gospel, or a Missal, let men of a perfect age write it with all diligence and attention."§ The Irish monks seem to have brought with them into Germany the mode of writing on wax tablets; for, in the manuscripts of St. Gall, we read of pugilares Scotorum; that is, of the Irish, as is expressly stated in the Martyrology of Notker. The notes of these old manuscripts are curious. Thus on one we read, "Anteriora ægrè sunt correcta;" on another, which had been disfigured by the transcriber, "Diabolus fecit tam sanctam epistolam vitio scriptoris depravari."‖ The copiers found their task laborious. One says, "Sicut ægrotus desiderat sanitatem, ita desiderat scriptor finem libri" another writes in old German, "Written with great trouble;" another, "Libro completo saltat scriptor pede læto."¶ St. Notker writes of himself, "Nefas putavi, si illa enigmata Bibliothecæ S. Galli, cui Dei gratia multa accumulavi, scribere negligendo defraudaverim."** One is amazed at the labor of their hands in this work. Dom Etiennot, who travelled so much to search the libraries of different abbeys, wrote out in the space of eleven years forty-five volumes in folio, containing the result of his researches.†† The anonymous monk of Ratisbon says, "that, besides being occupied in the task of instruction, he wrote with his own hand not only books of his own composition, but also twenty Missals, three books of the Gospels, two with the Epistles and Gospels, and four books of Matins."‡‡

Harduin, who lived in a remote cell of the martyr Saturninus, built by the blesssed Wandregisilus at Fontanelle, wrote with his own hand four volumes of the Evangelists in Roman letters; one volume of St. Paul's Epistles; three volumes of Sacramentaria; one of readings from the Gospels; one containing forty homilies of Pope Gregory; a book of Arithmetic, with letters concerning the

* Jaeck Gallerie der Klöster Deutschlands, i. † Annal Camald. Lib. lvii. ‡ Lib. iv.
§ Capit. Caroli M. 789. ‖ Cod. 6. ¶ Cod. N. 1019. ** In. Cod. 14, p. 331.
†† Bibliot. Hist. de la Cong. de S. Maur. ‡‡ Ap. Mab. Vet. Analecta, 119.

Paschal time; one volume, containing from the eleventh to the eighteenth book of St. Augustin, De Civitate Dei; one of Venerable Bede,—"De Naturis rerum ac temporibus;" one of a Psalter, with the Ambrosian Hymns; one of the lives of St. Wandregisile, St. Ansbert, and St. Wolfrann; one volume of Questions of St. Ansbert to Siwinum, recluse; and one Antiphonarium.* Maurus Lapi, a Florentine monk of Camaldoli, while living nine years in the desert, and more than forty-six in the monastery of St. Matthias de Muriano, read and wrote out more than 1000 manuscripts; the list of which, including the most excellent words of the middle ages, shows that he could make a good choice of authors.† Gerhard of Monte-Sereno, though having a defect in his sight, wrote out six Missals, one Plenarium, one Lectionarium, four Graduals, one Antiphonarium, two books of Homilies, two Passionals, four books of Morals, and two Matutinals.‡ Prodigious is the number of books which Trithemius says he has written during the twenty-three years of his being abbot at Spanheim.§

Again, to remark the spirit with which the monks pursued these labors. Let us hear a monk of the abbey of Morigni: "May God reward all constructors, enlargers and protectors of this place, and have mercy on them; on me also, Teulfus, who have written these things, and who know not whether I have done it any service, excepting that I have, to the best of my power, corrected and accentuated the whole Bible from Genesis to the last Epistle of Paul; St. Augustin, from his book, De Triuitate Dei, till that of John, the Morals of Gregory, and other works—who for a long time was precentor, and afterwards attempted to be prior; but to govern as was required, partly through ignorance, partly through negligence, partly through infirmity, not of body but of manners, I could not. You who read this, I beseech, by the sweet name of my Lord Jesus Christ, to say, with all the affection you can, 'O God, merciful by nature, who showest mercy and hast pity upon all, show mercy, I pray, to Teulfus, unworthy of thy mercy.' But if you shut your bowels against me, and turn a deaf ear to my prayer, you will sin, both against God, who is charity, and against me."‖

In the silence of their cells these men rejoiced in the thought that they could, by the labor of their pens, preach to the human race. "Happy intention," cries Cassiodorus to his monks, alluding to those who transcribed the ancient books, "praise-worthy assiduity, by the hand to preach to men, by the fingers to open the lips, in silence to give salvation to men, and with a pen to fight against the unlawful suggestions of the devil; for Satan receives as many wounds as the writer puts down words of the Lord. Resting in the one place he goes, by means of the dissemination of his work, through different provinces; his labor is read in holy places; the people learn from it how they may be converted from an

* Chronic. Fontanellense, ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iii.
† Annal. Camaldulens. 67.
‡ Chronic. Montis Sereni. § Nepiachus.
‖ Chronicon Mauriniacense ap. Duchesne, tom. iv.

will to serve God with a clean heart." Peter, the venerable abbot of Cluny, speaks in the same manner to Gislebert the recluse.

In a manuscript of St. Augustin on the Psalms, by the monk Radulf, in the abbey of St. Vaast at Arras, are verses relating what was the hope of the writer; for he says, that as many sins would be forgiven him, as he had written words in that book.* "In Arnesberg, a monastery of Prænonstré, as I heard from a priest of that congregation," says Cæsar of Hiesterbach, "there was a certain writer, named Richard, an Englishman, whose tomb was opened twenty years after he had lain in it, when his right hand was found whole and flexible, as if cut off from a live body, while all the rest was in ashes. It was a hand ever directed by charity. It is still preserved in that house.†

Having already in the third book gone over much of this ground, I pass on now as rapidly I as can; but it is impossible to visit monasteries, and omit all mention of some of the most remarkable features in their history.

The first institutors of the monastic life were pious men, who made more account of sanctity than of learning. "Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium," are the words of St. Jerome, adopted by the Cistercian order for its motto. To grieve, not to teach, was their office. This made St. Augustin exclaim, in allusion to St. Anthony, that the unlearned rise up and take heaven by force, while we with our learning are sinking to perdition.‡ St. Anthony had no admiration for learned men, and he used to say that a sound mind was more ancient than all the wisdom of letters. A certain philosopher, expressing surprise how he could persist in the monastic life without the consolation of books, he replied, "Nature is my book; for in all parts of the creation I read the oracles of God." The beginning of the book of St. Gregory of Tours, De Virtutibus et Miraculis, will show with what mind these monks withdrew from the study of profane literature, though it is true this holy man evinces his acquaintance with heathen literature in the very words with which he declares his sense of its vanity. All through the ages of faith men made more account of piety than of learning, according to the words, "Better is an humble rustic who serves God than a proud philosopher who neglects himself, while considering the course of the heavens;" and so also St. Hilary says, "Meditatio legis non solum in verbis legendi est, sed in opere et religione."§

Hear the words of monks most devoted to classical learning. "Those who live ill, and wish to speak well, and despise faulty language rather than corrupt manners, are thus instructed," says Lupus, abbot of Ferrers: "Omnis labor hominis in ore ejus, et anima illius non replebitur:" "for it is just that he who attributes the first place to learning, and not to sanctity, should be excluded in a destructive fast from the refection of wisdom."‖

* Martene, Voyage, Lib. 64. † Illust. Mir. xii. ‡ Confess. viii. 8. § In Psal. i.
‖ Lupi Epist. xxxv.

"Though you ask for the books of Tully, yet I know that you are a Christian, not a Ciceronian; for you only pass into foreign camps as a spy." So writes, in 1150, the superior of an abbey in Hildesheim to Wibald, abbot of New Corby, who replies to him: "You judged rightly of us: the dishes of Cicero we do not serve among the first, or to the chief table; but when replenished with better food, we partake of them as of the sweet meats which were served for the desert."

Mabillon shows the error of some in the last century, who supposed that monasteries were instituted for the purpose of cultivating human science: for they who entered them generally counted sciences along with the other secular things which they abandoned for the love of Christ.* But, at the same time, he proves with what assiduity, as well as humility, studies were recommended within cloisters, under the influence of religion.†

Cosma the Scholastic had more books than any one else in Alexandria, and he used willingly to lend them to any one who asked him; and you saw nothing with him but books and benches, a bed and a table; "and whenever I went to see him," says Sophronius, "I used to find him either reading or writing."‡

In the time of Charlemagne there were opened many schools for the Greek. "Do not wonder," says a monk, "that the Abbot Hermann should have carried a Greek Testament always with him; for this learned and religious prior was skilled in the Greek tongue, which he had learned in the Caroline College at Osnaburg; for in that foundation all the clergy were skilled in both Greek and Latin."§ Long before, St. Cæsarius of Arles used to celebrate the Divine worship in Greek as well as in Latin. The king, Charles, wished to make Compiegne a second Constantinople, and gave it the name of *Καρλόπολις*, and to a new founded abbey in Burgundy he gave the name of Alpha. This Græcomania shows that the language was much cultivated then. In the tenth century, at St. Martial of Limoges, it was the custom on Easter-day to sing the Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei, in Greek. At Auriol, near Marseille, there was a company of Greek monks. In 1167, William, who from a physician had become a monk, brought Greek books to Paris from Constantinople,‖ which greatly excited the interest of the learned. Philip Augustus founded a Collegium Constantinopolitanum for young Greeks; and the Dominican and Franciscan orders applied with diligence to the same study. The first who gave a translation from the Greek of Aristotle's Morals was Robert, bishop of Lincoln, in the thirteenth century. At this time many eminent Grecians flourished; as William of Morbeka, Thomas Cantiprantanus, Henry of Brabant, Bartholomew of Messina, Eugenius Ammiratus, and James of Venice.¶

* Tract. de Studiis Monast. pt. i. c. i. † Ib. ii. ‡ Pratum Spirituale, c. 172.

§ Chronic. Cœnobii Virgin. Ottberg. ap. Paulini Her. et. Antiq. German. Syntag.

‖ Chronic. de S. Denis, ad ann. 1167.

¶ Staudenmaier Johan Scotus und die Weissenschaften Seiner Zeit.

I am aware that some modern writers are of opinion that the monks, by preserving and cultivating the ancient learning, only retarded what they term the progress of the human mind. Capefigue says that their literature repressed the nerve, so French and so national, of the troubadours.* But it may be a question to be referred to others, whether the instantaneous development of their first thoughts, however French or elsewhere national, is always a mode of advancing the intelligence of men. Eurymachus, indeed, is very anxious, like most of Homer's heroes, to express whatever comes uppermost,

———— κέκλυτέ μεν, μνηστῆρες,
ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.†

But perhaps it was quite as well that the monks, instead of encouraging the barbarians around them to utter in verse whatever their minds first called on them to say, invited them to their schools, where they learned to hear a little before they expressed themselves.

In these isolated monasteries of the middle ages, so wild in their situation and so solemn in their structure, were found men of profound learning, as well as in the heart of cities, who were known to their contemporaries as lights both for divine and human studies: as Thomas of St. Victor is described—

"Est lux æterna Thomæ collata Priori
Qui meruit martyr juris amore mori."‡

The early monks did not disdain the ancient learning, for we know that the missionaries of St. Gregory brought a Homer with them to England, and Raban Maur is commemorated as having first brought Greek literature to the Germans.§ In the ninth and tenth centuries the monks of St. Gall could understand, read, and write the German, Latin, and Greek tongues; they were skilled as orators, astronomers, physicians, expounders of the Sacred Scripture, in all history, and in classical literature. Those most versed in Greek were termed the Greek Brothers —fratres Ellenici. The professors held an epistolary correspondence with the court and the learned men of the age, and were often called to occupy distant sees. The monks of St Gall were among the first to form the German into a written language; for it was not till the ninth century that it could be written. Part of the rule of St. Benedict, with the Pater noster, Credo, and Confiteor, translated into German, were the first examples, and these were written in the Greek and Runic alphabet of the Latin characters. Rupert, one of these in the ninth century, composed in German a popular hymn in honor of St. Gall. In France Orderic Vitalis particularly notices the monks of Bec as devoting themselves to the study of letters. "Such zeal did they show," he says, "in extending the sacred mysteries and in useful discourse, that almost all seemed to be philosophers, while those

* Hist. de Phil. August. ii. 190. † xviii. 351. ‡ Bulæus Hist. Univ. par. ii.
§ F. Cornelii Monach. Breviar. Fuldense Historicum.

who were illiterate, called Rustics, might learn grammar from them." But all the greater houses contained men of eminent learning down to the latest times, when the Benedictine order gave to the republic of letters Ménard, Mabillon, Montfaucon, d'Acheri, Gallois, Delfau, Massuet, Bulteau, Gerberon, Gesvres, Lami, Garnier, Rousel, and Ruinart. The Mendicant orders produced also men of most profound erudition. Joseph Scaliger writing to Isaac Casaubon tells him to search in the king's library for some notes of a Dominican friar on the Alcoran, which will greatly assist his studies, and without which he will find obscurities that will be inexplicable. The English Franciscans were especially learned towards the end of the thirteenth century. Then shone Rodulph Coleburg, Roger Bacon, Henry Willot, Thomas Docking of Norfolk, Richard Rufus, Adam de Marisco, William of Ware, John Walleis, John of London,—who followed Roger Bacon to Paris, and, having been sent by him to Rome, was retained there by Pope Innocent,—Robert Crusius, and Richard Middleton, the last of whom is commemorated with fourteen other chief doctors of his order on the tomb of Dun Scotus at Cologne.*

Though we before visited the schools of the middle ages, we cannot refuse to take another glance at them, being now within the very walls where the greatest were established; and from the library and scriptorium we are naturally directed to the Scholastic Halls, so appropriately placed within the asylums of peace, as the very word Scholastic indicates, for it implies leisure from external material things to be free to study as to adore God. These forests and valleys through which we have lately penetrated might have been designated in the middle ages as the studious walks and shades, the schools of sages. In the tenth century, when St. Wolfgang retired to Einsiedelin, that solitary monastery was embosomed in a vast forest, and yet crowds of pupils came there to its schools from all the neighboring provinces. In every abbey there was a professor of theology and of philosophy. How strange it sounds now to hear of a Dom Badier professing philosophy at St. Denis, and of a Dom Lopin teaching philosophy on Mount St. Michael in Normany, places in our ears only associated with the thoughts of barracks and state prisoners, who have no other idea of philosophy besides the revolt of the intelligence against God. The monasteries were schools of theology, philosophy, of languages, of writing, of art, and of law; for there too men "spent their youth in flowing gown, studying their Ulpian." In the time of Charlemagne letters as well as theology were taught in cloisters before numerous disciples; and in cities studious youths were permitted to assist at the lectures without being inhabitants of the monastery. Down to the seventeenth century the monks permitted laics to attend the scholastic classes of their novices,† and these were sometimes far advanced in age; for one result of the monastic influence was to convince men that, as Clement Alexandrensis says, "no time could be unseason-

* Wadding, Ann. Minorum, iv. v. vi.

† Monteil, Hist. des Français, viii. 544.

able when it was a question of giving health to the soul, that it could never be too soon or too late to philosophize, as it could never be too soon or too late to be happy: that both young and old must philosophize; that the old may grow young again through the good things which come to them from grace, and that the young may be at the same time both young and old through confidence in the future."*

The ancient pulpits of philosophy existed in France till the revolution. Every monastery mantained some learned men to give public instruction; "and it is worthy of remark," says Conringius, "that in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, throughout the whole western church, there was no one distinguished by his writings who had not been educated in a monastery."† An historian of Ireland observes, "that the rapidity with which the schools of the monasteries rose from their ashes after being burnt by the northmen, and resounded afresh with the voice of instruction, seems hardly less than marvellous. Only a few months after a desperate inroad of Danes into Armagh, we are told of a youth of royal blood repairing to its schools for the completion of his education." In England, after the coming of the Nomans, every monastery had a public school; and where funds could not immediately be found, barns were hired for the purpose, where the teachers gratuitously attended. Thus in the time of Joffred, abbot of Croyland, four monks from Cotenham used to walk to Cambridge to give gratuitous lessons, one day on Latin literature, another on Aristotle according to the comments of Porphyry and Averroes, another on Rhetoric, from Cicero and Quintilian, another on the Scriptures and the holy fathers. Paris owes its extension on the north bank of the Seine to the school of the abbey of St. German l'Auxerrois, which was celebrated in an early age. The school even in the nuns' convent of Chelle near Paris, in the time of the Merovingians, was resorted to by crowds of both sexes to hear the scriptural lectures of St. Bertilla. The ardor for study in the middle ages was not left without abundant means to carry it into effect. Instruction was widely diffused, and the idea of converting it into a monopoly never entered into the imagination of the monks. "This year, 961," says the annals of Corby in Saxony, "the school in the new church flourished as if contending with ours. Thus the mother loves the daughter, and the daughter honors the mother."‡ In the neighborhood of St. Gall there were schools founded by the counts of Raperschwil, which the monks of course favored, as they did every useful institution;§ but it was in consequence of the tendency which schools of this kind naturally indicated, that Pope Alexander III. wrote to all the French bishops charging them to forbid the masters to receive money, "lest science should seem to be exposed for sale, which ought to be offered to every one gratis."‖

On the other hand, there was a certain race of wandering scholars lying out in

* Stromat. iv. 9. † De Antiquitatibus Academicis. ‡ Ap. Leibnitz Script. Bruns. iii.
§ Ildefons. von Arx. ‖ Ap Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 853.

the fields, who used to beg from monasteries with insolence, against whom it was sometimes necessary to pass decrees, as in the council of Salzburg in 1292, and also in 1456.* All studies in the monasteries yielded to the labor of instruction. Abbon, the monk of the ninth century, who wrote the poem on the siege of Paris, begs indulgence for the faults in it, which he has not had time to correct, "ob scholarum pluralitatem."

Of the facility afforded to the poor of educating their sons by the schools of the monks, the history of Pope Sylvester II. furnished a memorable example. Born in the mountains of Auvergne of poor parents, the brethren of the monastery of the holy Geraldus at Aurillac took the destitute lad under their protection. The Abbot Gerald, the scholastic Raimund, the monks Bernhard, Airard, and all the rest, showed him a father's love; but especially under the instruction of Raimund were his extraordinary talents developed. After some time the brethren, with praiseworthy disregard of all selfish interests, sent him to travel, in order that he might find fresh food for his genius, and visit other schools. He first visited all the celebrated abbeys of France; in each of which he formed friendships, which proved the consolation of his future life; so that, when subsequently he passed into Spain and Italy, he was united in intimacy with Adalbero of Rheims, Notger of Luttich, Ecbert of Treves, Eccard, abbot of St. Julian at Tours, Adson of Moutier-on-Der, Constantine, scholastic at Fleury, and with many other noble and learned monks.†

Besides the greater there were lesser schools adjoining every monastery for the children of the neighborhood. Hence the old chronicler of St. Riquier, after stating that boys are educated there, adds, "The treasures of wisdom are dispersed on all sides; the country is rendered illustrious, and every where, and by all men, Centula is called happy."‡

"After the pestilence in 1348 there was such a scarcity of men," says a chronicle of Soissons, "that no one could be found in the small towns to teach little children to read." Therefore, foundations were made by John Dumont for sending scholars to one or other of the five universities.§ The decay of schools, and the consequent want of instruction among the people, previous to the great outbreak of heresy in the time of Luther, explained the desolation which ensued in some countries, as St. Vincent Ferrer clearly pointed out; and, in fact, where education was most extended, as in Spain and Italy, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these errors were not able to penetrate or take root.‖

It would be long to tell of the great monastic schools which diffused such light throughout Europe during the middle ages. In the tenth century the most celebrated were Lobbes, where Rather, and Gorcum, where John Vendieres taught, Gemblours, Prum, St. Martin at Tours, St. Germain at Paris, Fulda, Hirschfeld,

* Germania Sacra, ii. 331. † Hock, 61. ‡ Lib. iv. § Hist. de Soissons, ii. 211.
‖ Monteil Hist. des François, viii. 564.

Fleury, Luxeuil, St. Boniface at Rome, Monte-Cassino. In that age flourished the great monastic schools of St. Gall, Reichenau, Einsiedelin, Peterlingen, Cluny, and among the mountains of Auvergne the cloister of Aurillac at the end of the ninth century, founded by the holy Geraldus,—St. Vincent at Toul, St. Felix and Clemens at Metz, and St. Remi at Rheims.* Celebrated also were the monastic schools of St. Alban in Mayence, where the monks Theodorich and Dietmar flourished; of Hirschau, where studied Arnulf, Adalbert, and Meginrad, renowned through all Germany; of Corby, in Saxony, where the scholastic was the celebrated Wittichind; and of the abbey of St. Maximin at Treves, which produced at the same time many most eminent men, apostles and martyrs. So again, on the Danube, that of St. Blaze, in the Black Forest, founded in 960 by Reginbert, a nobleman of the court was distinguished; as was also Brannau, where the holy Austrik began his apostolic course.

At Montfauçon, on the borders of Lorraine, there were, in 914, learned monks, who had fled from England, and a famous school. At Castres, in Rovergne, the Abbot Durandus deserved immortality by his writings on theology and history. At the close of the tenth century were founded the abbeys of St. Peter in Bisuldum, in the diocese of Girona; St. Mary, in Taxo, in the diocese of Urgel; and St. Michael at Cusan, in the Pyrenees; which contained most eminent schools under the abbots Pontius, Gondefred, and Guarinus; to the last of which came Peter Urseoli, the doge of Venice, with his friends Gradenigo, Mauroseni, and Romauld, the subsequent founder of Camaldoli, and the old hermit Marinus.† In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the great schools of the Franciscans and Dominicans drew multitudes to their convents. More than 700 friars at a time, from every part of Christendom, have been known to resort to the Franciscan convent in Paris for the sake of study.‡ The scholastic halls in this convent were particularly grand. The greater schools were not exceeded by any others in the University. They were seventy-six feet long and forty-six broad, with eleven great windows. There were two lectures on theology, speculative and interrogative, every morning, and two every afternoon, on the Holy Scriptures. Daily, from four to five in the evening, the fathers used to dispute on these lectures, any one that chose answering and disputing against them. 222 youths were educated in the seminary, which contained an elegant hall, in which two of the younger brethren repeated parts of the divine office every night; but on festivals all were required to be present in the church at the same time. Here were four schools; one for grammar, another for rhetoric, another for logic, and the fourth for the master of the sentences and the physics of Aristotle.§

Thus, reader, after a long interval here we find ourselves again raising our hands in admiration of the mere names of the monastic schools of the middle ages?

* Hock, Gerbert und Seinjahrhundert, 33.

† Ibid, 54.

‡ Duchesne, Antiquités des Villes de France.

§ Wadding, An. 1234.

Again, I ask, what must it have been to have entered that of the abbey of St. Victor at Paris, when it contained such masters as Hugo, Adam, and the two Richards? How deeply interesting even now is it to visit the monastery of St. Dominic at Naples, one of those great schools whose masters possessed such an empire! St. Thomas of Aquin composed here many of his works, and here he taught theology during fifteen months. At a later time King Alphonso I, of Arragon used often to come here on horseback, to assist at the lectures of the professors. The traces of St. Thomas meet you at every step. You see his small cell, now a chapel, his class, and the remains of his chair. Of the great men who presided over the school of St. Gall, in regard to poetry, music, and painting, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. In learning, they held the first place. When Eckehard II. entered the council of Mayence, six bishops rose up to salute him as their old master in the school of this abbey.*

Through the ninth, tenth, and eleventh enturies, all the masters were great men. The Emperor Otho I. would do nothing without the advice of Eckehard I. sister's son of the recluse Rachild. He was the most learned and magnanimous man of his age, and the most pitiful to the poor. He left behind him a description of the heroic deeds of Walter, which Eckehard IV. afterwards copied out in a more complete form, and styled "Lydius Charlomanicus." In pursuance of a vow, he had begun to write also a life of St. Wiborad. Eckehard II. Palatinus was a stately and most noble person: "nemini unquam Benedicti cucullus decentius insederat." He made no distinction between the noble and other students, but employed those of least talent more in writing, painting, and gilding. He knew how to write down in short hand the substance of every thing that was said, as soon as it was uttered. He was subsequently called to the court of Otho I., and appointed over the imperial chapel. Two discourses, which he had taken down in short hand, still exist, which Eckehard IV. has inserted in his chronicle. Eckehard IV. composed an emblem to express each of the arts, with its attributes. Notker, the physician, was maternal uncle of the abbot Notkar: he was skilled in medicine above all other men of his age, and was held in great respect at the court of Otho I. Curious proofs of his discernment are recorded. So strict a disciplinarian was he in the cloister, that he was surnamed "Piperis granum." In old age he lost his sight. The veneration of his contemporaries is well expressed in the notice of his death: "Obiit Notkeri benignissimi doctoris et medici."† Notker Labeo, or the "thick-lipped," was considered the most learned man of his time, as well as the most benign.‡ He was a profound theologian, astronomer, and mathematician, deeply versed in the Greek and Latin and German tongues. He acquired from his contemporaries immense applause by his works on the German tongue, and his name will be for ever dear and venerable to all who study the old German literature. He formed many learned men; and amongst

* De Casibus S. Galli, ap. Goldast. ii. † Necrolog. ‡ Chronic. Hepidanni ad an. [redacted]

them Eckehard IV., a classical author of the middle ages. On his death-bed he commanded that the indigent should have a dinner in his presence, that he might use his eyes for the last time in seeing the pleasure which they received. This joy was granted to him. They dined before his bed, and he expired amidst the fears and lamentations of the poor. He died in the seventy-sixth year of his age, in 1022, of the plague which the army had brought out of Italy. His disciple, Eckehard IV, concludes his account of him with these words:—

"Hic finis est hominis post imparis eruditionis,
Hunc merito flebunt, simili, qui deinde carebunt."*

Of his German works, there remain his translation of the Psalms, of Aristotle, Boetius, Martianus Capella, and a short treatise on musical instruments. His translations of Job and of St. Gregory's Morals are lost. On the same day with him died, of the plague, three other professors: Rudpert, Anno, and Erimbert, who were all placed in one grave. Eckehard IV. was also a great proficient in the German, Latin, and Greek tongues, profoundly versed in heathen and Christian antiquities. He published the chronicle of his house, from the time of the Abbot Salomon to that of Immo: a work of high value, not only for the history of Germany, but for that of all Europe. His second work is the celebrated manuscript, "Liber Benedictionum,"† or the poetry of the mysteries and the festivals, with paintings, and containing benedictions for different occasions. He died in 1070.

The Latin tongue was so thoroughly taught in the school of this abbey, that, in the readings which were always made at table, no fault was ever observable. Excepting the smaller boys, no student ever dared to speak in any other tongue but Latin. No where else, in all Germany, did one write such good Latin: and treatises were written here at once in Latin, and not, as elsewhere, translated into it from the German.‡ In general, the method of instruction in the monasteries of the middle ages was so successful, that John of Salisbury says, that every one, who is not absoluetly deficient in natural abilities, can learn to write and speak Latin perfectly in one year.§ The professors of St. Gall explained Cicero, Quintilian, Virgil, Lucan, Flaccus, and Statius; and gave their scholars to read Sallust, Livy, Trogo, Frontinus, Solinus, Varro, Juvenal, Terence, Persius, and Sophocles. The subjects for their poetry were generally taken out of the Bible, or Church history, legends, and pieces for festivals. The declamation proper for poetry was indicated to the reader by musical notes, of which the manuscript poems of Sedulius and Adelhelm are an example.‖ In dialectics and logic their masters were Aristotle, Plato, Porphyrius, and Boetius. Notker Labeo, the thick-lipped, wrote a translation, in German, of Aristotle's Logic. Music was taught with great care. They studied also mathematics and geometry; and Notker La-

* In Lib. Bened.
† In Cod. MSS. No. 393, in 4to., of 263 pages.
‡ Eckehard in Cas. xi.
§ Metalog. i. 24.
‖ In Cod. 249.

beo, drew mathematical figures for the students, and explained in German the meaning of the different terms. According to them, the patriarch Abraham was the inventor of these figures. In astronomy, which they named "astrology," they did not confine their researches to the constellations and course of the sun. They sought also to use the telescope and the astroltabe, and were able to make a celestial globe, perhaps the first that was ever seen in Germany. Their astronomical guides were Alexander, Higius, and Aratus. They held Zoroaster, whose kingdom they said was Bactria, to be the greatest astronomer, and King Ptolemy, as the inventor of the sun's hours, and of the astrolabe—an astronomical instrument which the painters at that time used as an emblem of magic. Such diligent readers were they of the classics, that they often used the ancient terms, and applied them to contemporary things. Thus the Christian church was "Senatus populusque, Respublica." They borrowed figures, in speaking, from the ancient history, and styled St. Gall "Prætor," and "Censor." Above all, they were assiduous in studying the Holy Scriptures, and the fathers, especially Origen, Athanasius, Augustin, Jerome, Gregory, Isidore, Chrysostom, Bede, Sedulius, Boetius, Avitus, Primasius, and the ecclesiastical historians. Their philosophic views were often expressed in verse: as for instance, of prayer, they said,—

"Precibus Deus non mutatur, præsciens earum operatur."

Of penance,—

"Vult velut ignarus Deus, ut fatearis amarus.
Iutime salvamur si continue fateamur."

They had some strange notions; as, for instance, that the letters of the language which Adam and the serpent spoke had a magical power. As for science, in opposition to religion, the monks of St. Gall held that religion must always be regarded as far elevated above all sciences; though science and learning must be used in its defense, after the example of St. Athanasius, Augustin, and Boetius. Besides the study of the ancients, the vulgar tongue was by no means neglected at St. Gall: the monks applied themselves with diligence to its formation, and made it the object of study.

"Primus Barbaricam scribens, faciensque saporam," says Eckehard IV.;* and Rudpert wrote a German grammar, explaining scientific words.† In the German writings of their composition we find an elegance which was then new: so that more was effected towards its refinement in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, than was done during the seven hundred years following: and Ildefons von Arx says, that no German can fail to regret bitterly that these old masters of the tongue should have been laid aside by those who, of late years, have sought to improve it. We may remark, indeed, that every where the monks labored in their schools to preserve the popular language of the country in which they were. In England, when, under the severe ordinances of the Normans, the old Saxon

* In Lib. Bened. 155.

† Goldast. Rer. Allemann. tom. "

characters seemed about to be lost, there were patriots in the monasteries, says a late writer, who preferred them still; and we are indebted to such men for their preservation. Ingulphus was one. Bewailing the loss of many of his charters in the fire of 1091, "a few years before," he says, "I had given several out of the treasury, of which we had duplicates, that they might be kept in the cloister for teaching the juniors the Saxon hand. Having been long slighted because of the Normans, it had become unknown, except by a few of the seniors; the juniors, therefore, were instructed to read the old letter, that they might understand and maintain our charters when they grew old."

But, to return to St. Gall: so general were the studies, that abbot Ulrick VIII.'s cook, Hans Rimel, and his porter, Laurence Teusch, could both speak Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, besides being skilled in many branches of science. The grand days this abbey ended with the thirteenth century; for, in the fourteenth, the secular nobility superseded the monks, and every thing sunk to the lowest ebb. A great reform, however, again took place: for, in the seventeenth century, most of the Swiss abbeys sent their novices and younger members to study in the abbey of St. Gall, to which many abbots applied for monks, in order to restore the discipline of their own houses. Of other great monastic schools, similar details might be produced.

Wibald, abbot of Corby, in 1149, writing to Manegold, master of the school, concerning the great men who have benefited the Church by their writings, cites Bede, and Ambrose, Heimon, Antpert, Raban, John Scott, and others, whose works we read. He says, also, that we should study Pythagoras, Plato, Sophocles, and Simonides.* In the ninth century, the school of the monastery of Hirschau possessed those great professors, Ruthard, Richbod, and Harderad; of the last of whom we read,—"a great doctor, and famous throughout the world: dear to kings, and most dear to his own; in life and erudition most eminent."† In the abbey of Tagernsee was perhaps the oldest school in Bavaria. Here flourished many learned men. Werinher was celebrated as a teacher. The Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongues were cultivated in it with success; and botanical studies were assisted by a garden provided for the purpose."‡

This union of scholastic instruction with religious education in the monasteries of the middle ages was conformable to the judgment and practice of all Christian antiquity: "Sapientia," says Lactantius, "cum religione inseparabili nexu cohæret."§ Schools were, therefore, attached to the residence of bishops, and to every church. Hence, we read of Wilfrid, the holy bishop of York, that great men committed their sons to be educated by him, whether they intended to militate for the Lord or for the world;‖ and of Egbert, of the same see, in the words ascribed to Alcuin:—

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. xi. 334.

† Gerbert, Hist. Nigræ Silvæ.

‡ Jaeck Gallerie der Klöster Deutschlands, i.

§ Lib. iv. c. 3

‖ Will. Malmes. de Gestis. Pont. Anglor. iii.

" Indolis egregiæ juvenes quoscunque videbat
Hos sibi conjunxit, docuit, nutrivit, amavit."*

The monks, however, dwelling within vast abbeys in the country, and surrounded with every thing favorable to study, were, in a still more especial manner, the instructors to whom men most desired to commit their sons; and certainly they did not betray the trust reposed in them. In their cloisters the wish of St. Clement of Alexandria was realized: men honored the young, and supplied them with the education of God—*τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*.† When Abelard, in the abbey of St. Denis, composed that learned poem in elegiac verse, in which he lays down the best rules to lead a holy and learned life, uniting piety and study, he did but explain the monastic education in general. "The schools in the monasteries," says a great professor of the Academy of Paris, "were more than schools of learning: they were, in a high sense, schools; for the moral faculties were singularly well cultivated. The great originality of the middle ages was this cultivation of self-knowledge. Less inventive than antiquity, these ages did nothing but study man. Thus theology itself was the study of man: for the relations of God with man required that study.‡ "The first instruction for youth," says Bonald, "that of which it is not given to man to appreciate the value, or to estimate the influence, consists in habits, rather than in reasonings; in examples, rather than in direct lessons."§ This was supplied in the monastic schools; where the duties of life according to the law of God, not the metaphysical theories of heathen, or the subtleties of a later philosophy, were to be the chief subjects attended to.‖ "You have sent your two nephews to be instructed by me," writes Peter of Blois, "the one a boy, the other a youth; and you say that the latter has a great genius, and that you never met with any one of a more subtle vein; and this, because, omitting the study of authors, he has fled at once to the intricacies of the logicians. But I believe the result will not be exactly what you suppose. Not in such things is the foundation of learning; and, to many, pernicious is that subtlety which you extol. For what does it avail to spend his days on things which can never profit him, either at home or abroad, in the forum or in the cloister, in the court or in the Church, or any where but in the schools? What is more sharp than the beard of corn?—and yet what is it good for? Such is the genius which is all subtlety, without gravity. Do not, therefore, allege any more the subtle vein of your William; for I fear I shall only have twice the labor with him; since I must first eradicate what has taken root in him. If John only perseveres in his disposition, the younger will supplant the elder,—Jacob, Esau."¶ As Trithemius says of St. Bonaventura, "The monks taught and explained the whole sacred Scripture and theology: teaching with a certain spiritual sweetness, they delighted—and, with delight, they moved and in-

* Alcuini Poema de Pont. Eccles. Eborac. † Stromat. iv. 17. ‡ Michelet.
§ Législation Prim. iii. 40. ‖ Petr. Bles. Serm. 29. ¶ Epist. ci.

flamed the affections of their auditors." All that our wisest poets wished that youth might obtain was granted here; and Cowper himself would find his fondest speculations realized. "When I was seven years old," says Bede, "I was given to be educated to the most reverend Abbot Benedict, and then to Ceolfrid; and thenceforth my whole time was spent in meditating the Scriptures, and observing the regular discipline and singing in the church: and I found it sweet to be always either learning, or teaching, or writing." To the wisdom of this training the most learned men of later times subscribed, when the Jesuits instituted their last noviciate, or year of retreat, to repair the breaches which an application to human sciences might have caused in the soul.

When the system of the ages of faith was yielding to that which now prevails, there were not wanting voices from the cloister, like that of Savonarola, to assure fathers of families that "and education which consists in making children study some profane poets, and then sending them to a banking-house to take lessons of exchange and usury, was as prejudicial to their souls as to their intelligence." But the sentence had gone forth, and monastic education was to be superseded by that which sends men for contemplation to the gambling-room, and for philosophy to a London tavern.

The great authors of the middle ages were studied assiduously by their contemporaries in the monastic schools. "It was of prodigious service to me," says Peter of Blois, "that in my youth I was made to learn by heart the elegant letters of Hildebert, bishop of Mans."* The works of Gerbert in innumerable manuscripts were propagated through all the monasteries of Europe, in the first half of the eleventh century.† Professors were formed on the model of such men. Writing to Matthias, King of Hungary, Marsilius Ficinus says, "that in Nicolas he will hear the blessed Thomas Aquinas."‡ Bulæus excuses himself from enumerating the writings of St. Bonaventura, saying, "because they are daily in the hands of the learned."§ From a copy which was given to me by a holy priest of the society of Jesus, I find that his meditations on the life of Christ were printed so early as in 1490, which shows how well their value had been previously understood.

With respect to the classification of sciences, and the order in which they were taught in the schools of the monks, there are modern professors who acknowledge that the system they followed, which was that of Vincent of Beauvais, is better that that of Lord Bacon and the Encyclopædists of the eighteenth century. It was in fact a natural order, not partial and arbitrary, but highly reasonable and just. The dignity of the office of instruction was never more profoundly felt, or practically maintained, than in the middle ages and in these schools. How sublime are the words of Pope Gregory X. writing to the king of Sicily respecting the duty of attending to the interests of learning! "The first formation of the

* Epist. ci † Hock, 153. ‡ Epist. ix. § Hist. Universit. Paris, tom. iii.

supernal hand before its fall," says the pontiff, "had an intelligence little less than the angelic, and penetrated the secrets of celestial things with the serene force of light, and obtained knowledge of sciences from the depth of an illuminated breast; but after the fall, it could no longer behold, without the interposing cloud of worldly darkness, what it formerly contemplated. But the immense benignity of the Creator, unwilling that such an ingenious creature, formed in his own likeness, should become utterly vile, to repair gloriously, as if by accident, which was injured by the deadly food, decreed that rude man whom natural reason could scarcely lead to the perfection of discretion, should be instructed by sciences and arts, and that the nations dispersed into the variety of many idioms should be again united as it were, by means of one universal source of communication in the one literary order of Latinity: thus the deeds of our fathers are recorded in books; thus the contests of truth and falsehood are related: thus are taught the process of generations and corruptions of all bodies, the qualities of elements: thus the harmony of voices enables men to conceive how the Lord may be served by musical modulation: thus the scholastic doctrine estimates terminations, distinguishes the length and breadth, and height and depth, the movements and construction of the heavenly bodies, and the whole physical order, though apparently transcending the force of reason. Greatly then does it concern all orthodox kings that they should possess in their kingdoms industrious men, illustrious for science and virtue, conducing to the glory of their reign, under the Prince of Peace.* In point of fact, too, the instructors of youth held a lofty position in society.

While presiding over the school at Rheims, Gerbert was in relation with all the most eminent personages of the day. He was greatly esteemed by Adelheid, the second wife of Otho I. and by Theophania, the wife of Otho II. and daughter of the Greek Imperial house, and also by Adelheid, the wife of Hugues Capet, who entrusted him with the education of her son Robert. Ruthard, head of the school of the monastery of Hirschau, refused the episcopacy of Halberstat, which was offered to him by the emperor, saying, "let it be given to one worthy of it. I hesitate not to prefer the monastic quiet, and the study of the Scriptures, to all the honors and riches of the world."†

"According to the sentence of my heart," says Peter of Blois, "if there be a Paradise in the present life, it is either in the cloister or in the schools; for whatever is without these two is full of anxiety, disquietude, bitterness, fear, solicitude and sorrow."‡ "Scholastic labor," he says elsewhere, "although inefficacious to salvation, partakes nevertheless of a certain worldly decorum and secular innocence."§ The greatest intelligences of the middle ages fled to it, sooner or later, for peace. "For these cares and troubles," says Gerbert, writing to Raimund, the monk of Aurillac, "the only remedy is philosophy and the studies in which

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. p. 1274.

† Gerbert. Historia Nigræ Silvæ, i. 133.

‡ Pet. Bles. Epist. xiii.

§ Epist. 139.

we have so often, as in this turbulent moment, sought a refuge from the storms of fortune raging against others or ourselves. The state of the republic in Italy seeming to admit of no other means of escape from the yoke of tyrants, but by engaging ourselves in commotions and horrors, we have chosen the certain leisure of studies, rather than the uncertain business of wars. Farewell brother Airard, farewell the most holy order; and you my director and instructor, be mindful of me in your holy prayers."* How affecting are these revelations of the hearts of such men! In later times, the great John Gerson fled to the same peace. Towards the close of his life he retired to Lyons, opened a school for boys, and wrote Tractatus de parvulis trahendis ad Christum. In dying, he ordered that the words of the holy mass "Sursum Corda" should be the only inscription on his tomb.

Mildness and benignity constituted the mode of treating students in the monastic schools. This is expressed in the imagery of the Campo Santo at Pisa, where grammar is represented by a woman who gives suck to a child. When Suger was first received as a little boy at St. Denis, the monks sent him to the priory of St. Martin in order that his tender age might not be exposed to the severity of the rules observed in the abbey. Gentleness is the favorite quality ascribed to the professors, as in the necrology of St. Gall, where the death of one of them in 915 is thus noted, "Non. Maii obitus Failani doctissimi et benignissimi magistri." All the letters from the students of St. Gall, of which fragments remain, indicate the same treatment. "From the time that I was placed under the yoke of your authority," says one disciple to his master there, "you have educated me without any remuneration from my friends, with no less love than if I had been your own son: but as it is written in the Gospel, 'the laborer is worthy of his hire,' I propose to go to my sisters in the island which is called Lindova, and there I think that I shall receive some little present, with which I can return to your presence." These poor boys were educated thus tenderly, however humble might be their birth. Another of them writes to his parents, and says, "You have followed the best of counsels in sending me to the monastery of St. Gall for edification in discipline and learning. There I confess I have found these two things abundantly: but this is my demand, that you would out of your compassion send me a little present of two shirts and a linen tunic, that I may appear honorably with my fellow-students, and not with the shame of nakedness."† Wherever a contrary system was introduced, we read of its being condemned. Thus Euffridus, a holy man of the diocese of Cologne, one day hearing a great crying from the school, entered, and seeing a scholar about to be flogged, rushed up like a lion, raising his staff against the scholastic and his assistant, and delivered the boy from their hands, saying, "What are you doing, tyrant? You are placed here to teach, not to kill scholars." The other remained mute and confounded.‡

* Epist. Gerberti, 45.

† Ap. Goldast. Aleman. Antiquit. II. I.

‡ Cæsar Heisterbach Illust. Mir. Lib. xi. 5.

Guibert de Nogert, after describing what he terms the cruel love of his pedagogue, to whose private tuition he had been committed in his boyhood, observes "that it was irrational not to allow him time to play, because the puerile, and indeed the nature of grown men," he says, "is beyond measure distended by the assiduity of meditation, it is weakened, and rendered lethargic. In proportion as the acumen of the mind kindles to perseverance in study, does it on the other hand cool from its strength being too much exhausted, and from excess of rigor it becomes dull. Therefore it is necessary for the intelligence, while encompassed with the weight of the body to be more temperately exercised: for even in heaven there is one hour's silence, from the impossibility of exercising the gift of contemplation without intermission. Much more are mortal minds incapable of excessive labor. God has not made nature uniform, but has delighted us with variety, and the mutations of day and night, spring and summer, autumn and winter. Let every one therefore who has the name of master, take heed, and let him moderate the discipline of boys and youths, because we ought not to treat them as if there were in them the plenary gravity of old men. My master punished me for not knowing what he did not know himself, but it was too bad to expect from a fragile little breast what he had never given to it. And nothing is more difficult, than to give instruction to others when one's own ideas are not clear. All this I say, my God, not that I would injure such a friend, but in order that every one who reads may understand that we should never teach for certain any thing that we may fancy, nor involve others in the clouds of our own conjectures."*

Within monasteries such was not the discipline; for we find men looking back to them with love, as to the play-place of their early days. Colemann says, that he had heard Hemming, the sub-prior of Peterborough, describe the juvenile sports of St. Wulstan, and how he used to play on the meadows with other boys, and that, at a time when he was a mirror of saintly youth.† The Pré aux Clercs was an important spot to the students of the abbey of St. Germain-des-Près at Paris: so was the river or the pool to those of other monasteries; for some of them, like Beowulf himself, would not have feared to struggle with a fancied foe beneath the waters. The abbot Oderisius erected a bath in the abbey of Monte-Cassino in the tenth century.‡ Baths also were in the monastery of St. Benedict at Capua. The rule permitted even the monks themselves to bathe; which custom St. Dunstan and Lanefranc sanctioned.§ In the annals of Corby, at the date of 1264, we read that the junior brethren used to perform a sacred comedy of Joseph, sold and promoted, but that this was ill-interpreted by the other superiors of the order; and in a manuscript of Clauster-neuburg, there is mention of a pious drama, in which our Lord's resurrection was represented. In the monastery of St. Blaise,

* Guiberti Abb. de Novigento de vita sua. Lib cap. 1. 5. † Dissection of the Saxon Ch[illegible]
‡ Chronic. Casinensis, Lib. iv. 3. § Hist. Casinensis, Præf.

in the Black Forest, there was a book containing the play of the three Magi, in which the neighboring nobles, such as the counts of Lupfen and Furstenberg used to perform. From the faculties which Pope Honorius III. yields to William, bishop of Modena, of absolving scholars who should strike one another lightly and without rancor,* it is clear that juvenile sports had all reasonable scope. The amusements of play-days in the abbey of St. Gall, in the tenth century, were throwing, running, wrestling, and having a mock fight with stones.

"Hac galea lapident pueri, plaudantque tenelli,
His stadiis ad metas tendant, his præmia prendant,
Hos Thalos juvenis dextret, manus uncta palæstret,
Dorsa tegat nudus, solet ictus clam dare ludus.
Ephebis nulla hodie sint quæso flagella,
Circator sileat oculosque videndo reflectat,
O, mihi donetur, hodie sibi talpa putetur,
Tu Pater elysiis videare quiescere campis."

Above all, swimming, wine, and lights, that is, play till after dark.

"Suppeditant festo tria Gaudia, (Pax Pater esto)
Fax, lavacrum, vinum."†

Such were their three joys. The wine is an allusion to the foundation made by Erchenbert, a vassal of the abbey, from his goods at Elk, for giving each of the students a glass of wine on Easter day. King Conrad I. and Bishop Salomon III. gave them certain days of play, and the occasion of the latter being given is thus related. After spending some days at St. Gall, the Abbot Salomon, bishop of Constance, on the morning of his departure, wishing to bid adieu to the scholars as he passed by the school, opened the door and went in. "Now it was the law then as now," says Eckehard, "that all strangers entering should be made prisoners till they ransomed themselves. So the scholars cried out that they made prisoner not the Lord Abbot indeed, but the Bishop: he willingly suffered them; so they placed him in the master's chair. 'Well,' said he, 'but if I sit in the master's seat, I will use his authority.' 'Be it so,' said they; 'still as our master, we will ask you to ransom yourself.' Then he, as he always delighted in the studies of St. Gall, rising up, embraced and kissed them all one after another. 'Yea,' said he, 'if I live I will ransom myself.' Then going out, and calling the seniors before the door of the schools, he ordained that thenceforth the boys should have three successive days of play every year, and should have meat for dinner on each of them; and then he departed." He flourished under the Emperor Lewis, and saw five kings, who were all his friends. Under him there were fifty-two priests in the abbey, twenty-four deacons, fifteen sub-deacons, and twenty boys.‡ The walks of the students were another recreation. In the eighth

* Italia Sacra. i. 122. † Vacation Song of Notker Labeo in Lib. Bened. 257.
‡ Eckehard de Casibus S. Galli, c. i.

century, the abbey of Reichenau having a cell and school in Ober Bollingen, and Meinrad one of the monks being sent to preside over it by the abbot, we read that the walks which this professor used to take with his scholars on the other shore of the lake and in the deep forest of Ezelwald, inspired him with such a love for solitude, that at length he left his office of teacher, and became a hermit in that wood.* Such were in general the tranquil recreations of the pacific household. The remorse inspired by accidents arising from rougher sports, indicates with what eyes they were regarded. Meinher the second abbot of Monte Sereno, in 1137, had a brother, Wicmann, who was present at a certain juvenile play when one boy was killed. As a penance, he immediately resolved to leave the world and follow his brother; but he would never consent to rise higher than sub-deacon.†

We have before heard that it was in the monastic schools that king's sons had generally received their education, procul à strepitu offendiculisque aulicis, as the old writers say. Here in effect we find them along with those of the humblest subjects; and indeed it was a noble and kingly culture, which imparted the sense of duties, which dried not up the heart, neither rendered the body incompetent for exercise, nor the mind for the meditation of moral truths. From the time of Charlemagne the sons of the French kings were always brought up in monasteries, and generally at St. Denis, where they recieved a Christain education, and were trained to a manly and pious discipline. Dagobert, son of the king of Austrasia, were educated in a monastery of Ireland, and after a seclusion of many years there, being recalled to his own country, he became sovereign of all Austrasia as the second Dagobert. Louis VII. says of himself in a certain charter, "we passed the time of our boyhood in the cloister of the church, as if in a certain maternal bosom."‡

In the thirteenth century the emperor Philip, from having received his education in an abbey, was said to have retained ever afterwards a great fondness for the sacred offices. "He loved to assist at them, and in the house of the Lord, before whom is no respect of persons, he used to appear with so little regard to his dignity, that he used to suffer the poorest priest or scholar to repeat the responses at his side, as if he were only his fellow-scholar." This emperor excelled all men of his age in chivalrous deeds and renown.§ The chronicle of St. Richarius says, "that in this monastery dukes, counts, sons of dukes, and sons of counts, and sons of kings, were educated: whatever was most sublime in dignity in the kingdom of the Francs rejoiced in having a relation in the monastery of St. Richarius. Many of our abbots were counts, shining in nobility of birth and strict observers of the sacred rule."‖ So it was every where. The young Count Elzear de Sabran was educated with the monks of the abbey of Marseilles: Cos-

* Berno Augiens. in Vit. S. Meinrad. 11.

† Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. 11. ‡ Ap. Script. Fr[illegible]

§ Hurter Gesch. Inn. iii. II. 94. ‖ Lib. iii. c. x.

mo de Medicis, the father of his country, in the Camaldolese convent of the angels at Florence. The books of the middle ages contain many incidental testimonies to the character of the students in the monastic schools. Of St. Bernward, thirteenth bishop of Hildesheim, the old writer of his life, Tangmar, says, "When a youth in the schools, his genius and virtue were admirable. When I used to take him with me on so some service without the monastery, I used to be struck more than ever with his extraordinary qualities, which at other times, when he was in the midst of the other youths, I could not so easily estimate. Often for the whole day we studied on horseback, at one time reading a no less prolix lesson than if we were at leisure in the schools, at another poetizing and making verses by the way; then descending to prosaic ground, we used to argue on questions of philosophy. He excelled no less in the mechanical arts than in all liberal science. He wrote beautifully, he painted well, he sculptured, and constructed buildings."* Peter of Blois, writing to the abbot of Gloucester, says, "You ask me whether I knew this new bishop of Paris, and what I think of his life and manners. It is of curiosity to inquire thus; but I know that the love to your Lord Henry of blessed memory, the late bishop of Worcester, obliges you to inquire of us. I knew him when he was a boy, and I devoutly loved him as a little scholar. Peter de Verno, his master, used often to tell me with what solicitude and devotion he used secretly to exercise his boyish years in works of piety. As a youth he walked in sanctification and honor. In later life he dispersed all his property in England and gave to the poor, impoverishing himself to enrich three industrious scholars. He is now transplanted, that his light may shine to all men. He is nearly related by blood to the kings of England and France, but the humility of his mind exceeds the nobility of his origin."† Cæsar of Heisterbach relates a vision, disclosing the sanctity of a scholar. "In Bonn," he says, "was a certain recluse, who one night perceived such a light through the chinks of her cell, that she thought it was day. Opening her window, which looked over the cemetery, she saw over the grave of a scholar, who had been lately buried, a woman surrounded with a blaze of glory, which was the cause of the light. She thought she heard a voice saying that it was the mother of Christ come to take away the martyr; for truly scholars, if they live innocently, and learn with zeal, are martyrs."‡

In the third book we have seen the causes which led to the establishment of the universities, to which the superiors of monastic schools so unwillingly sent their students. It was impossible, however, to resist the new attraction. So that Stephen Laxington, an Englishman of angelic life, the nineteenth abbot of Clairvaux, erected, in 1240, the college of the Bernardines, at Paris, for the students of that abbey.§ The abbots had houses for their respective students in different

* Vita Bernwardi, Ep. Hildesh. ap. Leibnitz Script. Brunsv. illust. tom. i.

† Pet. Bles. Epist. cxxvi. ‡ xii. 46. § Notit. Ab. Ord. Cist. a.

universities. Those of Trouast, of Mount St. Michael, of Dauné, Dardene, Barbery, Daval, De Savigny, De Mondaye, De St. Barbe, and De Belle Estoille, had hostels for their pupils, in the university of Caen, and all these abbots used to assist at the opening of the schools, which was a very honorable thing to see, adds De Bourgueville.*

We before remarked the extraordinary privileges granted with a view to draw scholars to these academies. Many who had assisted to destroy the institutions of the middle age,—the houses of the templars and of the lepers, coming to have doubts as their own mission, founded colleges for the poor;—little popular states, as it were, in the heart of Paris, which were multiplied in a few years. Nevertheless, these only seemed to give occasion to the monastic student for following the example of St. Benedict, who, when a youth, chose to forego all the advantage of attendance at the public schools, to be "scienter nesciens et sapienter indoctus," rather than sully the purity of his soul by remaining to witness the disordered life of the student.

When the monastery of Clairvaux, in early times, first instituted a house for students at Paris, the abbot sent to the devout Arnulph, abbot of Villiers, to ask his assistance; but the latter was astonished at this novelty, says the chronicle, "for he knew that the order had been founded in the spirit of great simplicity, and that it had continued to his time to evince the utmost humility and sanctity, and it seemed strange that monks should now forego the cloistral exercise, and give themselves to the study of letters. He considered the words of the apostle, 'Scientia inflat.' So he returned answer that he would give nothing; which the abbot of Clairvaux took ill. Future generations," adds the chronicle, "will judge whether the man of God discerned the truth, and whether the same humility will continue in religious houses as in times before the ordination of such studies."†

Experience too soon justified these forebodings. The universities proved a snare which entangled and captured many. That of Naples, founded by Frederic II., out of spite to Bologna, produced fruits worthy of its author, even while men of great merit, such as Peter of Ireland, the master of St. Thomas, taught philosophy in it. O how young Thomas, while studying under him, regretted the sweet days that he had passed at Mount-Cassino.‡

The universities contributed to create a classical mania in certain cities, and as an ingenious author says, "both in arts and letters to hasten the resurrection of Paganism.§ The universities opposed every thing that broke the spiritless uniformity arising from the notions of centralization. In the quarrel of the empire with the Church, they almost always took the side of the temporal power, which had more seductive presents than the popedom.‖ They were often hostile to he-

* Les Recherches de Normandie.

† Hist. Monast. Villariensis, i. c. 8, ap. Martene, Thes. Anecdot. iii.

‡ Touron, Vie de St. Thom. § Rio de l'Art. Chrétien, 445. ‖ Audin, Vie de Luther, i. 40.

roic virtue. That of Paris decided against the maid of Orleans. They were not destined to inherit the beatitude of which we are yet to treat. As the agents of Henry VIII. discovered they could be bought over for a certain sum to betray justice, though they might afterwards turn round and for greater ease betray the purchasers. The university of Paris was dead before the revolution. After Rollin, it produced no man of eminence. The bishops did not confide their scholars to it, but kept them in their seminaries. They found after all that the monks had been right at first.

Philip, abbot of Goodhope, in answer to a certain John, formerly a disciple of Anselm, who after becoming a monk seemed to regret the time of his studies in Paris, says, "Blessed is the man, not who hath heard Master Anselm, or who hath studied at Paris, but whom thou, O Lord, doth teach thy law."* "We can neither condemn nor approve of your wish to study at Bologna," says Pope Clement IV., writing to a clerk named Raymond de Engoyssolis, "for the name of study," he continues, "taken properly, seems so fair that it soothes the ears of all who hear it, to whom it presents either a lover of study, or one studious only in name, although often one thing is acted and another pretended."† "There was a certain youth at Daventium," says Thomas of Kempis, "pursuing his studies as a scholar, and sometimes he used to be invited and tempted by offers of presents to remove to Paris: but by the advice of devout persons he declined exposing himself to such dangers. Meanwhile, it happened that two of his fellow students, who had gone from that school to study at Paris, after a short time died there, both on the same day. The said youth, hearing of this, was struck with the uncertain good attending scholastic things, and induced to become a disciple of Christ among monks."‡

"Misericordias Domini in æternum cantabo," after citing which words a Saxon monk exclaims, "O Lord my God, my Creator and Redeemer, what mercies hast thou shown me from the beginning of my life to this day. Not an hour or moment has passed in which thou hast not multiplied upon me thy mercies, for thou didst preserve my infancy and youth, and give me such sucess in the schools, that in my eighteenth year I was placed over sixty or eighty scholars to examine them in Greek. Then when my parents, elate with such a reputation in Paris, wished me to remove to Erfurth for university studies, thou didst inspire me with better resolutions; for then I began to think and say, If now I were to be a doctor, and every day to hear the salutation, Domine Doctor, and if after this life I should descend to eternal flames, what would all my philosophy and learning avail? So the words *ewechlike* and *ommermer* made me determine to forsake the world and its delights. Therefore the mercies of God I will for ever sing, who inspired me with the good will to enter this holy order." §

* Epist. vii. ap. Bulæus, Hist. Univers. Par. tom. ii. † Ap. Baluse, Miscellan. tom. iii.

‡ Thom. à Kemp. Dialog. Novitiorum.

§ Johan. Buschii Liber Reformationis Monaster. Saxoniæ, c. i. ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. i.

The monastic students did not pant after the waters of the university with the ardor which impelled the Saxon innovator to repair to Erfurth and Wittenberg. "When Arnulph II., the nineteenth abbot of Villiers, in the eighth century, was a youth, he did not wish to be sent to Paris to study," says the chronicle of that abbey, "rather desiring to be edified in charity than to be inflated with science, imitating the example of St. Benedict, who devoted himself wholly to religion, omitting the schools. Nevertheless, at that time the monastery had many students at Paris."* Writing to one of his clerks, Petrus Cellensis says, "your place of exile is sufficiently replete with joys, however vain. Who besides yourself would not esteem Paris a place of delight, a garden of plants, a land of first fruits? Nevertheless, in laughing you have spoken the truth; for where there are greater pleasures for the body, there is the place of banishment for the soul. 'Ubi major et amplior voluptas corporum, ibi rerum exilium animarum; et ubi regnat luxuria, ibi miserabiliter ancillatur et affligitur anima.' O Paris, what a fit place art thou for taking captive and deceiving souls! In thee are placed the nets of vice, and the snares of evil, and the arrows of death, which pierce the hearts of the foolish. So thinks my John, and therefore he names it an exile. May you always esteem it as an exile, and hasten to your true country. There you will find face to face in the book of life not figures and elements, but divinity and truth itself, without the labor of reading or the weariness of seeing, without danger of mistake or error in understanding, without the care of retaining or the fear of forgetting. O happy school, where Christ will teach our hearts by the word of his power; where we shall learn, without study and reading, in what manner we may be able to live eternally happy! There the book is not purchased; the Master of the writings is not paid. There is no circumvention of disputations, no intrication of sophisms, but a clear determination of all questions, and a full apprehension of all reasons and arguments. There life avails more than reading, simplicity more than ability. There no one is refuted, excepting those who are excluded: but with one word of final judgment, Ite and Venite, all objections and questions are decided for ever. I wish that the sons of men would apply themselves to these better studies, rather than to vain and pernicious discourses. Certainly they would find a more abundant return of fruit, and a greater and more availing honor."†

But it is time that we pass still more into the interior of the abbey, and inquire respecting the rules and customs of the house of peace.

* Hist. Mon. Villar. c. xi.

† Epist. Lib. iv. 10.

CHAPTER X.

AFTER describing in minute detail the miseries that marked a courtier's life when Henry the Second was the English king, Peter of Blois concludes, summing all up, by saying that "in the court there is no order."* Perhaps we could not find a more expressive term for marking the contrast between the peaceful life in cloisters and that of other men, than by using the converse of this sentence, and saying that in the monastery there was order. Hugo of St. Victor, indeed, supposes order in the court; but his distinctions make the contrast no less striking. "Far different," he says, "is the order of the cloister from that of the court: there you sit in council with the rich in secret to slay the innocent: here you sing, 'Non sedi cum consilio vanitatis, et cum impiis non sedebo.' There your right hand is full of gifts; here you wash your hands with the innocent. There the poor are robbed; here to the poor free offerings are made. There the sinner is praised in the desires of his soul; here the just man is blessed."† Perhaps again we could not better portray the cheerful diversity incident to the cloistral order than by confronting it with the striking picture of its exact opposite, which Tiek produces as the vision of a reprobate. "In the numerous vast halls, swarms of men," he says, "were sitting, standing, or walking about, all in the same state of deplorable woe. And no variety, no division of time, no hour, no day or night changed this melancholy monotonousness. One solitary amusement was there. Now and then some one reminded the others of their former faith: how during a short time they had feared and worshipped God. Then a loud burst of laughter, as at a most portentous absurdity, pealed through the hall. Afterwards they all grew grave, and some strove with all their faculties to call back the reverence and sanctity of their former feelings, but in vain." In the monastery the rule was variety in uniformity, and the consequences were peaceful joy, and hope that never withered. "Recollect," says St. Basil to a fallen virgin, "recollect the tranquil days, and the illuminated nights, and the spiritual chaunts, and the sonorous psalmody, and the holy prayers."‡ "Whatever is done by the monks," says a great English philosopher, "is incited by an adequate motive. Their time is regularly distributed; one duty succeeds another, so that they are not left open to the distraction of unguided choice, nor lost in the shades of listless inactivity. There is a certain task

* Pet. Bles. xiv. † Hugo de St. Vict. De Claustro Animæ, Lib. ii. 16. ‡ Epist. 45.

to be performed at an appropriated hour; and their toils are cheerful, because they consider them as acts of piety, by which they are always advancing towards endless felicity."* The hours in monastic life deserved the appellation given to them by the Pythagorean poet, where he speaks of the three sisters, "Good-legislation, Justice, and Peace," which were also called hours, from time being essential to the exercise of their respective functions.† Such were the fruits of the monastic rule, order, variety, and peace.

The most celebrated of the primitive rules of the oriental monks were those of St. Anthony, St. Macaire, St. Hilarion, and St. Pachomius. In the last half of the fourth century the rule of St. Basil gave greater regularity to the monastic institution. St. Augustin found monks in Italy, and, in fact, the monastic order was soon spread over the west. In a work of the fifth century we read, "These men generally live in remote places, even when they reside in cities. Their conversation is without ostentation: they have one place of assembling; they are humbly clad; they care not how vile may be their food and drink; they have appointed hours for singing psalms and hymns to God; they fast till evening; they sleep upon rushes, and during the night, there are stated vigils and times of prayer. They never mistake the approach of day, but the first dawn raises them and matutinal devotion is exercised in offering praise to God."‡ There were, however, then various orders in the west. The Italian monks generally followed the rule of St. Basil, but in Gaul each great monastery gave name to a certain class as following the customs of that chief house, which in the sixth century all lapsed into the holy institute of St. Benedict. Towards the end of the fifth century at Nurcia, a few leagues east from Spoleto, at the foot of the Apennines, St. Benedict the great was born, the patriarch of the western monks. At Subiaco, and in twelve other monasteries built by him, he left a certain form of order, but gave no laws or precepts to bind these in union round a common centre, according to the idea which had originated with Pachomius, but which had become nearly obsolete, each monastery following the rules of its own abbot.§ There were nearly as many rules as there were cells and monasteries; yet all were united in peace and charity. There were supposed to be but one order of monks in the Church. Three centuries after the great Benedict, in the year 751, the second of that name was born. St. Benedict of Aniane was by race a Goth; he was bred a page in the court of Pepin-le-Bref, became a warrior, and served in many of the expeditions of Charlemagne. In 774 he renounced the world and became a monk in the abbey of St. Seine, from which he passed afterwards to that of Aniane, where he became abbot. He it was who conceived the plan of reducing the rites of all the different monasteries to one common standard. This great work was begun at the solemn assembly of the abbots of the western empire at Aix-la-Cha-

* Johnson, Rasselas. † Olymp. xiii.

‡ Consultat. Zachæi et Apollonii, Lib. iii. c. iii, iv. ap. Dacher, Spicileg. x.

§ Mabill. Præfat. in V. Sæcul. Ben. § iv.

pelle. The wars and troubles of the ninth century revived, however, the confusion, which was not finally removed till the rise of the celebrated congregation of Cluny under Odo. The rule of St. Benedict used to be called κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the rule, the holy rule, both by councils and chapters. Mabillon proves against Maresham, that the first monks of England followed this rule,* which St. Boniface introduced into Germany, Kero, a monk of St. Gall, translating it into the barbarous idiom of that people.† The one name of monks, therefore, began to be distinguished into various branches at the end of the ninth century, when the congregation of Cluny, on account of customs superinduced to the rule of St. Benedict, began to be called the order of Cluny, the chief features being the subjection of other monasteries to the abbot of Cluny. In the eleventh century succeeded the congregation of Camaldoli, founded by St. Romuald; that of Vallambrosa by St. John Gualbert, that of Cisteaux by St. Robert, and many others which were all subject to the rule of St. Benedict; so that until the thirteenth century, and the rise of the Mendicant orders, there was but one order of monks; for though there were the titles of Cluny, Camaldoli, and others, yet these were all confederated in the union of one rule. The habits indeed were different; the ancient Benedictines wearing black, whence they were called the black monks; the Cistercians at first grey, and afterwards white. Hence St. Bernard, in his Apology to the Abbot William, says, "Unum ordinem professione teneo, ceteros caritate;" but there was still but one genius of the ancient monastic order, and one object with them all.

What now was in general the fundamental character of all monastic rules? It was an adaptation to the end of procuring a pacific life in common for men, whose years were to be spent in contemplating or in announcing their benignant Lord Jesus Christ, either as being born or nursed, or as teaching, or fasting, or preaching, or laboring, or dying, or rising again, or ascending to heaven, or coming again to judgment. When a Benedictine monk first subscribed his engagement, he laid the instrument on the altar, repeating, "Suscipe me, Domine, secundum eloquium tuum, et vivam; et non confundas me ab expectatione mea!" These words having been thrice repeated by the assembled brethren, the newly professed prostrated himself at the feet of each monk in succession, beseeching him to pray for him, and as he was raised by each he received the kiss of peace. "The rule of St. Benedict," says Michelet, contrasting it with that of St. Columban, which soon perished through its excess of mysticism, "is a rule of good sense, a rule of labor, grave and practical." As the above terms of subscription indicate, it is a rule conformable to the word of God. Similarly again, in the rule of St. Francis there is nothing but what is prescribed in the holy Scriptures, as the blessed Cæsarius de Spira shows. The seraphic father only says, "The rule and life of the friars minor consists in observing the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, living in obedience, without property, and in chastity."

* Præfat. in I. Sæc. Bened. 8.

† Ap. Goldast. Rer. Alem. ii. 1.

Bernardine, general of the Capuchins, says, in his apology to Cardinal Sanseverino, "The perfection of the seraphic and evangelic rule consists not in syllables or sentences, but in spirit and in truth."* The order of the bare-footed Carmelites offered, as St. Theresa said, "these three steps to Christian perfection, poverty in common, retreat from the world, and manual labor." "In correction, and admonition, and discipline," say the Præmonstratensian statutes, "all is to be done according to the rule, 'Cum dilectione hominum et odio vitiorum.'"† John Andræa, a most eminent lawyer, when in Rome, examined the statutes of the Carthusians, and then said, that he had never read or heard of any drawn up with greater discretion, sobriety, humility, or charity than these; and soon afterwards with his patrimony he built the Carthusian monastery of Bologna.‡ "On entering a religious order," says Father Judde, "a man finds that the rule has only developed what he had long been accustomed to read in his own heart." Thus before the constitutions of St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier governed in India nearly in the same manner as the holy founder did in Europe. The first fathers, on receiving the constitutions, found that they had themselves had the same thoughts.§ A modern French author,‖ alluding to the reform instituted by St. Benedict of Aniane, produces some of the minute articles which were designed for the domestic regulation of monasteries, respecting habits and diet, and then complains that these are miserable prescriptions, quite foreign to a religious sentiment or moral institution. But he should have observed, that these precepts began by enforcing attention to the original rules which had extorted his praise, and though to a professor before a promiscuous assembly these minute articles might seem trifling, to any experienced superior, who had to govern a number of men living in one house, they would probably appear a necessary part of the material element of a religious community. The prescribing a particular diet for each season, the prohibition of indiscriminate bleeding, and the providing peculiar indulgences for the sick or delicate, or even the regulating the hours of opening and shutting the gates by the alternation of certain months, furnish weak grounds for the conclusion that the monastic institution had lost its grandeur, and had become full of puerilities and servitude.

The superiors of religious houses knew perfectly well the distinction which this historian seems to propose as the result of his own philosophy. "Habetis dilectissimi: you have here, my beloved, according to your request, certain customs which we observe, in which are many mean and minute things, which perhaps ought not to be written, unless because your love was resolved to judge nothing, but to embrace whatever was prepared." So speaks Father Guigo, prior of the Carthusians, at the end of his "Customs," about forty-four years after the foundation of the order by St. Bruno.¶ Indeed, the fourth chapter of the first book of

* Annales Capucinorum, ad an. 1536.
† Statuta Ord. Præmon. c. vi.
‡ Pet. Sutorus, De Vita Carthusiana, ii. iii. 3.
§ Œuvres Spirit. iv. 65.
¶ Annales Ord. Carthusiensis Lib. i. c. 80.

Guigot—

this collection, treating on the spirit and end of this order, supplies an admirable answer to such objections. Richard of St. Victor, while showing that the discipline of the body is useless without the discipline of the mind, observes, that "where exterior discipline is wanting, the interior certainly cannot be maintained."* "Every power," says St. Thomas, "which can be ordained to action requires habit by which it may be well disposed to act, and therefore habit is necessary to the will, which is an intellectual power."† The object of the monastic regulations was to produce habit.

The wisest politicians have admitted that the best way of learning how to govern a state well was to study the constitution of religious orders. Their soul, indeed, was obedience, without which, as the historian of the Carthusians says, "not even the desert could yield peace," and therefore St. Bruno renounced that sweet solitude at the voice of the sovereign pontiff.‡ But for men humble and gentle, as even the profane historian remarks, "the service of the Church was a true liberty."§ The services and practices of religion exalt and ennoble, and correspond with those lofty sentiments of the dignity of our origin, which are found in the writings of the great men who collected the traditions of antiquity, while those of the world seem often invented, in order to degrade and humiliate men, while, by flattering the passions, they reconcile them to the vileness and absurdity of the offices required. "Why should monastic obedience seem grievous?" asks a master of novices. "What a hard obedience do unhappy men render in the world, without any consolation or fruit from it!"‖ The motto of the congregation of the Oratoire might have been that of all the religious houses, "Ici l'on obéit sans dépendre, et l'on gouverne sans commander." The monastic rules excluded despotism. "For no superior or subject," says Peter of Blois, "is it lawful to follow his own will; for the legislator of monks prescribed, as if by a general edict, that all should follow the rule as their master; and from this law neither the abbot nor the prior is excepted."¶ In point of fact, too, the government of monks was full of indulgence and condescension. Seldom could they address their superior in words like those of Eurylochus in the name of his companions to Ulysses, complaining of his iron nature in ordering them to wander all the night long:—

Σχέτλιος εἶς,——πέρι τοι μένος οὐδέ τι γυῖα
κάμνεις· ἦ ῥά νυ σοί γε σιδήρεα πάντα τετυκται.**

William of Jumiège says of Robert, abbot of St. Evroul, who established a monastery on the shores of Calabria, that "he disdained his own body, but supplied all who were subject to him with food and clothing in abundance, while endeavoring to maintain their hearts under a regular discipline."††

* Ric. St. Vict. Allegoriæ Tabernaculi Fœd.
† Q. L. Art. v.
‡ Pet. Sutorus, De Vita Carthus. i. v. 1.
§ Orderic Vit. Hist. Nor. Lib. iii.
‖ Joan à Jesu Instruct. Magist. Novitiorum.
¶ Pet. Bles. Epist. 131.
** xii. 279.
†† Lib. vii. 30.

Richard, and Guillaume, and many other young men of good dispositions; in fine, many of the peasants seeing such zeal and sanctity, found also their salvation there."*

St. Bernard advising Turstin, archbishop of York, to hold what he holds, and exhibit a monk in the episcopal dignity, adds, "that if some latent cause should compel him, or the Lord Pope indulge his desire of quiet, he advises him not to be deterred by reported asperity of food or clothing or poverty, provided he may pass where he can hope to find greater purity; and moreover that in houses of this kind souls are in such a manner consulted for, that according to age and weakness a fitting care of bodies is never denied."† St. Bernard furnishes a remarkable instance of the forbearance of monastic superiors in his own conduct towards Nicolaus, the notary, a cheat and impostor, who left the Cistercians under him, carrying off books and money; having frequently forged letters in his name, from having possession of his seal. St. Bernard says that he had long known the man, but had waited for his conversion or open declaration of treachery.‡ It was characteristic, however, of all monastic rules to imply a state of life from which no doubt men of the luxurious habits belonging to the modern civilization recoil with a kind of horror, as from an austerity which neither reason nor religion sanction; though a little consideration would lead any unprejudiced mind to a conclusion widely different from theirs, so clear is the truth observed by St. Augustin, that it "is easier for those who love God to retrench their cupidities than it is for those who love the world to satisfy them."§ "We are apt enough," says a late historian, "to ridicule the austere observances of some orders; yet we may be assured that without such austerities monastic piety could not long subsist. Those who live on the luxuries of nature will receive the yoke of the passions."‖

Having already alluded to the belief and practice of men in ages of faith in this respect, I shall now pass on hastily; only observing, by the way, that even the ancient philosophers practiced acts of self-denial to teach them patience and endurance, as Socrates was known to have done.¶ Homer, as Cardan remarks, makes his Ulysses not courageous, for he prefers Ajax to him; not strong or swift, for he makes Achilles superior to him; not rich, for he gives the first place to Priam; not powerful, for he subjects him to Agamemnon: but he ascribes to him the virtue of endurance.** Not alone with the mysterious depths of religion, but also with all that is great and heroic among men, was the austerity of the cloistral life in harmony: and hence it was a popular saying of the middle ages, as we learn from Hugo of St. Victor, "That a soldier and a monk wear the same cloth."†† The mild and delicious graces of faith would never have been seen in the world, if there had not been also witnessed, as Hugo of St. Victor

* Lib. iii. † Epist. 319. ‡ Epist. 298. § Epist. 220. ad Bonif.
‖ Europe in Mid. Ages, vol. ii. ¶ Aul. Gell. ii. I. ** Cardan de Sapientia, l.
†† De Claustro Animæ, Lib. ii. 18.

says, "the sackcloth of Jerome; the tunic of Benedict; the mat of Eulalius; the tears of Arsenius; the nakedness of Paul; the pot of Elisha.*

Men of counterfeit gaiety, who live in the crowd, though often heard to exclaim, "O how full of briars is this working-day world!" are filled with sadness on visiting a Carthusian or Cistercian house, from believing that the inhabitants of these serene abodes, inaccessible to bitter care, are in a state more wretched than the general infelicity of man: they even evince displeasure, declaring loudly that they do not pity them, since by their choice of life, they have brought that misery on themselves. But we have only to wait a little to be convinced of their error: for the wind of adversity, sooner or later, is sure to blow upon that smiling surface, and then all is visibly reversed. Let the moment of reflection come; who are, then, the self-tormented? Will it be for them to compassionate the monks? Morality may spare her grave concern, and her kind suspicions. They will have to say of them what the Book of Wisdom affirms of the just: "Illi autem sunt in pace." And if the scene is so quickly altered in the present dark, uncertain life, where a blow, or a sickness, or any political convulsion, is sufficient to make the dissipated and the religious change parts, in regard even to the external condition,—what will be the contrast hereafter, when every one will be obliged to distinguish good from evil, without having any longer the power to make a choice! This,—this was the reflection that reconciled men in ages of faith to the austerity of cloisters. "O what folly," exclaims an ascetic, "to fear the monastic discipline, and not the flames of inextinguishable, eternal fire! Ah there is too great a difference between the humble habits of monks and the ghastly aspect of demons; between the devout chant of the religious and the intolerable wailing of the damned."†

The habits of the monastic order were not the inventions of caprice, but the result of experience, which determined what dress was most simple, œconomical, and conducive to the purposes of the life to be pursued by monks. Paul IV., on his election to the papal chair, being mindful of the ancient friendship which from tender years, existed between him and Jerome Suessanus, the hermit of Monte Corona, sent orders to him to come to Rome. The obedient man arrived, and was received by the pope with a joyful countenance. After embracing him, the pontiff, raising him up, said, "What covering is this, Jerome? What austerity is this? It is too vile: you must lay it aside." The old man answered, "Holy Father! when clad in this habit, I can walk more easily amidst the oaks and brushwood: nor would any other be suitable to a penitent." "You shall be no longer in the woods and desert," said the pope; "but you shall remain here with us, and from a hermit become a cardinal." Prostrate instantly on the earth the old man fell; and, with tears, implored the pontiff not to execute such a resolution; declaring that he knew of no happiness beyond the solitude

* Id. Prolog. † Dialog. Novitiorum.

of the desert. The pope found that it would be grievous to press him farther, so the holy man returned in triumph to his cell in the woods. This is that blessed Hieronymus Suessanus, styled always "The hermit of Monte Corona who refused the cardinal's hat." He was an excellent physician, and skilled in the healing art, on which he had expressly written.* Nevertheless, though "the brushwood" accounted for much, it cannot be doubted but that there was a true connection between the solemn religious habit and the spirit of the monastic orders. "A vain heart," says St. Bernard, "induces a note of vanity in the body; and the external superfluity is an index of the interior." There was besides, perhaps, a certain tradition of antiquity, which was not without its influence, in the original choice of color: for, though one cannot suppose that the example of Pythagoras, who used to wear a white habit,† was kept in view, yet many of the first Christians, who passed from the schools of the philosophers and retained their habit may be presumed to have handed down some general notion as to the kind most suitable to the life which corresponded, in the Church, with that of their former condition. St Clemens of Alexandria says, that Plato follows Moses, in praising white garments as most proper for peaceful men, who are children of light.‡ Isaiah, he says, went barefoot; Elias and St. John the Baptist were coarsely clad.§ Popular local usage dictated, in later times, the choice of the seraphic father; though poets found it suitable to an angel as to him who did open the gate of purgatory: of whom they say—

> "Ashes, or earth, ta'en dry out of the ground,
> Were of one color with the robe he wore."

"The fewer things a man wants the nearer he is to God," replied Socrates, to one who ridiculed his custom of walking barefoot, and having but one dress for summer and winter. Sublime answer! which ought to content those methinks who now disdain the habit in which Dante wished to die. But, in these most giddy times, men, who could endure to bear the appelation, would shudder at the thought of wearing the canonized habit of a monk; which, of old, was of itself an indication, both of the obedience and the charity of its wearer: for it was assuredly an act of charity to let men see, by the very raiment with which they clothed themselves, that they were still in the midst of them, those who followed in the narrow track of saintly founders, bound together in a venerable society to preserve, not so much the property or the exemptions, which might have become even pernicious, as the spirit of the holy orders of St. Benedict and St. Francis, so inseparably connected with a literal observance of their rules. "I knew many young men," says Father Elzear l'Archer, a Franciscan, "who, from having only beheld certain preachers of our order in the pulpit, before they had pronounced a word, were already converted in their hearts, and had resolved to leave

* Annal. Camald. Lib. lxxii. † Jamblich. de Vit. Pyth ‡ Pæd. Lib. iii. c. 11.
§ Id. Lib. ii. c. 10.

the world, merely by the force of these men's countenances. Hence it is so often said, that our habit of itself preaches; and that it has a thousand tongues, each the most eloquent."*

The fasts and abstinence, as regulated in the monasteries, were far from being contrary to what the philosophy of the ancients deemed wise and expedient. Amidst banquets like the Syracusan and Italic tables, that Plato condemned, men may now speak disdainfully of them and obtain applause; but, with such manners, it will be still true to say, in the words of that philosopher, that no man under heaven can ever be wise.† Pythagoras prescribed abstinence from certain kinds of food, from being convinced that the juice of meat tended to render wickedness robust. "Who knows not," adds a great French physician "that men fasting are more disposed for meditation; and that, after a feast, the mind is weakened. The art of abstinence is the art of living well."‡ St Clement of Alexandria remarks, "that much food produces indolence, and oblivion, and stupidity;"§ and Alanus de Insulis does not confine the evil to the soul, for he says, "Do you know whence come infirmities of body and mind? certainly it is from excess of food, and the deluge of potations."‖ Hence the saying of the middle ages: "Plures crapula quam gladius." Besides, it was impossible that men of gentle and refined natures should not love and adore that Orphic life, innocent and primeval, free from the slaughter and the blood of animals. "The less one seeks," moreover, as Hugo of St. Victor says, in commenting on the rule of St. Augustin, "the more strictly one lives, the happier one is: for an abstemious life kills vices, extinguishes desires, nourishes virtues, strengthens the soul, and elevates the mind to celestial things." With what horror men in the middle ages regarded the shame and sin of gluttony, may be witnessed in the curious letter of Peter of Blois to Richard of Salisbury.¶ Truly, if we abide by the sentence of their philosophy, there ought to be no hesitation in deciding between the simple diet of the monks, and the luxurious grandeur of worldly tables, as described by Le Grand d'Aussy, from the pages of Froissart and other old authors; between those of "voracious Burgundy, loving feasts," and the boards of that austere community of Cîteaux, reviving the manners to which the Church alludes in the vesper hymn for the feast of all the saints of the Benedictine order:—

"Vobis olus cibaria
Fuere, vel legumina;
Potumque lympha præbuit,
Humusque dura lectulum."

Antiphanes, the Delian physician, said that one cause of the diseases of men was the diversity of food; and Cardan, in the same capacity, speaks of the excellence of fish, as being simple and light nourishment.** St. Bonaventura, accordingly,

* Sacré Mont d'Olivet. † Platonis Epist. vii. ‡ Alibert, Physiologie des Passions.
§ Pædag. ii. 1. ‖ De Arte Prædicatoria, Lib. iv. ¶ Ep. 85. ** Prudent. Civilis, 43.

observes that monks in the cloister, in consequence of their temperate and austere life, generally live to a great age.* In monasteries of Carthusians, as an historian of that order observes, it is common to find fathers of eighty and a hundred years of age,—witnesses that their discipline does not impair the strength of nature.† The Père de Geramb remarked monks in the convent of St. Catharine, who, at the age of eighty and ninety-six years, showed all the vigor of youth. The common opinion, that the Carthusians take a vow to abstain from meat absolutely, is without foundation; for there is nothing in their statutes to forbid them from eating it in cases of necessity.‡ Father Elzear l'Archer, the Franciscan, after observing how abstinence is conducive to health, says, "if it were not for their life being sapped at the foundations, which are the feet, in consequence of the ice and rock and craggy paths which they have to pass over, I believe that our poor friars, from being so abstemious, would live to be so old that it would be necessary to knock them on the head at last.§ "Why do philosophers and hermits live longer than other men?" is a question put by Cardan; who replies, "Because they lead a simple, abstemious life, in harmony with nature."‖ In fact, the monastic rules imposed nothing novel in that respect. When the rule of St. Benedict was first introduced into Brittany, there had been already seen there the pattern of a simple, natural life, austere but healthful, in the monks, who had been long in that country.¶ Mabillon justly observes, that the experience of many ages, and the admirable frugality of the most holy men of Germany, must disprove the assertion of the moderns, who pretend that the monastic discipline cannot be borne under that sky, and with the bodily disposition of that people.** And, besides, we must remember the maxim of all religious orders, which Fulbert of Chartres thus expresses: "Abstinence only from meat does not so much avail with the Lord, as the mortification of vices."†† It is certain that the abstinence and fasts of the religious orders, like parts of scared vestments, are now only vestiges of primitive times, which originally formed no distinction between monks and other men. Le Grand d'Aussy, citing the statues of the reform of St. Claude in 1448, says that he cites the rules of the monks frequently, because, from their nourishment, one can learn what was the general food of the people:‡‡ so that even down to that period, the discipline of monasteries presented no such prodigious contrast as we might now suppose to that of the majority of secular houses. So strictly was Lent observed by the people at large, that, even so late as in 1629, there were only six oxen and about sixty calves killed for the Hôtel-Dieu and the whole city of Paris: for the hospital had then the exclusive privilege of selling meat in Lent, on the deliverance of a physician's certificate, signed by the curé. In 1665, the number was increased to two hundred oxen and two

* De Reformat. Hom. Inter. c. 30. † Pet. Sutorus de Vita Carthusiana, Lib. i. c. 8.
‡ Id. § Le Sacré Mont d'Olivet, 581. ‖ Cardan de Consolatione, Lib. ii.
¶ Lobineau Hist. de Bret. Liv. ii. ** Præfat. in III. Sæc. Ben. 2. †† Fulb. Car. Epist. 36.
‡‡ Hist. de la Vie privée des François, ii. 233.

thousand calves; and so it went on increasing, until, as at present, the consumption became nearly the same throughout the year.*

The discipline of religious houses as that of the church generally, both in the east and west, has varied in different ages with respect to the kinds of food which constituted abstinence. Socrates says, "some abstain from all animals, others eat only fish, others eat fowl, with fish, believing them born from the waters, in consequence of the text in which Moses records, that the waters were commanded to produce them on the fifth day, an interpretation general from the fourth century, and which St. Basil and St. Ambrose seemed to authorize. In the most austere religious orders, fowl and game were permitted at certain seasons. St. Columban fed his monks with that food during a scarcity. Chilperic invited St. Gregory of Tours to take some soup, adding that he might eat it as it was made of fowl. However in 817, the council of Aix-la-Chapelle forbade the use of such food excepting during the days of Easter and Christmas; and in consequence of this regulation the royal donations of fowl yearly to many different monasteries were annulled, or rendered only obligatory at those seasons. This rule of the council did not affect the tables of seculars, for until the eighteenth century, no one scrupled at them to eat various kinds of aquatic birds on days of abstinence.* At one time again, the Sundays of Lent were of abstinence, and at others not. In the tenth century, meat was then eaten. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, affected rigorism, and accused the west of not observing Lent strictly; but Ratram, monk of Corby, Hincmar of Rheims, Eudes, bishop of Paris, and others replied to him, and showed that such things vary.‡

Local circumstances sometimes affected the discipline of houses. Thus the abbey of Mount Sereno being on the top of a lofty mountain, and far distant from places were fish could be obtained, Pope Innocent III. gave the community leave to eat flesh, especially as their rule of St. Augustin did not forbid it.§ In the abbey of St. Gall on days when meat was permitted, the monks eat bears' flesh, and that of wild horses, wild bulls, ibexes, marmots, pheasants, swans, peacocks, and all other birds.‖ In the eighth century, St. Chrodegand, bishop of Metz, speaks of acorns failing, as if they constituted an important article of food. Philippe-le-Hardi, duke of Burgundy, who had a Dominican for his Confessor, used to regale that monk every year on the festival of St. Thomas of Aquin, with a lamprey; and if it was impossible to find one, he used to give him forty-five sous in silver. With respect to the order observed in the refectory, many minuter rules were laid down; but we have no space to devote to them. The place of each monk who held office, the position of the tables, the number and kind of vessels, the books to be read according to the alternations of months, were all determined. In the abbey of Croyland, it was ordained that every day after dinner, as soon as grace was said, there should be prayers for the soul of King

* Id. ii. 112. † Le Grand d'Aussy, i. 326. ‡ Id. ii. 39. § Epist. Inn. Lib. v. 10.
‖ Ildefons von Arx Geschichte d. S. G. i. 250.

Ethelbald, the founder, and that the bounty of King Wichtlaf, who left his drinking horn, should be commemorated.

The silence in observed religious houses was another feature of monastic discipline, at which men conversant with the lessons of ancient wisdom will be less disposed to wonder, than those whose minds are formed by the common opinions of later times. One of the first proofs which Pythagoras required from his disciples, was whether they were able ἐχεμυθεῖν, that is, to keep in silence what he taught them; for he laid more stress upon the being able to keep silence, than on the being able to talk.* Cato used to say, "I wish that all men were mute; there would be then less improbity,† forcibly expressing only what Plutarch lays down in his treatise on "speaking too much." It was Simonides who said, "that we had often to repent having spoken, but never having kept silence." "In speaking we have men for our masters," says the Chæronian sage, "but in keeping silence, the gods," which was an allusion to the mysteries. "Silence," he adds, "is not only without thirst, as Hippocrates says, but it is without pain and sorrow; it is Socratic and magnanimous."‡ Alluding perhaps to which opinions, St. John Climachus styles "a silent man a son of philosophy." The antiquity of this discipline among Christians has been often shown. "Extra Psalmos silentium est," says St. Jerome in his epistle to Marcella, speaking of Christian community. At Nitria in early times it was a rule that no one should speak till after sext. At none began prayer and psalmody, as if in paradise. From complin till the "Pretiosa in conspectu Domini" at prime, silence was obligatory in every religious house. The regular places of a monastery where silence was to be observed, were the dormitory, the refectory, the infirmary, the library, the chapter room, the cloister, and the conventual garden.§

We may remark that the defense of this discipline among the worshippers of peace, furnishes occasion to the monastic philosophers for evincing the profound knowledge which they possessed of human nature. "Choose silence," says Peter of Blois, "if you wish to have peace of heart."‖ St. Bernard calls the tongue, "the instrument that serves to empty the heart." "As a furnace," he says, "of which the mouth is always open, cannot retain the heat within itself, so neither can the heart preserve in itself the grace of devotion, unless the mouth be closed with the grace of silence." The holy Carthusian Patriarch Bruno knew well how to appreciate the force which is vouchsafed to man, and the dangers which encompass him in the frigid atmosphere of the present life, when he wrote at the head of his laws "Silere." If any chose to be disputatious, and to inquire why such laws should be necessary, the Cistercians might have deemed it sufficient apology for their custom to reply with Shakespeare,

"Why, 'tis good to be sad, and say nothing."

* Jamblich de Pythag. Vita. c. 20. † Aul. Gel. xviii. 7. ‡ C. 20.
§ Joan à Jesu Instructio Magistri Novitiorum, c. 25. ‖ Pet. Bles. de Silentio servando.

In point of fact, however, there are many men to whom this part of discipline is full of charms. Hear how Cardan speaks of himself. "I feel that I am little fit for conversation: first, because I love solitude; for never am I more with those whom I love, than when I am alone. But I love God, the good Spirit. When I am alone, I contemplate the immense good, the eternal wisdom, the Author of light, the true joy, the foundation of truth, the Author of all things, who is happy in himself, and the desire of all the happy. What other mind can I love? What intelligence more sincere, more lofty, more secure than the divine? Libraries are crammed with books; minds are spoiled by eruditon; men transcribe but write not: what then can I hope from the converse of men—garrulous, avaricious, lying, ambitious men? But you say, man is a social animal, and why renounce friends in the world? I know that these things can be objected to me; but I am not ignorant that many things may seem hard and absurd, which when investigated appear very different; and that on the contrary, there are other things apparently gentle and useful, which in reality are absurd and hard."*

The nocturnal vigils again presented a point of contrast between the cloister and the world, sufficiently remarkable, and though men at present may not be long sleepers like Epimenides, no part of monastic discipline seems to them to present a more vulnerable side. Who is this that moves solitary along the dusky aisles,

Νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην, ὅτε θ' ει δουσι βροτοὶ ἄλλοι;

In ages of faith it was the monk, and truly his motive was sublime. Within monasteries there were, at least, four hours of spiritual exercise and solemn music, while the rest of the world was buried in sleep. When I was in Camaldoli, the monks used to begin matins in the church at half-past twelve. At three they returned to take repose, and at five rose for the day. At the Carthusian monastery of La-part-Dieu, in a deep black forest of pines on the mountains of Freyburg, the monks rose at eleven, and remained in the church till two. They then returned to rest till five. The day closed with them at seven in the evening, when they retired to rest. So that the very observance of hours separated them from the world, and I confess on going back to it, I almost envied them even this distinction. In the abbey of Croyland three lights used to burn in the cloister, and four in the dormitory every night till day-break, in order to guard against fire and many other dangers, as Ingulphus says.† The chronicles of St. Trudo say, "that lights all night were necessary in the cloister of that abbey, to obviate that horror of darkness which the children and the monks would otherwise have had to encounter in going to matins and returning."‡ In the houses of the knight templars also lights used always to burn through the whole night.§ The holy fathers, as we observed in the fifth book, were unanimous in recommending the

* De vita propria. c. 53.
† P. 105
‡ Chron. Abbatiæ S. Trud. vi. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vii.
§ Regula lxx.

practice of devotion in the night. The monastic observance is therefore no novelty. "Our sleep," says St. Basil in his epistle to St. Gregory Nazianzen, "ought to be short, and interrupted by the thoughts of salvation. The middle of the night ought to be for those who are entirely devoted to a spiritual life, what the beginning of the day is for persons who live in the world." St. Chrysostom speaks of it as a monastic custom to assist at the divine worship before day at the crowing of the cock. "A sleeping man," says Clemens Alexandrinus, "is like a dead man. Oftentimes during the night, one ought to rise from one's bed and give thanks to God. *πολλάκις καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς ανεγερτέον τῆς κοίτης καὶ τὸν Θεὸν εὐλογητέον.*"*

The more ancient monks determined their time of rising by the course of the stars, as Cassian relates.† The monks of Cluny observed this rule.‡ Gnomons were used in the day, or hour glasses, as Cassiodorus relates in his divine readings. Petrus Damianus alludes to another but difficult mode of knowing the hours, which was, from the quantity of Psalms sung.§ Some ascribe the first clock to the invention of Pope Sylvester II.; but a clock was sent as a present to Charlemagne from the king of Persia, two hundred years before Sylvester. The ancient Romans had a boy to announce the hours. They superstitiously thought it better to number the hours before meridian, than those after it, a fancy which appears also in the work of Hesiod entitled "Days."

Such then in brief, were the most severe prescriptions of the monastic discipline. To the multitude they may appear painful, for without love, all things are bitter and tasteless, but whatever is bitter becomes sweet by love, as the holy fathers of the desert and the monks of later ages found, the former using herbs and bark of trees, dry bread and cold water for nourishment, the earth for their bed, a stone for their pillow, sackcloth for covering, and the latter the diet and necessaries belonging generally to the poor, in all which things they both found an ineffable sweetness on account of love, which renders all difficult things light, and as it were nothing.‖ The legislator of Fontevrault shows that the members of his order will do nothing through fear, but that they will observe all their rule through the love of Christ, and through that good habit and delight in virtue which will belong to them.¶ Strict indeed was the obligation of monks to comply with their holy institute. The exact observance of the rule of St. Benedict, during the ninth and tenth centuries, was an object even of the greatest interest to kings. Every monk was bound to learn it by heart, word by word.** A German historian says that no monarchs could have more at heart the discipline and maintenance of their troops than the Emperors Otho I. and Conrad II. had deeply fixed in their breasts as their fond desire, the exact observance of the rule of St. Benedict, by the monks who professed it. Otho I. swore that he would

* Pædagogus, Lib. ii. c. 9. † Lib. ii. c. 17 ‡ Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, 448.
§ Opus. 13. cap. 17. ‖ Idiotæ Contemp. ¶ La Reigle de l'ordre de Fontevrauld, c. liv.
** Capit. Aquisgran. 817.

break his crown and give the fragments to the abbey of St. Gall, if it were necessary to promote the observance of the rule. He delayed to give the kiss to the new elected Abbot Notker, merely from observing him dressed with more elegance than he thought would have been sanctioned by St. Benedict. Monks were buried holding the rule in their hand, to signify how much depended on their having well observed it.

"We arrived at Fontevrault," says Dom Martene, "while they were celebrating the obsequies of a young monk who had died that day. In the morning he had been carried into the church of the nuns, where high mass had been sung for his soul, and all the sisters had given him the holy water. Thence he had been carried into that of the monks, where we saw him clad in his monastic habit, holding in his hand a taper, with the rule, which was as the sentence of eternal happiness, if he had well observed it, or of his damnation if he had ill observed it."* But the due observance was known to be spiritual rather than literal, for hear how St. Bernard himself speaks: "How do they hold the rule, you say, who are clad in skins, and fed with flesh, and dispensed from manual labor? Attend to the rule of God, from which the institute of St. Benedict does not dissent, 'Regnum Dei intra vos est'. Therefore, brethren, do not found a calumny upon corporal observances, and neglect the chief things of the rule, which are its spiritual institutions. Better is humility, clad in skins, than pride in destitution. Better is a little meat for use than much vegetables for satiety. Esau was reprehended not for flesh but for pottage; and Adam was condemned, not for flesh but for fruit; and Jonathan was judged, not for flesh but for honey; whereas Elias eat flesh with innocence, and Abraham placed flesh before approving angels. Wine in moderation, as St. Paul prescribes, is better than water avidity. Nor should you glory in the labor of your hands, since Martha, who served, was reproved, and Mary, who sat still, was praised; for the true labor is that which is spiritual."†

When any one monastery became eminent for the regularity of its discipline, the abbots of other houses used to propose it as a model to their own community. Thus, in the seventeenth century, the superiors of many abbeys in Switzerland applied to St. Gall for monks to effect a reform in their respective houses, when some were sent in consequence to Mariaberg, in the Tyrol; to Rheinau, Engelberg, Disentis, Pfeffers, Fulda, Hirschfeld, Ettenheimmünster, Kempten; only at the latter convent they were opposed by the lay nobility.

The venerable abbey of St. Venne, at Verdun, twice reformed all the monasteries of France. In the eleventh century its holy abbot, Richard, restored the discipline of more than forty principal abbeys, which communicated the reform to others; and, in later times, Dom Didier-le-la-Cour, prior of the same house, caused the spirit of St. Benedict to revive in nearly 300 monasteries, and the congregations of St. Venne and of St. Maur to be instituted.

* Voyage Lit. de Deux Bened. 1717. † S. Bern. de Præcepto et Dispensatione, v.

One great object of the journeys of the monks in the middle ages was to visit different monasteries, with a view to examine their customs, in order to transfer those that were excellent to their own. Thus we read of St. Botulphe, after the middle of the seventh century, that in his monastery in Lincolnshire he established many holy customs and rules of life which he had learned in monasteries beyond sea. "He taught his disciples the precepts of salvation according to the rule of blessed Father Benedict, mingling old with new and new with ancient things; at one time teaching the institution of the ancients, at another what he had discerned by himself."* Ingulph, abbot of Crowland, in the time of William the Conqueror, says, "Remembering that, to the honor of God and the edification of his people, in the monasteries beyond sea of Fontanelle, Jumièges, Cluny, and others, mandatum of the poor was always observed after high mass, and that the people of God were much edified by it, and that in our English monasteries it was omitted or unknown, by the advice of our whole convent, I ordained that it should be daily practiced in our monastery, directing that the almoner should leave the choir after the consecration, and to proceed to the gate of the monastery, and introduce three strangers into the great parlor; or, if there should be no strangers, three poor old men; and if there should be none such, three honest boys; and then, at the end of mass, their feet should be washed, and provisions given to each of them, which they might eat there or carry away with them as they chose.†

Brother Udalricus of Cluny, being sent by the abbot into Germany, and coming to a monastery in the Black Forest at Spires, the abbot of that house, William, requested him to state the particular customs that were observed at Cluny; "for," said he, "your church, by the mercy of God, hath obtained no small reputation of religion among us; therefore, you would confer a great favor on me, if you would inform me what are the customs and institutions of your predecessors there; for even if they are not observed by us, it will serve to humble us, if we learn how you live and converse."‡ "I hear, he continues, "that your readings on private nights in winter are very long. Will you relate in what manner the Old and New Testament are read, both in winter and summer?" Udalricus, after giving him this satisfaction, informs him of diverse customs observed at Cluny. "On Maunday Thursday," he says, "the poor are introduced into the cloister, and placed on seats in order; the lord abbot and assistants proceed to wash their feet, while 'Mandatum novum' is read. Then the wine is blessed, and two denarii are given to each of the poor. After collation in the refectory, the monks rise to charity, and no one then presumes to abstain wholly from the wine which is produced; but every one tastes a little. When a monk desires to confess, he stands before the priest, and drawing his right hand from under the sleeve, places it on his breast,

* Mab. Præf in iv. sæc. † Hist. Croyl. 108.

‡ Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Mon. Procem. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iv.

the Romans is read through in two nights. If the Apostle should be finished before Septuagesima, we read the exposition of St. John Chrysostom upon the Epistle to the Hebrews. This is the circle of the year."*

In the wise communities of the western monks, attached to the soil by labor, men beheld for the first time work by free hands. In the rule of St. Benedict, as a French historian observes, "one is struck at the admirable equilibrium of devotion and practice. Labor is the first word of St. Benedict's rule. In vain did some of the Irish seek a more mystic rule under that of St. Columban, admitting only prayer and contemplation according to the oriental idea. The rule of St. Benedict extinguished it in the west. This order gave to the ancient world, worn with slavery, the first example of labor performed by free men. For the first time, the citizen, humbled by the ruin of the city, turned his eyes to the lands which he had despised, and remembered the labor which was commanded at the beginning of the world in the sentence pronounced on Adam. This great innovation of free and voluntary labor, effected by the monks, is the basis of the modern society."

"On arriving at the monastery of St. Œquitius," says Julian, who had been sent by the Roman pontiff, "I found there some old men writing: I asked, where was the abbot? and they replied, 'In the valley beneath the monastery he is cutting grass.'" Speaking of Herluin, founder of Bec, and of his first monks, William of Jumiège says,—"You would have seen them, after the office of the church, going into the fields to spend the day in agricultural labors; the abbot carrying the seeds on his head, and holding tools in his hand; some clearing the ground, others carrying manure on their shoulders, and spreading it on the ground; no one eating his bread in idleness, all returning to the church at the hour of the divine office, and then sitting down to a meal of oaten bread and herbs with salt and water.† When the monks of Cluny used to go into the fields to work, they would begin by standing in order with their faces to the east, and then, after short prayers, they proceeded to labor with their hands.

From the travels of Dom Martene we can learn how strictly the monks complied with this injunction of their rule down to the latter times. "In the abbey of Orval," he says, "we saw angels in mortal bodies. Zealous imitators of the first fathers, they observe unequal hours in the distribution of their exercises; they work in the fields, and take their dinner there during the harvest; they are always gay, and one sees the joy of their soul painted on their countenances."§ On arriving at the abbey of Gembloux, we heard that the day before the monks had been at work five hours in the fields, gathering in the harvest.‖ "On weak and delicate brethren," says the rule of St. Benedict, "such works, or arts, should be enjoined, that they may neither be idle, nor oppressed with violent labor.

* Antiq. Consuet. Clun. c. 1. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iv. † Lib. vi. c. 9.
‡ Antiq. Consuet. Cluniacens. Mon. Lib. 1. c. 30. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iv.
§ Voyage Lit. de Deux Ben. 148, 9. ‖ Ib. 117.

If there should be artisans in the monastery, let them exercise their art with all humility, and let not avarice creep in by the sale of their works, but let them always be given cheaper than the same would be sold by seculars, that in all things God may be glorified."* Many monks, who studied mechanics in the time of Pope St. Gregory VII. are spoken of as being most skilful workmen. They were architects, carvers in wood, workers in metal; and even the common arts for the use of the monastery, such as those of shoemakers and vestment-makers, were exercised by monks.†

Trithemius mentions that there were 150 monks in Hirschau; and, besides these, there were sixty bearded brethren, who were not clerks, but called convertites, who were employed in manual labor, and imitating the contemplation of the monks. "Amongst these were men skilled in all mechanical arts: carpenters, masons, smiths, sculptors, carvers; and also tailors and shoemakers: all these met in common in the church at nocturnal vigils, and had permission either to follow the monks' offices or to hear shorter, and all dined together in the refectory. The master of these convertites was one of the best monks, and most learned in the Scriptures and skilled in preaching: 'Master Barbatorum' was his name. On Sundays and festivals after prime, and again after sext or nones, he preached on vulgar observance. There were also fifty oblats—men who retained their secular habit, doing all kinds of menial work, helping the builders and carrying water, and ready for any duty,—who also served in the hospital, and all with the alacrity of charity; and they also had a master, who was a monk. Thus there were in all 260 men, serving God in all the fervor of charity and peace of religion, in all cleanness of heart and poverty of spirit, so that it was truly admirable to think of it. At complin every night, they all met in the church; and, when the office was finished, all retired in silence to their cells. O how beautiful and delightful to behold such peace on earth, such a fraternity among men!"‡

From the seventh century, in the abbey of St. Denis, there was a certain number of poor, called Matricularii from their names being inscribed on the boards of the abbey; and these were supported and employed in various ways"§

"Although the monks, "says Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, "have servants and rustic laborers, we employ them only for lawful uses, and never vex them by exactions, or impose any thing insupportable. If we see them in want, we support them with our own. We have servants and maidservants, not as servants and maid-servants, but as brothers and sisters; and we never permit any one to injure them."‖ In the Benedictine order, the abbots and abbesses, on certain days of the year, were to minister to their inferiors in the kitchen. The rule of St. Ferreolus, as also the ritual of Bec, prescribes that this shall be

* Reg. cap. 58.

† Voigt Hildebrand und sein Zeitalter.

‡ Trithem. in Chronic. Hirsaugiensis.

§ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, iii. 200.

‖ S. Pet. Ven. Abb. Clun. Epist. Lib. i. 28.

done three times in the year. All this picture of monastic works I saw realized, while I resided in the abbey of Camaldoli; and I remember being much struck at the piety of the servants and herdsmen, who used to be assembled every evening to say the rosary and the litany, immediately after the monks had sung vespers. In conclusion one may observe that the division of labor was as well ordered in monasteries as in the most industrious city. Some were charged with attending to the interests of the cloister; others were to preside over the crops and harvest. One was to receive the tributes; another to regulate the domestic economy. One had care of the sick; another had to receive the pilgrims and strangers; another to wait upon the poor.*

CHAPTER XI.

SCRUTABOR Hierusalem in lucernis:" at hearing which words of the Supreme Judge, St. Bernard exclaims, "Quid in Babylone tutum, si Hierusalem manet scrutinium!"† Now, where abuse or degeneracy existed, there was Babylon, in the judgment of the ages of faith; and the difficulty of concealing or disguising any evil which insinuated itself into the manners or institutions of the middle ages, is one of the most remarkable features which distinguish them from later times. "Many, by the persuasion of others," says Peter de Blois, "believe that their perversity is hidden; but they are perilously deceived: for let every superior be assured, that, on some side or other, he will be always infamous, unless he evince true sanctity in his works: 'Vox populi vox Dei.‡'" It was equally impossible for relaxation in communities to be palliated or kept secret: it soon became noised abroad. Hence inquiry and reform were words as familiar in those times as conversion; and, according to the advice of the councillors of Albert V., duke of Austria, abbots rather desired reform of existing than the erection of new monasteries.§

But there was another kind of examination anticipated, and very differently regarded; which Hugo of St. Victor thus describes: "Balam, turning his face towards the desert, and raising up his eyes, beheld Israel dwelling in tents by tribes; and the spirit of God coming upon him, he said, 'How beautiful are they tabernacles, O Jacob! and thy tents, O Israel!' The vain people turns its face

* Michaud, des Monastères au Moyen-age. † Serm. 55. ‡ Epist. 15.
§ Senat. Dialog. Historic. Martini Abbatis Scotorum Vien. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

towards the desert, while in secret thought it examines attentively the conversation of those who live spiritually, it raises its eyes that it may see Israel."*

To the vain people, thus idly engaged, many objections are familiar, founded upon the imaginary or real abuses which existed occasionally in the monasteries of the middle ages. These are vain, as will be evident, after a calm investigation: nevertheless, it will be necessary to touch upon this ground, so as to endeavor to form a correct estimate of the validity of the charges which are adduced against the peaceful communities to which Christianity gave rise. Now, in order to discover the abuses which arrived in monasteries, to what books should we refer? To those of the monks themselves, and of the men who loved monasteries. If we read the Apology of St. Bernard, we shall find that the modern unbelievers have nothing to urge against the abuses of the monastic state, that was not exposed with far greater force by that great father of monks and of the Church.

"In exposing abuses," says St. Bernard, "I do not fear that I shall give trouble to those who love the order; but I feel assured that they will look gratefully on those who attack what they themselves detest."† "In all the religious orders," says John of Salisbury, "there are found some of the faithful and some of the reprobate. Nor is the truth of religion or of profession on that account obscured: for what profession is there, or what society has ever been read of, into which some blot did not penetrate?" After a long condemnation of the vices which could be discerned in monasteries, he concludes thus: "This does not refer to the men who observe their profession. There is no life more faithful, none more simple, none more happy, than theirs within the cloister, performing their duties humbly, in all obedience and reverence, in all sanctification and honor, conversing with God; and, as if terrestrial angels, ignorant of all the perturbations of the world. If there be any thing in what is said which may seem to afflict them, it should be referred to fraternal charity."‡ "See your vocation, brethren," says another guide: "to enter a monastery is the beginning of the utmost perfection; but to live not perfectly in a monastery, is the utmost damnation."§ In the earliest records of monastic history some traces of evil men are found. The desert had its Sarabaïtes, those unworthy childern. In the latter times, pretended Franciscans, and pretended Clares, caused scandal in Italy, and gave occasion to papal censures.‖ In every abbey, perhaps, lay some dead member, to use the expression of the Carthusian Sutorus, who cites in confirmation of it the text, "Non est domus in qua non jaceat mortuus."¶ Speaking of these monasteries, the abbots of the middle ages repeat the words of St. Augustin, and say, "I do not dare to pretend that my house is better than the ark of Noa, where, among eight men, one reprobate was found,—or better than the house of Abraham, where it was said, 'Ejice ancillam et filium ejus,'—or better than the habitation of our

* Serm. 78. † Apologia ad Guillel. c. 7. ‡ De Nugis Curialium, c. 21.
§ Nuremberg Doct. Ascet. I. iv. 36. ‖ Wadding, An. Minorum, tom. iii. ¶ Exod. xviii.

Lord Christ, in which eleven good men tolerated the thief and traitor Judas,—or better than heaven itself, from which the angels fell." In a poem respecting the religious orders, written about the end of the twelfth century, the source of all danger to the cloistral discipline was thus pointed out:—

"Qui sunt in claustro quasi Sathan in paradiso.
Plurima falsorum sunt vere pericula fratrum,
Et venit a falsis fratribus omne malum."*

But there were many springs from which the waters of bitterness might flow. Guibert, abbot of Nogent, ascribes the decline which had occurred before his time in the monastic discipline to the custom of receiving children, whose presence introduced carelessness and tepidity into the order.† The unhappy Gottschalk had thus been offered, by his father, Count Bernus, a Saxon, to the abbey of Fulda, where Raban Maur, against the youth's inclinations, persisted in thinking that the act of his parents bound him to the state separate to God. Gottschalk appealed to the Archbishop Otgar, of Mainz, who convened a synod, to which came twenty-eight bishops and six abbots; and the result of which was, that Raban was summoned to answer before the Emperor Lewis, to whom he addressed a writing in his own defense, entitled "De Oblatione Puerorum," of which there is a copy in the abbey of Melk, in Austria. Gottschalk, however, remained in the monastic state, though he removed to the abbey of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons.

Against this custom, founded upon passages of the Old Testament, but often the result of ignorance or unworthy motives in worldly parents, both the monks and the sovereign pontiffs continually raised their voices. The monks were careful to show the importance of undertaking that holy life, not through the advice or influence of parents, but willingly of their own accord, and solely moved by the vocation of Christ.‡ That all service and sacrifice must be voluntary, is shown by one writer of the middle ages in these words: "Ego quidem homo sum, non asinus, ut spontaneus inviter ad onera, non compellar invitus."§ To provide against the incautious reception of novices in monasteries, St. Benedict, at the synod of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, caused it to be decreed, that the entrance to monasteries should not be made easy to novices; that, in the cell of the guests, they should serve the strangers a few days, for the sake of probation; and that, if they had any property, it was to be given to their parents.‖ Udalricus accordingly relates, in his customs of Cluny, that the oblats—that is, the children who had been offered to the monastery by their parents—were given the habit, but that the benediction was deferred until they should attain the legitimate age;

* Sententia Brunelli de Ordinibus Religiosis ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vi.
† De Vita Propria, i. II.
‡ Antiquior. Consuetud. Cluniacens. Mon. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iv. § Pet. Bles. Ep. 128.
‖ Cap. 34.

that is, says Mabillon, until they should be of an age to know their own will; for, without their own spontaneous choice, it was expressly forbidden by the later canons, to make them monks.* At Hirschau, in the tenth century, no one under twenty was permitted to profess.† A child, named Lambert, had been constrained by his father to assume the monastic habit. On growing up, he wished to inherit the goods of his family, of which his parents sought to deprive him. Pope Nicholas I. declared his profession null ‡ The Church terribly condemned those who entered a monastery from any other motive but piety. "Such persons," says the council of Cologne under Herman V., "are not sons of God, or monks, but clearly mercenaries;" and the council of Trent pronounces an anathema upon all, of whatever quality or state, who should compel or entice any one to take the habit.§ Mabillon has proved, by the testimony of Cardinal Peter Damian, that the custom of offering children had been abolished, at Mount-Cassino, before the end of the twelfth century. So attached to it were some parents, that Pope Clement III. had found great difficulties in laboring to extirpate it; and there were not wanting writers to inveigh against such prohibitions. However, if it lingered any where, the decrees of Celestin III. and of Innocent III. put a total end to it. The young St. Thomas was sent to Mount-Cassino at the age of five, merely to be educated with other children, and that also under a secular tutor.‖ Louis of Paris, in his exposition of the rule of the Franciscans, shows how well guarded was that order from all abuse on this side. "No one," he says, "who is the sole support of his parents, can be received into it. If the parents of a friar fall into extreme necessity, he is to succor them; if not within the order, he can leave it, and work for them, asking leave from his superiors; and if leave should be refused, he must still do so, because he is more obliged to the divine and natural law than to all vows: but it is certain that he can always assist them otherwise, as there are never wanting charitable persons to prevent the necessity of a friar leaving his order. The brethren cannot induce, directly or indirectly, a novice to leave his goods to the order, or to the parents of the brethren, however, poor. No one having debts can be received into it; but if any should be so received, the order is obliged to pay the debts. The brethren must not receive any one for sake of friendship, relationship, or any human respect; and must not refuse any one through hatred, contempt, or any human respect, under pain of mortal sin."¶ In the abbey of St.Gall, youths of high nobility were not so much desired; as experience proved that they, more than others, were liable to degenerate, and introduce confusion and relaxation into cloisters.**

The monastic exemptions, though granted with an excellent intention, were sometimes a source of abuse, against which St. Bernard expressly wrote, in-

* Præf. In IV. Sæc. Ben. 7
† Trithem. in Chronic. Hirsaug.
‡ Biblioth. Hist. de la Congreg. de S. Maur. 236.
§ Sess. 25. c. 18.
‖ Touron, Vie de S. Thom. 13.
¶ Expos. Lit. de la Règle des FF. Mineurs, c. 2.
** Eckehard in Cas.

culcating the duty of obedience to the ordinary.* "Some monasteries," he says, "in different dioceses, pertain more immediately to the Holy See, from the will of the founders; but what devotion grants, is one thing; and what ambition, impatient of subjection, contrives, is another."† Thus he writes to Pope Innocent, to defend Albero, archbishop of Treves, against the unholy abbot of St. Maximin and some contumacious monks, who, under pretence of their immunities, oppose the wish of that prelate to reform them.‡ In 1215, the Lateran Council deprived abbeys of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction to which they were not in a condition to prove their claims. Another source of degeneracy of course was in the men themselves who embraced the monastic state. It was the remark of Epictetus, and of all the old sages, that, to men of base natures, the study of philosophy was rather injurious than beneficial. When he perceived a man without shame, importunate and audacious, corrupt and insolent, he knew him to be one who meddled with the study and discipline of philosophy.§

Who seeks to question whether such effects could be discovered in the cloister? Doubtless there might be found at times some counterfeit, in whose hood that dark bird nestled of which Dante speaks; though such impostors found not long beneath their hands of promise the throng beneath who waited for the blessing: they were sure to be unmasked at length, and driven out. But a more subtle mischief consisted in the gradual decline of piety in others, who, in their commencement, had shed lustre. "Why does the manna taste now insipid in your mouth," says the ascetic to monks in this condition, "if it is not that you have returned to seek the wretched consolations of the world? Remember your going out from Egypt. Let that day of the Lord be forever in your memory. Unquestionably the hand of the Lord was with you, or else you would have remained in the world. Where is, then, that spirit, that primitive fervor, that firm intention, that immoveable resolution, that love strong as death?"‖

The apostate of Erfurth says, that he remembers well after pronouncing his monastic vow that his father exclaimed, "Heaven grant that this may not be a trick of Satan!" "Words which sunk so deep into my heart," he adds, "that it seemed as if God had spoken by his mouth." The seeds of less manifest evil existed in the natural or acquired inconstancy of some men, who would not indeed openly renounce their profession, but assist to produce relaxations, like that of the seraphic family to which Dante alludes as being turned backward, when by Acquasparta there were made changes in its rule. "I learned from a certian prudent and religious man," says Hugo of St. Victor, "that there are some kinds of men who can scarcely ever be retained with order in religion. These are painters, physicians, and buffoons, who are accustomed to travel through different regions. Men of this description can hardly be stable. The art of painting is

* S. Bern. de Officio Episcop. 9. † De Consideratione, iii. 4. ‡ Epist. 180.
§ Aul. Gel. xvii. 19. ‖ Thom. à Kempis, Epist. i.

very delightful ; for when a painter has painted a church, a chapter-room, a refectory, or any cabinets, if leave be granted to him, on being invited with entreaties, he goes to another monastery for the sake of painting. He paints the works of Christ upon a wall, but I wish he would hold them in mind, that he might know how to paint them in his life and manners. The medicinal art requires many things ; for he who exercises it must have abundance of aromatic plants and medicines. When any one near the church falls sick, he is asked to go to him, and the abbot can hardly refuse him permission. Yet he only makes experiments on things uncertain. The experiment is fallacious, and he is often deceived. Whereas a monk should never speak any thing but what is true. Buffoons and jesters also, and those who have once acquired the habit of rambling, can scarcely ever be content to remain in the cloister."* The fathers of the council of Cloveshoe in the eighth century decreed that bishops were to take care that the monasteries should correspond with their name ; that is, should be habitations of men laboring for God in silence and peace, and not receptacles of arts which minister to pleasure, of poets, minstrels, and musicians, but the abodes of men praying, reading, and praising God ; that the youths within them should be trained to the love of the sacred Scriptures, in order that men well learned may be forth-coming to the general utility of the Church. Monks and abbots of the middle ages had occasion from time to time to complain of the introduction of human vanity into the retreats from which such pains had been taken to exclude it. In 1281 a general chapter of the Cistercians pronounced against the luxury of equipages which the abbots of Cîteaux began then to affect. It forbad any abbot or monk to mount into a chariot or palanquin, imitating effeminate delicacy, on pain of being commanded to fast on bread and water. To what refinement cookery was carried in some monasteries in the age of St. Bernard appears from his apology to William.† "With such art," he says, "are all things prepared, that when you have devoured four or five dishes, you will imagine that you are only beginning. Who is able to describe in how many modes, to omit other things, eggs alone are turned and tortured, with what study they are converted and subverted, liquified, hardened, and diminished ; now fried, now baked, now stuffed, now mixed, now separated ?—In some monasteries on great festivals wine is mixed with honey and the dust of pigments. Is this, too, for the sake of the stomach and one's infirmity ? Alas ! after such potations, when one rises to matins, it will not be a song but a lamentation, "Non cantum sed planctum potius extorquebis." Are we to laugh or to lament at such things ? Was it thus Macarius lived ? thus that Basil taught ? thus that Antony ordained ? thus that the fathers in Egypt conversed ? thus, finally, that Saints Odo, Maïolus, Odilo, Hugo held the rule ?‡ Again, he remarks that there are some men who are no sooner monks than they find they have weak stomachs, and who, instead of being clad with the cheapest raiment according to

*Hugo de S. Vict. Institut. Monast. Lib. i. c. 45. † c. 9. ‡ Id. c. 9.

the rule, seek the most expensive; so that scarcely in our provinces can be found any thing good enough for them. The most honorable persons in the world, an emperor himself, would not disdain the garments which they wear, if adapted for their use."

Some monks, in defiance of the canons, which did not even permit them to keep sporting dogs,* were known to indulge in hunting, and Dom Martene relates an instance that fell under his own observation: "On arriving at the little abbey of Brindler, which is in a vast solitude," he says, "the abbot was absent, but the monk charged with receiving strangers received us charitably, and while waiting for dinner, led us into the kitchen to warm ourselves; for in this country there is not so much ceremony. We counted as many as ten hunting dogs, who warmed themselves round a fire large enough to roast an ox, it being the custom here to throw whole trees into the fire. We heard that we could not see the library; so without losing time, or thinking that we lost much by not seeing it, we mounted our horses and rode on to sleep at Statberg."† Where such relaxations prevailed, negligence and tepidity were a natural consequence. Cæsar of Hiesterbach relates an instance in an amusing manner. "Henry, a knight of Bonn," he says, "passed a Lent with us. After he had returned home he met one day the Abbot Gerard, and said, 'My lord, I pray you to sell me a stone so near to such and such a pillar in your church, and I will pay whatever you ask for it.' 'Why, what service can it be of to you?' demanded the other. 'I will place it by my bed,' replied the knight, 'for such is its property, that whoever puts his head near it falls asleep.' Ever afterwards when the abbot felt drowsy in the church, he had only to look at the stone and he was awake as ever."‡

Abuses therefore there were; for, as Dante says, "To angels, wisdom and love are in one measure dealt from Him in whom nought unequal dwells; but will and means in mortals with unlike wings are fledged."§ But, what is very important to remark, they were exposed; they were lamented; and a reform sooner or later was the result. Thus a complete restoration of discipline witnessed St. Germain, L'Auxerrois in 970, St. Maur des Fossez and St. Denis near Paris in 994, St. Richarius in Centula and St. Walaric in Leuca in 980, St. Peter at Melun in 991, St. Andreas in Vienne in 994, Marmoutier, St. Roche in Chartres, and St. Benign in Dijon in 980, Fontanelle in 961, St. Arnulf in Mouson, St. Martin and St. Julian in Tours in 973, Mici in 984, where Letald wrote, Massay, St. Peter in Sens, Lerins, one of the earliest in France, in 978, St. Eligius in Noyon in 980, St. Quintin near Peronne in 977, where the deacon Dudo related the history of the Normans in the spirit of the old minstrels; and St. Jodocus in 977.

When Peter, abbot of Cluny, had sent couriers with letters to all the houses of his order, convoking all the priors of England, Italy, and other kingdoms to

* Concil. Paris, 1212. Montpellier, 1217. † Voyage Lit. 248. ‡ Lib. iv. c. 87. § Par. 15.

assemble at Cluny on the third Sunday of Lent, to receive more austere rules than had been previously observed, Orderic Vitalis was struck at the fact that no dissentient voice was heard. "The persons convoked," he says, "obeyed, and on the day fixed 200 priors met at Cluny. There were in the abbey that day 1212 monks. They made a procession, chanting according to the ecclesiastical rite, and in the joy of their hearts praising God devoutly. I can speak of this with certainty, since I had the satisfaction of being there and of seeing this glorious army assembled in the name of Jesus Christ."*

"In our religious communities," says Fleury, "those which have relaxed in their observances, though the object of that relaxation was to attract more members, decrease from day to day, whilst the most regular and austere houses are filled with eagerness."† St. Bernard, alluding to the wish of the old Abbot Guarinus to reform his community and attain perfection, expresses himself in these terms in writing to him: "Whence could such an ardor for renewing the order spring up, but from a renovation of mind? Thus a good tree yields good fruit. Your fruits are most pure, but what tree could produce them unless cleanness of heart?"‡ With such fruits the cloisters of the middle ages abounded. "Theodoric, abbot of St. Tron," says Rudulfus, "loved our order and all who loved it, in so much that no brother enjoyed his friendship who he did not know was a faithful and diligent observer of its duties; and on the other hand, if a brother had ever so loudly reprehended any thing in his life, or words, or works, yet if it was known to him that he was faithful and diligent, he had familiar and constant access to him; for he attended to nothing but the faithful discharge of the duties imposed by the church; neither age, nor familiarity, nor fear, nor consanguinity, nor science, nor beauty, nor nobility, nor prospect of utility, nor any other consideration, had the smallest weight with him in opposition to this."§ "What I am going to relate," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "was told me by a certain abbot of our order, and by the monk Everhard, of the monastery in which it occurred. In Ostburg's Abbey, in the diocese of Utrecht, was a zealous monk. On the death of his abbot and the election of another, whom he knew to be a worldly man, he lamented, saying, 'Alas! the discipline of this monastery will soon perish!' and he said, 'Lord Jesus Christ, let me not live longer to witness the desolation of this house.' As he could not be induced to give his vote for the new abbot, he said to him with a tranquil mind, 'God knows that I love you, but I know that the religion of this house will be destroyed by you.' Early on the next morning, after saying mass, he desired to be anointed, though in perfect health. On their remonstrance he persisted, saying, 'This very day I shall die.' Then having placed the mat, he lay down and caused the community to be assembled by striking the tablet. After the prayers, as death did not seem to come,

* Lib. xiii.

† Discourse sur l'Hist. Des vi. Prém. Siècles, 20.

‡ Epist. 254.

§ Chronic. Abb. S. Trud. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vii.

rose up, and placing on his neck the stole with which he generally said mass, invoked St. Mary, and placed himself before the altar, in the manner used with those who are in their agony. The just man's prayer was heard; for he expired, and all that he had predicted came to pass."* Turstin, archbishop of York, writes as follows to William, archbishop of Canterbury: "It is known to many with what goodness and renown of virtue the illustrious monastery of St. Mary of York flourished in the ears of all men. Hence the riches of the house greatly increased; but as virtue seldom keeps pace with wealth, about half a year ago some of the brethern, moved, I believe, by a divine instinct, began to be vehemently agitated in mind respecting the state of their conversation, and by a stinging conscience, as they testified to suffer internally, fearing lest they might be running in vain; for they thought it would be a crime, or rather insanity, if they should bear the rule of St. Benedict not to salvation, but to judgment of death. They disclosed their views to the Prior Richard, who, after some deliberation, engaged to assist them. Their number soon amounted to thirteen. So on the vigil of SS. Peter and Paul, the Prior Richard, on whom almost the whole care of the monastery devolved, took with him his sub-prior Gervaise and some of the rest, and disclosed their wishes familiarly to the Lord Abbot, a man, indeed, honorable and good, but too simple and illiterate. He shuddered at the novelty of the thing, and denied that he could change the customs of the place. To him the Lord Prior replied as a learned man, and showed that they wished to introduce no novelties, but on the contrary, to restore the ancient mode of life instituted by their blessed Father Benedict, and above all, the most ancient gospel of Christ, which preceded all rules. 'We seek not to disparage any other monks,' said they, 'we envy no others; we know that in every place we serve our Lord; we militate under one king: but we know that the different execises appointed by St. Benedict to obviate sloth, the enemy of the soul,—such as reading, prayer, labor, industry, silence, and stability, ought to be observed according to his rule. Therefore, O venerable father, let us recur to evangelical purity, to evangelical perfection, and to peace. If we compare our lives with that standard, we shall see how we are fallen and condemned. Behold how alive is the gospel in the Savigniac monks, and those of Clairvaux, who lately came to us; in whom so shines the evangelic light, that if it be lawful to say so, it would be more useful to imitate them than to recite the gospel. When their holy conversation is seen, the gospel seems to revive and flourish again in them. They alone seek not their own alone; they alone possess nothing; they alone injure not their neighbor; they are content with a moderate culture of the earth, and the use of cattle, and they do not seek to have these unless so long as God wishes, because when God wishes them to be taken away, they do not claim them by litigation. They, I believe, can truly say, 'The world is crucified to us, and we to the world.'

* Illust. Mir. Lib. xi. c. 25.

They may be permitted to say, 'Dimitte nobis debita nostra,' who have no debtor from whom they wish to exact any thing. Happy race of men, whose habits, food, and entire mode of conversation savors of the Gospel. Their sole portion is God. As far as is possible for humanity, they fulfil the law of loving God and their neighbors: for adhering to God alone, they hold all temporal things in such contempt, that they desire nothing which can be an occasion of anger to their neighbor Therefore, O father, it cannot seem to be impossible to observe the rule of blessed Benedict, since God has given us such examples.' Thus spake the prior, but the Lord Abbot Galfrid, did not receive his words well; but as he acknowledged that he was less clear-sighted and learned, he desired them to explain more fully by writing what they thought could be enforced; and when this was done, he desired time for deliberation, and promised an answer after the nativity of St. Mary. Meanwhile the fears and resentment of the other monks became so notorious, that the Prior Richard, the sub-prior, and secretary of the monastery thought fit to disclose the whole to the archbishop, and demand his clemency and that of St. Peter. Therefore Turstin the archbishop, hearing that these servants of God preferred nothing to the love of Christ, feared lest he should offend in them against the grace of Christ if he did not attend to their petition and provide for their necessity, and so by advice of religious persons he summoned before him the Lord Abbot Galfrid and Richard the prior, with his sub-prior, that he might procure the fulfilment of their wishes in peace. They accordingly protested again with tears that all they sought was to observe the rule in its ancient purity, and the lord abbot weeping confessed that their work had been long required, and promised that he would be no impediment. The tepid monks, however, threw many obstacles in his way, nor was it until the exercise of the archbishop's authority that the reform was fully accomplished."*

The influence of the world upon the manners of the cloister could not but be felt here and there during certain intervals. At one time secular men began to entice monks to come forward to assist them in their temporal affairs. Pope Eugene III. then warned the Cistercians in a letter to their general chapter against permitting themselves to be thus persuaded. "Since the children of this world," he says, "endeavor to draw you over, though unwilling, to manage their affairs, and wish to recall you from the peace of contemplation and the silence of the desert, to occupations and secular business, fix the eyes of your mind again on the institutions of your fathers, and having the prophetic example, choose rather to be abject in the house of God, than to dwell in the tents of sinners." At another time laymen invaded the monasteries, and in order to plunder them, pretended to have a right to govern them. The pomp of some worldly abbots had opened the door to this abuse; for nothing could seem to be secular after this deplorable example. "I have seen," says St. Bernard, "an abbot proceeding with more

* St. Bernard, Epist. 439.

than sixty horsemen in his train. If you were to see them pass, you would say that they were not fathers of monasteries, but lords of castles; not directors of souls, but princes of provinces. Scarcely will they depart from home to a distance of four leagues without taking all their furniture with them, as if going with an army or about to pass a desert, where it would be impossible to find neces-aries. Could not one vessel suffice for washing the hands and for drinking wine? Would not a candle give light without being in branches, and those of gold or silver? Could not one sleep unless under coverings of foreign manufacture? Could not one servant suffice to look after the horses, and wait at table, and prepare the beds."† In the eighth century began in France the abuse of certain monasteries being taken possession of forcibly by great lords, who seized part of their revenues for themselves. The abbot of Murhart came to Stuttgard to the Avoué of the convent Udalric de Wurtemberg. "I thought," said he, "that the monastery of Murhart had been founded for monks; but I now see that it was for dogs. My monks can no longer perform the divine office amidst the ceaseless barking. So long as they are in my convent, I shall remain here. The lord Avoué can nourish me much more easily than I can his dogs." The Avoué had abused the right of Bernage, that of lodging the lord's dogs. The king's huntsmen arrogated at different times certain tyrannical privileges, which they exercised over the monks. They claimed the right to remain three days in monasteries with their dogs, horses, and all their equipage, and to be maintained during the time. This abuse was abolished by king Charles V. Having himself lodged with his hunters in 1365 in the abbey of Livry, he gave the monks as an indemnity the right to feed thirty swine in the forest.†

The abbey of St. Hubert in the Ardennes might have its distinct race of black dogs, called the dogs of St. Hubert, without any abuse resulting, but it would be dfficult to give an adequate compensation for the evil that must have accrued to discipline from such royal intrusions. The kings of France again claimed the privilege of placing one or two maimed soldiers in certain abbeys which enjoyed the right of free election, as oblats or lay brothers; but as Stephen Pasquier remarked, this opened the way to great abuse on the part of the king.‡ The greatest of all abuses, however, consisted in the appointment of secular abbots, whose government was destructive of the whole monastic discipline; for these abbots would not allow the monks time to perform their offices; and from their cruelties the only way of escape was by addressing petitions to the emperors.§

About the middle of the fourteenth century, the English having plundered the abbey of Lagny, on their departure the house was left under the guard of Peter de la Crique, a most cruel man, who spared nothing that the English had left. Yet his cruelty could not resist the patience of the monks. He was touched with

* Apolog. ad Guillel. † Le Grand d'Aussy Hist. de la Vie Privée, &c. i. 387.
‡ Recherches de la France, iii. 40. § Mabil. Præf. in IV. Sæc. Bened.

compassion ; and to repair the evil he had done, he laid the foundation of a new and magnificent church, and finished the sanctuary.* In later times there were instances of these secular nobles being appointed by the state to govern monasteries even while minors ; as when Claude de Saint-Simon was made abbot of Jumièges in his twentieth year, during the regency of the duke of Orleans, who gave him that dignity, which he exercised to the ruin of the monastery and the oppression of the poor. Many similar instances might be produced ; but it is great injustice to represent such men, who were the enemies of monks, as their representatives.

In the middle ages the deposition of evil superiors was always a matter of course, unless when monastic liberty was fettered by the secular power. In the year 810 the monks of Fulda being prevented from applying to learning by the oppression of their severe abbot, Ratgarius, inveighed against him by various emblems and facetious devices, of which one represented an abbot mounted on a unicorn riding over some sheep who fled before him. He was finally accused, convicted, and deposed.† "It is to be observed," says Michaud, "that the monks who wrote chronicles of their order or monastery were careful to mention and record whenever an irreligious or, as they called him, an unhappy abbot ruled ; and whenever the monks forgot the spirit of their institute, by living to themselves rather than to Christ. They never fail even to mention at what epochs discipline was in the least relaxed, as when the monks were too much attached to the refectory, when they repeated their office too rapidly in the Church, and when there was no attempt to correct them." Now the same writers, we must remember, generally describe the monasteries as being a spiritual garden, and a paradise of perfection. They always designate a time of relaxed discipline as an exceptional period of calamity ; as in the chronicle of Sens, where we read, "de Adelardo misero abbate Senoniensi et de miseria ejusdem loci."‡ The misery was a decay of piety and a life of pleasure. And what was the conclusion? "The time of mercy from God arrived," says the monk, "for there was in the monastery a youth named Rambert who desired to follow a holy life ; so he fled from the house, and repaired to a neighboring monastery where the monks were holy men serving God, who received him with kindness. After a time, being fully instructed in the rules of discipline, and invested with authority, he returned to the degenerate congregation, and laid before them the mode of life observed in the house from which he came ; but finding his exhortations in vain, he used his authority, and gave them their choice either to adopt a holy life or to leave the monastery. All submitted but four, who followed the way of death, and left the cloister. The rest resolved to live to God ; and in a short time Rambert became the object of their love and reverence."

* Lebeuf, xv. 47.

† Schannat. Hist. Fuldensis, P. iii. 8.

‡ Cap. 18. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iii.

Several instances of the same kind occur in the annals of Corby in Saxony Thus we read, "In the year 1104 the school of the monastery declined sadly; and this year, 1109, the author of the evil is punished by God."* Again, at the date of 1470 we find this notice, "The state of our monastery was deplorable, so that brother Henry composed and sung a public lamentation in the form of a litany. In 1471 he went with license of superiors to be master of the novices at Herosveld. In the mean time may God have mercy upon Corby, where piety and learning exalted our order, where luxury and sloth now depress it. This is enough for the wise:" with which words the annals conclude."† At St. Gall the same intrusion by secular nobles took place; but during those horrible times some of the monks remained immoveable. The abbot, Franz, who died in 1529, amidst all this desolation, was a man of the purest manners, loving grandeur in the divine worship, studying the ancient history of his country, and causing to be written out some beautiful books. Of Fridolin Sicher, who, at the same time, wrote several works respecting the divine office, the annuary of the house says, "Qui in cunctis augustiis hujus temporis permansit immobilis." In fact it was a remark made in all ages of monastic history, that during the worst intervals, when there was the greatest decay of dicipline, there were always in monasteries some true servants of God, whose piety was the condemnation of the others. This Abeillard found to be the case at St. Denis beforethe reform had been effected by Sugar; and hence, while reproving evil men, we always find those who sought to reform the manners of such houses concluding in words like those of Peter of Blois, who terminates one sermon thus, "We do not say these things, dearest brethren, on account of you; for amongst you there are many who excel in sanctity; but yet there are amongst you, as the apostle says, many who are weak, and many who sleep, for as yet the tares grow with the wheat."† The conclusion arrived at by the fathers of the Synod of Teudo, under Drogo, bishop of Metz, after speaking of the condition of the monasteries in their address to Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles, is conveyed in these remarkable words: "If the monks at this present moment should be less perfect in regard to divine religon and to the tility of the republic, they should be either corrected, or better men substituted in their place but let not the order of religion, and the most sacred places, on account of the wickedness of the depraved, be committed to those to whom it is not lawful to commit them; since the Scripture clearly shows that Ozam was struck dead for wishing to raise up the fallen ark of the Lord, which was not lawful for him so much as to touch."‡

It cannot be denied but that the great power and privileges with which kings chose to invest the superiors of some religious houses, opened the way to much abuse on the part of the secular administration. It would be long and needless to tell of these. The abbots of Fulda had sovereign power over ten square miles

* Ap. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns. ii. † Serm. lvi. ‡ Ap. Heumann. de Re Diplom. ii. 325.

round the abbey.* The landed possessions of the monks, by the feudal law, subjected them to the duty of military service, to which even convents of nuns were bound, as in the instance of that of our lady at Soissons.† Kings too very often chose to have their prisoners placed in confinement within monasteries, and hence prisons were often attached to them. It is true the plan may have originated in the predominant piety of the age, which sought to identify criminals with penitents, who only through that gate could pass to peace; but still the surprise with which one observed some abbeys fortified like castles, could not exceed that which the stranger experiences when he hears that there is a prison within them; and still more when he finds it such as Dom Martene describes when he says, "At the abbey of St. Nicholas-aux-bois, three leagues from Laon, in a fearful solitude, we saw the royal prisons, which are horrible to behold."‡

In the Fourth Book we refuted the accusation brought by some modern authors against the monks when charging them with cruelty; and we observed what was really the monastic discipline in regard to the punishment of offenders. The horrible event of Anastasius, a priest, being buried alive in an ancient crypt among the bodies of the dead by order of Cantinus, bishop of Clermont, a tyrant and usurer, allied with Jews, in revenge for his refusing to give him up some charters,§ may have led to the strange reports from which such authors took their ideas, and to which Cardan seems to allude where he says, "To be buried alive and suffer atrocious punishments either never happens in the monastic orders, or more rarely than to be impaled or sawed asunder by order of secular judges."‖ Still, in the theory of the criminal jurisprudence, the mediæval church, as a modern historian observes, "having fully adopted the wise and beneficent doctrine that punishment is to be inflicted by fallible man upon his fellow-creatures, not in terror but in love, and imprisonment being consequently considered as an ecclesiastical penance, not thundered in vengeance for the satisfaction of the state, but imposed for the good of the offender, in order to lead him to repentance and mercy;" the monasteries were deemed not unfitting places for being made the scene of such correction; and, in fact, the policy of those who have transferred criminals elsewhere, seems nothing else but "to drag from heaven the unrepentant soul, which might have quenched in reconciling prayers a life of burning crimes." In the monasteries of the middle ages, therefore, one sometimes found men imprisoned by ecclesiastical as well as by royal sentence. Thus Gottschalk, after being degraded, was confined in Hautvilliers under the Abbot Hilduin, who allowed him the use of pens and ink, though Raban Maur considered this an improper indulgence, and in reply to Pope Nicholas, whose love of justice was not greater than his love of men, and who remonstrated against such severity, thought it enough to show in his own excuse that he had taken care to have him supplied with "all necessaries."

* Schannat. Hist. Fuldens. ii. 1. † Hist. de Soissons, i. 295. ‡ Voyage Lit. 48.
§ Gallia Christiana, ii. 241. ‖ De Utilit. ex Advers. iii. 23.

In prison, however, there he died, without retraction and without the sacraments.* Some dark solemn men that were known to be within monasteries, wearing the aspect of prisoners by the chains round their bodies, were there, however, by their own desire. Do you demand the reason of such austerity? My answer may be short. Blood hath been shed ere now in the olden time; ay, and since too, murders have been performed. In our times, when the brains are out, men die, and there is thought an end; but in ages of faith they rose again with twenty murders on their crowns, and pushed the slayer from his stool. Then when grace procured contrition, there were fearful penances embraced, till in the cloister the once proud cruel castellain found peace. Thus in an early age were seen, by St. John Climachus, some in the monastery of the penitents who used to entreat that they might not be loosed from their chains even in their sepulchres. "I saw," he says, "what the eye of the negligent hath not seen, and what hath not entered into the heart of the luxurious man to conceive—the deeds and words which can do violence to God. Some I saw who pass whole nights in prayer, others prostrate on ashes. On all sides I heard only such cries as these, 'Væ, væ, miserum, me miserum! juste juste, parce, parce Domine!' Some cried, 'Ignosce, ignosce Domine, si possible est.' Others, as if at the gates of heaven, 'Aperi nobis Judex januam. Aperi nobis ex quo illam nobisipsis per peccatum clausimus'. Others, 'Ostende faciem tuam tantum et salvi erimus.' Others, 'Appare his qui in tenebris et umbra mortis sedent'"†

The blessed Dominicus, surnamed Loricatus, of whom we before spoke, died in the abbey of Monte-Cassino on the 22nd of January, 1031. To that abbey also had come Count Radechis, bound with a huge chain to his neck, who, after killing Grimoald, had been moved to renounce the world, and thus he came to embrace a life of austere penance in that monastery.‡ Such were the examples which the monks proposed to those who were committed to their custody, as being obnoxious to the vengeance of the law, to which class the prisoners that one found in monasteries generally belonged, being persons confined there by order of the king or by the sentence of a power wholly secular, often barbarous and despotic. Thus we meet with a certain German whose eyes had been put out and right hand cut off, leading an arduous life in a cell near the abbey of Pomposa, to whom Raimbald, a holy youth, was appointed to miniser §

Trithemius mentions a most curious circumstance respecting a man most celebrated who fell into this condition. Peter de Vineis, says this abbot, was a German, the chancellor of Frederick II., a cunning man and learned, who defended the injustice of the emperor against the pope with all the force of his eloquence, and excused his rebellion against the church with such ability, that Gregory IX. exclaimed, "O quantus esses fili, si te, ut Imperium, benevolentem haberet Sancta

* Staudenmaier, Scot, &c. † Grad. V. ‡ Chronic. S. Mon. Cass. xx.
§ Annal. Camaldulens. Lib. xii.

Ecclesia!" Afterwards, by I know not what means, he incurred the resentment of Cæsar, who put out his eyes and sent him into a monastery, where, blind and wretched, he lived in the bitterness of his heart, and by long affliction compensated for whatever sins he had been guilty of against God and the church. It happened after a few years that the emperor being excommunicated, deserted by the princes and despised by foreigners, having no means of paying his army, resolved to have recourse to Peter, his old chancellor, whose prudence he knew surpassed that of most other men. So he came to the monastery where he lived, and being admitted, said all that he could think would mollify and appease the blind recluse, asking his pardon with loud protestations of remorse, and promising immense compensation, and in fine, adding, "I know that you could give me good advice in these straits." Peter, who concealed his mind under a placid countenance, revolving nothing but immortal revenge, advised him to take the gold and silver vessels of the monasteries and churches to melt them down, and with that to produce to pay his troops, and then to invade his enemies, after which he could make restitution. The advice pleased the emperor. So he plundered all the churches, promising to restore whatever he took; but he never returned any thing. From that day he never prospered more. The abbot of the monastery is said to have asked Peter, on hearing that it was he who had given such advice, how a legist and a wise man like him could have recommended so unjust a measure; to whom the other made no secret of the subtle vengeance which had suggested the idea to him of giving such counsels.* The victims of political convulsion were often found in monastic confinement.

Desiderius, king of Lombards, after the battle of Pavia, was led prisoner into Gaul by Charlemagne, as all the annals declare; but they do not mention the place where he spent the remainder of his life, nor the manner of his death. Mabillon discovered these particulars in the manuscript of an ancient monk, where he found these words, "In the year 772, Pavia being taken, Desiderius, and his wife Ansa were banished to the abbey of Corby, and there Desiderius persevered in vigils, and prayers, and fasts, and many good works, till the day of his death."

Of his being thus confined in Corby, the monks of that abbey, when Mabillon wrote, had lost all tradition. Down to the French revolution visitors to the abbey, of St. Medard at Soissions used to be shown a cell which was said to have been the prison of Louis-le-Débonnaire where he was confined by order of Lothaire. "The good brethren," says that poor emperor, "had great compassion on my grief, and they comforted me much. They prayed for me, and assured me that if I placed all my hopes in God, I should soon have consolation and recovery from my sorrows." By order of his sons, sergeants were placed about the prison to guard him; and that abbey in particular was chosen, because knowing how much he loved it, his sons hoped that he would willingly resign his

* In Chronic. Hirsaugiens. an. 1229.

sceptre and embrace the monastic habit.* The monk Odilon has recorded the very words of the unhappy emperor's lamentation. This goal belonged to the fisc, to the royal palace, and not to the abbey. It was near the Basilica of the Trinity on the north part of the enclosure. One still sees two half-subterraneous cells to the north-east of the crypt of the Great Church and to the south of the site of the Basilica of the Trinity, which are said to have been the prison of Louis. On these walls one can trace in Gothic letters—

" Hélas ! je suys bien prins
De douleurs que j'endure :
Morrir me conviendroit : la
Peine me tient dure "

But these lines, written no doubt by some prisoner, are posterior, by 600 years to Louis.†

Sometimes, however, the secular power, in committing prisoners to the custody of monks, only complied with their entreaties, which were offered in a spirit of the tenderest charity. Thus Cæsar of Heisterbach says, " At the time when King Otho went to Rome to be crowned emperor, leaving the government of the Moselle to his brother, Henry Palatine, a certain noble was condemned to death for pillaging. Daniel, abbot of Sconavia, by his prayers, obtained pardon for him on condition that he would satisfy God for his sins in the Cistercian order. Thus did he escape death and final perdition; and I have heard of many who similarly obtained deliverance by the intercession of our order."‡

Duke Henry, the Saxon, father of the emperor Otho, having put out the eyes of a certain nobleman for his crimes, God of his mercy converted that punishment into a medicine; for he gave him such contrition that he used to be always in the church of the abbey of Hilderhem mourning for his sins, and breathing after the celestial country.§ In the annals of Corby, at the date of 1189, we find this brief notice, " A certain nobleman is sent into our monastery for the sake of penance."‖ In the Escurial is a chamber where the tradition of the monastery attests that the unfortunate Don Carlos terminated his days by refusing food. Even so late as the time of Francis I. we find it usual to send state prisoners for confinement to the abbey of Mount St. Michael.¶ The motive, however, as we before observed, cannot but be esteemed most worthy of those who loved and followed peace.

But having now specified some of the chief abuses which crept into the monastic institution, at the same time guarding the reader from mistaking for abuse what was in reality laudable, and suggested the reflections to which they ought to give rise in minds unprejudiced, let us observe what evidence may be collected

* Chroniques de S. Denis, i. † Hist. de Soissons, i. 316 ‡ Illust. Mirac Lib. i. c. 81.
§ Id. Lib. ii. 36. ‖ An. Corb. ap. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns. iii.
¶ Raoul Hist. de Mont. S. Michel.

from unimpeachable witnesses, who lived in the middle ages, to prove the virtues and perfection of discipline which existed in the monasteries; that we may not depart with such an erroneous impression as that the evil had counterpoised the good. The language of these witnesses is that of prudence, as well as of admiration. "Of the sanctity of many, no one can judge more truly than the Searcher of hearts," says the monastic historian of the Cistercians; "yet we speak what we have heard and known concerning our abbots."* Let us hear, then, what was the result of their knowledge. "If there be any perfection in this world, it can be found in cloisters:"† such is the evidence of Hugo of St. Victor. "Truly," says St. Bernard, "you can behold, in almost all congregations of monks, some men that are filled with consolations, abounding in joy, always cheerful and agreeable, fervent in spirit, meditating day and night on the law of God, frequently looking up to heaven and lifting up pure hands in prayer, careful observers of their conscience, and devout followers of good works; to whom discipline is lovely, fasting sweet, the vigils short, manual labor pleasant, and the whole austerity of their conversation refreshing."‡ "I see in cloisters," says Peter of Blois, who was himself a secular priest, "celestial men, or rather earthly angels, whose conversation is in heaven,—who, with a certain noble pride, despise the honors and riches of this world."§ Hear how those who knew the monks personally speak: "If any one asks me," says the Abbot de Rancè, speaking of Brother Euthyme III., "whether this monk has or has not sinned since he came under our direction? I answer, by the principles of faith, he has sinned, since the Holy Ghost teaches us, 'Non est enim homo qui non peccet;'‖ but I answer, by my own knowledge and according to my observation, he has not sinned."¶

Odelirius, counsellor of Roger, earl of Shrewsbury, has immortalized his name by his eloquent exhortations to that noble-man, in 1083, in praise of monks and the monastic discipline. "Who," he exclaims, "can worthily relate all their vigils, hymns, psalmody, prayers, alms, and sacrifices! What denial of their own will for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ! What shall I say of the chastity of monks, of their silence, of their modesty, of their obedience? Such an abundance of virtues confounds my astonished intelligence, and I confess that my tongue fails me to express it. From my tender youth I have long been admitted to the secrets of monks; and, by familiar relations, I have learned thoroughly what were their manners. In consequence, when I consider the conduct of all mortals, who inhabit the earth, I see that they are all, in their lives, inferior to monks who live canonically according to the rules of their order."**

Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry II., writing to the Cistercian order, says, "Among all the orders with which the Spouse of Christ is adorned, there is none more fragrant with virtue, none sweeter in Christ with

* Gasp. Jong. Notit. Abb. Ord. Cist. Lib. iv. 16. † De Claustro Animæ, ii. 17.
‡ Id. In Ascensione Dom. Serm. vi. § Epist. cii. ‖ Lib. 2. Reg. viii.
¶ Relat. de la Mort de quelques Rel. i. ** Orderic Vital. Lib. v.

the odor of a holy reputation, than yours." Yet he blames them for one thing,—"because the lands which were subject to tithes, before they possessed them, are made exempt by the fact of coming into their hands."* Peter of Blois bears a similar testimony to the Cistercians. "There," he says, "is a most approved school of religion; there one finds the practice of the utmost modesty, regularity of manners, the affection of fraternity, peace of mind, the communication of all things, mutual service, rigor of discipline, the love of obedience, the bond of charity, the subjection of the flesh, the exercise of hospitality, liberty of study, the order of vigils, the calm of meditation, the devotion of psalmody."† To the Carthusian order—which, in fact, has never required reform to the present day—he bears the same. "Through all lands," he says, "by the grace of God, its fame hath gone forth, and the odor of its sweetness hath reached to the ends of the earth: for it is the plantation of God, and the vine of the Lord of Sabaoth; therefore now has its fruit multiplied to an immense increase. Behold how it stretches forth its branches, now even to the sea, and its outshoots as far as England!"‡ Would you inquire now concerning "the lambs that Francis and Dominic led among the way where well they throve, not swollen with vanity?"§ As Dante says, "he tells of both, who one commendeth, which of them soe'er be taken: for their deeds were to one end."‖ Cornelius Mussus Bitontinus says that the world was reformed by these two, Dominic and Francis. In the beginning of the evangelic announcement, he observes, when the word of the Lord was preached to the Jews and Gentiles, two were chosen, Peter and Paul. When the world had relapsed to vices, and the Lord in mercy wished to reform it, he again chose two,—the one cherubic, the other seraphic,-two bodies, but one mind.¶ Pope Urban IV. styles the order of Minors, "that field of virtues which the Lord hath blessed."** Even the incidental tribute paid to it by a worldly poet will be to some no less satisfactory; as when Octavien de Saint-Gelais, in his "Sœour d'Honneur," while describing the vanity of his early life, and his fear of lightening, acknowledges that while in that state, whenever it thundered he wished to be a Franciscan:—

"———pour lors estre convers
Ou cordelier chantent hymnes et vers."††

The learned Albertus Sartiunensis having received from his friend, Nicholas Niccoli, a mordant invective against the fathers, of the observance written by the famous Poggio Brandolino, whose enmity arose from a family pique, wrote a formal reply, wishing to defend, he says, these most innocent men, with whom he has conversed, as a brother, during fourteen years. "You consider," he says to Poggio, "as not worthy of the highest honor, those who, in my opinion, detect

* Pet. Bles. Epist. 82. † Id. 86. ‡ Id. 86. § Dante, l. 10. ‖ Par. xi.
¶ Wadding, Apparat. ad Annal. ** Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 1261.
†† Goujet, Bibliothèque Francaise, tom. x. 263.

all things are full of calumny, and thus did men declaim against the apostles and against Christ."*

In 1708 and 1718, it was resolved, in the general chapter at Marmoutier, to depute two monks to travel, in order to visit the archives of different abbeys in France and Germany. Dom Martene and Dom Durand proceeded accordingly on this visitation; and their testimony as to the perfection which then prevailed with few exceptions, in the religious houses, is to the highest degree delightful and conclusive.† Even the arch-sophist of France, in modern times, bears this testimony: "It cannot be denied," he says, "that there were great virtues in the cloister. There is hardly still a monastery which does not contain some admirable souls."‡

If, now, from these general statements, we pass to the examination of more particular evidence, the result will be no less consoling. William of Malmesbury says of the abbey of Thorney, "Truly I might call that island the abode of chastity and of all virtues, and a school of divine philosophers."§ Wythmann, abbot of Ramsey, was a man who sought rather to govern by fear than love, so that there were often occasions of harsh retorts. On one of these, being greatly exasperated, he went to Aetheric, the bishop of the diocese, and accused the monks of insubordination and disorder. The bishop, who had been educated in that house, was inclined to give no credit to the accusation; for he could not believe that the men whose piety he had known when a boy could so soon have fallen from the love of discipline. Therefore, consoling the abbot with some general words, and sending him away, he secretly resolved to visit the abbey in disguise, to judge with his own eyes as to the justice of the charge. So, coming to the island, and lodging in the neighborhood, he arrived very early in the morning, in disguise of a traveller, and entered the monastery as if for the sake of praying; and, as every place stood open to all comers, he began to examine all things carefully: then he saw some at private altars, devoutly celebrating mass; others praying around the high altar; others sitting in thick order between the pillars of the cloister, either reading in profound silence, or else writing or employed in some other useful exercise. After a while, one of the brethren, observing the curiosity with which he examined every part of the house, began to wonder at him; and at length, discovering him to be the bishop, hastened and informed the abbot, who came forth to receive the guest. But Aetheric reproved him severely, and admonished him to be less suspicious and morose in his government of the abbey, and reminded him of the express injunctions of St. Benedict on this head; and then, concluding with words of peace to the brethren as well as to the abbot, he departed. But the abbot, reflecting on his own faults, and the obstacles occasioned by the violence of his temper, resigned the administration of the abbey, and, taking leave of

* Benedict Accolti Aretini De Præstantia Virorum sui Ævi. Dialog. Thesaur, Antiq. Italiæ, ix.

† Voyage Lit, de Deux Bénédict. See also Vet. Script. Præf. in tom. ix.

‡ Volt. Essai sur les Mœurs, &c.

§ In Lib. iv. De Gest. Pontif. Ang.

the brethren, set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Æthelstan was elected in his place. After a year, Wythmann returned; and the fame of his approach reached Ramsey at the moment when Æthelstan, with the monks, were sitting in the refectory. Immediately, he ordered the lector to stop reading, and, putting on the sacred vestments, they all proceeded with great reverence to meet the former abbot. But he, remembering his faults, humbly refused to re-assume his authority, and chose for his residence a solitary place called Northeya, which is but a stone's throw from the church, but inaccessible, excepting by a boat; and there, with one monk for his companion, and two servants, he spent the remainder of his days.

To such monasteries our old English poet thus alludes:—

> "There was an ancient house, not far away,
> Renown'd throughout the world for sacred lore
> And pure unspotted life; so well, they say,
> It governed was, and guided evermore."*

England, in fact, possessed many such. Lydgate, while lamenting his own disobedient sensual life, following the reverse of all that he was taught, and taking little heed "What Christ Jesus suffered for his sake," acknowledges that the discipline of the abbey at Bury was excellent:

> "This holy rule was unto me radde
> And expounde in full notable wyse
> By vertuous men, relygious and sadde,
> Full well expert, dyscrete, prudent, and wyse
> And observantes of many goodly emprise.
> I herde all well, but towchyng to the dede
> Of that they taught, I toke but lytell hede."

In the twelfth century, when Sugar was abbot of St. Denis, the two Cistercian abbeys of Rivaulx and fountains, in the diocese of York, were in great reputation of sanctity. Of the latter, Gasper Jongelinus says that it drew its name from certain fountains, which were a happy presage of its future holiness: for truly, he adds, there were there in abundance the waters of celestial desire, and of living piety, which spring up to life eternal.† But let us look elsewhere. St. Peter Damian visited Mount-Cassino, and thus describes it: "All here were either aged, or young men rejoicing in the decorum of youthful life,—who, as sons of the prophets, were fit to seek Elias through the desert; or truly, in the flower of youth, like the Apostle John, to overcome the wicked one."‡ That was a fine tribute to the virtue of the monastery of Septimus which Marsilius Ficinus paid, in writing to Francis Soderino, bishop of Volterra, where he says, "I know indeed how you love these monks; those pious men, whom I also not only love, but worship."§ Scardeoneo, a secular priest, speaking of the convent of St. Mark at Padua, adds this testimony: "Which to this day flourishes in the highest opinion of sanctity."‖ Ermenric, monk of Richnau, in his epistle "De Grammatica," thus

* Spenser, ii. 10.
† Notitæ Abbat. Ord. Cister. per Univ. Orb. Lib. [redacted]
‡ Epist. xvii.
§ Epist. Lib. xi.
‖ De Antiquitate [redacted]

speaks of the monks of St. Gall: "There I found each more humble and more patient than the other. Nor is there any bitter zeal amongst them, or malice, or envy; but charity alone reigns there, along with justice. Love, the mother of virtues, and Concord, its daughter, and Simplicity, its attendant, have there, without doubt, their proper dwelling."* Adalbero, bishop of Verona, came to St. Gall for the sake of prayer. "The grace of this place," saith he, "is greater than its fame: here is religion with learning, severity with discipline. What others may think I know not; but I will declare my impressions. I came here seeking one saint, and a dead one; but, sooth, I found many saints, and living ones."†

Many of the brief notices of the abbots of Corby in Saxony, given in the annals of that abbey, indicate a happy state of religion as prevailing at that time. Thus, at the date of 876, we read, "Our Adelgarius died, and so our mother was a widow; Tancmar, a good father, succeeded him. In 880, Avo died, worthy of a longer life; Bovo, a man circumspect, succeeded him. In 918, Volkmar, who restored the church as well as he could, was a good father of the family, and religious abbot, beloved by all, but whom God reserved for horrible times, on account of public evils; therefore, to prayers and tears, his strongest arms, he exhorted us seriously."‡

Turning to France, the only difficulty is to choose between testimonies of equal force, in proof of the sanctity which existed in her religious houses. Fifty-nine abbots had governed the abbey of Clairmarais, from 1140 to 1790, to whom we have this testimony: "Their conduct was exemplary in the interior of the cloister, worthy and honorable towards other monasteries, towards the bishops of the diocese, towards the seigneurs of the country, and, we need not add, towards the people."§ Guibert, abbot of Gemblour, says of the monks of St. Martin at Tours, in his letter to Philip, archbishop of Cologne, "Nothing is there undisciplined, nothing inordinate; all things are quiet, consonant; nothing being under, nothing over done; but all things, by disposition of wisdom, are, in measure, weight, and number, as far as is possible to human infirmity, so that they seem members of that Church cohering to itself, solicitous to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace; the whole body compact is connected, and every juncture cemented, and every disturbance appeased: there dwells the wolf with the lamb, the leopard with the kid, and a child can lead them; that Child, I mean, of whom it is written, 'Puer nates est nobis;' and in that holy house of God, whose place is made in peace, they dwell concordant and unanimous."‖ Lupus, abbot of Ferrors, in his letter to the monks of St. Germain at Auxerre, says, "True charity, indeed, always flourishes in the inhabitants of our monasteries, but never has it declared its greatness by so many certain proofs as in our time."¶ Cluny obtained this well-deserved praise from St. Gregory VII. at the general council: "That, through the grace of God, under holy and pious abbots, it had attained to such

* Ap. Heumann, De Re Diplom. ii. 187. † Eckehard de Casibus S. Galli, c. 1. ap. Goldast. i.
‡ Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. iii. § Piers. Hist. des Abbayes de Watten. et de Clairm. 165.
‖ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. Præf. ¶ Epist. 116.

dignity and religious strictness, that, in the service of God and spiritual fervor, it surpassed all other communities, ancient and modern; and that no abbey in all the world was to be compared to it: for there had been no abbot there who was not a saint." Of Cîteaux, Pope Eugene III., in 1152, said that it flourished in the fame of sacred religion. The third abbot of this house was Stephen Harding, of a noble English family, "decorated with the grace of eminent sanctity, a lover of the desert, and a most fervent emulator of holy poverty," as he is styled in the book of the origins of Cisteaux. In the archives it is said of him:—

"Anglicus hic Stephanus fulsit velut Angelus unus
Sacrata veste Bernardum vestiit iste."

The three daughters of Cisteaux,—the abbey of La Ferté, that of Pontigny, and Clairvaux,—were all true sources of spiritual life. Peter de Roya, who styles himself, "by the mercy of God, a novice at Clairvaux," writes as follows to the superior of another house: "It was not strange that I should become thoughtful and solicitous, when I reflected on the manner of my past life, not having lived a moment from my childhood without performing some work of death. Greatly I loved the assemblies of vanity, spectacles, jests, idleness; to utter falsehood, to swear, to commit perjury, to flatter; all these, from long daily custom, I learned to consider not sins, but, as it were, certain agreeable ornaments of society and mundane probity. Yet I knew that these same things, causing a separation between God and man, were vanities and lies. I omit greater things, —elation of heart, emulations, hatred, dissensions, detractions:— but the Father of mercies had compassion on me, and at length visited and drew me to his Son. Thus was I saved from the waters of Babylon, and mercifully placed in Clairvaux, at the fountains of the Saviour. For Clairvaux, though situated in a valley, has its foundations on the holy mountains, whose gates the Lord loveth more than the tabernacles of Jacob. Glorious things are told of these, because of them. The glorious and wonderful God worketh glorious and wonderful things: for there the inveterate return to their heart; and, though their exterior man be corrupted, yet the interior is restored to life, and renewed from day to day in Him who created man. There the proud are humbled, the rich impoverished, the poor evangelized, and the darkness of sins transmitted into light. In this house, therefore, though the multitude gathered together from the ends of the earth is immense, congregated from all regions and nations, yet is there only one heart and one mind; so that of this house we may truly say, 'Ecce alienigenæ, et Tyrus, et populus Æthiopum, hi fuerunt illic.' This is the habitation of all these, rejoicing not with vain joy. But as for me, the more diligently I examine these poor of blessed life, the more thoroughly am I convinced that they follow Christ in all things, and that they are true ministers of God. For, while at prayer, speaking to God in spirit and in truth, and while I have conversed privately with them in a familiar manner, and when I have remarked their humble manner of conduct-

ing themselves, it is plainly evident that they are the familiar friends of God. While praising him in the choral psalmody, the whole state of their body, in all the fear and reverence of sanctity, shows how pure and how fervent is the affection of their mind. Their solemn enunciation, and morose distinction, in modulating the Psalms, shows how sweet in their mouths are the words of God. When I observe them in the diurnal hours, and in the nocturnal vigils before midnight, till prime, with only a short interval between, so holily and indefatigably singing, they seem to me indeed little less than the angels, but much more than men. Such continued alacrity, and such endurance, with such fervor and merit, can only be from a divine gift. Whilst reading they seem lightly to draw the waters of Siloe, with silence flowing and gushing up to eternal life. Their disposition and habit demonstrate that they are all disciples of one Master, teaching in their hearts, and saying, 'Audi Israel et tacent.' They are silent; and they hear, and they become wiser. If we regard them in the exercise of manual labor, their life will appear no less happy. In all these works, it is evident that they are led by a divine Spirit. With such a patient mind, such a placid and immoveable countenance, with such sweet and holy order, they do all things, that though their labor is great, yet they scarcely seem to move, or to be oppressed in any respect. Amongst these poor I understand some are bishops, others consuls, others illustrious men of great science of dignity, others youths of great birth and hope; but now, by the grace of God, all acceptation of persons being eradicated, the higher any one supposed himself in the world, the lower does he make himself in this little flock. Therefore, when I beheld these men in the gardens with their rakes, in the meadows with their forks, in the fields with their ploughs, in the woods with their hatchets, while considering what they were, I look on their present state, their works, instruments, abject persons, disordered and vile vestments, according to the judgment of the eyes, they seem to me not men, but a foolish race, a mute, shameful flock, the opprobrium of men, and the outcasts of the people; but a sound and faithful intellect proclaims to me, in the heart, that their life is hidden in Christ. Amongst them I rejoice to see Gaufrid Peronensis, Raynald Morinensis, Waller de Insula, and another, whom I knew once the most inveterate in the old man; but now, by the grace of God, not even a vestige of that ancient mind remains in them. In the old man, I knew them with an exalted heart, walking with supercilious eyes; but now I see them humbled under the merciful hand of God. In the old man I knew them as whitened sepulchres without, within full of dead men's bones; but now I behold them as vessels of the Lord, which although they may appear outwardly despicable, yet within are full of celestial perfumes. When, therefore, this community is seen going out to its accustomed labor and returning regularly and simply one after another, as if a pacific host wearing only the arms of peace, must not the angels of God, seeing them thus move, so newly converted from darkness to Christ, sing through joy and admiration? The excluded demon is confounded and filled with grief, seeing what

I trust he may always see, the resurrection of these,—bringing no moderate destruction on his own kingdom. Again, what think you must be the impression on seeing them at table at the appointed times for food! Truly, they evince such modesty, such holiness, that they must appear to every one what they are,—just men and fearing God. Here they receive the spiritual food for which they hunger,—the Word of Life; here they reverently partake of the other gifts of God placed before them, not exquisite delights, but of the labor of their hands, vegetables and grain of the earth. Cyder is their drink. If they cannot have this, they rejoice in simple water. Rarely they use wine. In a word, obedience is the rule of their whole life; which they so faithfully observe in all things, that there is not a single moment of the day or night which is not offered up to God; so that I firmly believe by every step and movement of their hands they gain remission of sin, or increase of the crown to life eternal. These few things concerning the poor of Clairvaux I send to you, according to my promise. There remain greater things; but to describe them I am not sufficient. All my desire is to be associated in body and spirit with these poor of Christ. God willing, on the Sunday after the Ascension we are to receive the armor of our profession, by the grace and benediction of Jesus Christ; which, by the merits of his Mother, and your prayers, may He grant to us. Amen."*

Innumerable houses retained the fervor and regularity of monastic life down to the latest times. The abbey of St. Jean-des-Vignes at Soissons, founded in 1076, by Hugues, Seigneur de Château-Thierry, had never wanted reform down to the year 1718, when Dom Martene visited it, and found its discipline so perfect.† Bourdoise, that model of the secular clergy, in the reign of Louis XIII., describes in glowing terms the edification which he received from visiting the abbey of Jumiège,‡ which, down to the Revolution, was a blessing to the country. "On arriving at Corby in Saxony," says the two Benedictine travellers, "we were received as brothers. The abbot is very humble; and, only for the honor paid to him, one would never suppose that he was a prince, and had the prerogatives of a sovereign. We were greatly edified by all persons of the community."§ We found the abbey of Prum retaining great discipline. The prior is esteemed a saint all through the country; and the monks are most devout and mortified. The only charge advanced against the prior, is, that he lives too retired, and that he does not see strangers sufficiently.‖ On arriving at Treves we descended to the abbey of St. Maximin, where we were received with the utmost cordiality. We can say confidently that God is well served in this house. All the holy practices of religion are admirably observed. Their chant is majestic, their ceremonial venerable. Although the apartments for guests are magnificent, those of the abbot are simple, and contain only necessaries. During our stay we saw nothing but what was most edifying.¶

* St. Bernard. Epist. 441. † Voyage Lit. 24. ‡ Vie de Bourdoise Liv. iii. 246.
§ Id. i. 257. ‖ Id. 273. ¶ Id. 285.

If these testimonies are not sufficient, I know not what would satisfy us. We might sum up the evidence in the words of a French historian, and say,—"In abbeys, the high ideal of the middle ages was realized."* Beyond this it would not, methinks, be possible to find terms that would convey praise,—of course, supposing them addressed to persons competently instructed.

But now, having been for some time under the holy roof, let us institute an inquiry which this allusion to the apartments for guests may naturally suggest and demand,—Who are the men that come occasionally to visit these sanctuaries of God and peace?

CHAPTER XII.

MANY come to the abbey. Many from each of the various conditions into which is divided the social life of man. They come all at once in multitudes on days of solemn festival. They come one by one, secretly, by stealth, seeking to assuage the intolerable thirst which presses them with some drops from the fountains of paradise, which they know, or at least suspect, are opened here. Let us hear instances related by the witness who saw them come.

"We inhabit the woods; and the leafy coverings of trees are more familiar to us than the stone walls of houses," says brother Gislebert, writing to Peter the venerable abbot of Cluny; "yet we are not hermits so solitary as to resemble the sparrow alone on the house-top. Though we have penetrated into this vast forest for the sake of solitude, yet we draw after us such a crowd of men, that we seem to have constructed rather a city than a hermitage; for to say nothing of that tumultuous multitude which flock here from all the surrounding country, in order to have disputes settled, and discords appeased, and judicial sentences modified, the parts of the east beyond the sea, and the transalpine nations of the west, send such a number of embassadors to us, that it would require more than the care of the greatest king to give an answer to them all."† The dignity of this act of making peace was then deemed worth the audience of kings and princes, who often attended on these occasions.

Rodulphus, describing the concourse of people that used to visit the abbey of St. Trou, says, "Such a crowd of persons, nobles, and farmers, and persons of both sexes, used to direct their course to our gates, along the roads, and over the fields, and through the meadows, especially on solemn days, and dwelling in leafy tents and tabernacles of bark, for no houses could contain them, the whole place

* Michelet.

† Biblioth. Cluniacens. 863.

seemed besieged. Then there was the crowd of merchants, who could scarcely find horses and chariots, carts and animals, to carry such a multitude of strangers. Then how shall I describe the oblations at the altar? I say nothing of the animals, horses, oxen, heifers, rams, sheep, which used to be offered in an incredible multitude; but also they used to present beyond all weight and number linen and wax, bread and cheese; and by the time of vespers the guards in the cloister used to be fatigued in receiving and heaping up the piles of money, though they had nothing else to do."*

In the annals of the abbey of Corby, in Saxony, we have this significant notice. "In 950 a domus mercatoria was built for the accommodation and security of merchants coming to the festival of St. Vitus." Throughout the whole year crowds of pilgrims used to visit the abbey of Einsiedelin. A writer in 1373 says, that there strangers were continually arriving and departing. In 1350, on the 14th of September, that abbey received one hundred deputies from the citizens of Basle, and seventy from those of Strasbourg. Two years before, on the vigil of St. Simon and St. Jude, the affluence from all parts of Europe was so great that the cantons of Zurich and Schwitz took alarm. In 1636, the town of Uberlingen, grateful for its deliverance from the Swedes, sent to it a deputation of 550 persons; and many other towns used to make votive processions to it annually. In one year the number of pilgrims amounted to 180,000;† and among these kneeling youths, these boy-travellers, whose stained shoulders bore impress of the load they had carried over the mountains through the sultry day, might be distinguished often the fervent disciples of far-distant schools, sons of the noblest houses in Europe, thus prepared by labors like those of the poor to taste the sweets with which innocence was in such places filled.

There being great indulgences on the anniversary of the dedication of the church of the abbey of Riddershusen, in the duchy of Brunswick, which fell on the 15th of June, that festivity was changed after eighty years; for the crowd from the neighboring town and villages, says the Abbot Jongelinus, was so great, that the corn used to be trodden down, and the crops injured by the multitude, who used even to cut down the slighter trees to erect booths. Therefore to remove all cause of offending man and God, the Abbot Eggelingus, with consent of the superiors of the Cistercian order and of Pope Innocent VI., transferred it to the Sunday after St. Martin, as a less genial season.‡

When the new church of Mount-Cassino was to be consecrated, Hildebrand, at that time archdeacon, cardinals, and priests, and magnats, came there, with bishops, abbots, monks, clerks, princes, nobles, and citizens of all condition, with women also from all parts of Italy, in such crowds that it would be easier to count the stars of heaven than to enumerate them all. Not only all the courts of the

* Chronic. Abbatiæ S. Trudonis, Lib. I. apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. vii. p. 356.
† Chronique d'Einsiedelin. ‡ Notit. Abb. Ord. Cister per Univ. Orb. Lib. iii.

monastery, but the whole mountain, from the foot to the summit, and even the fields around it, were covered with the multitude; and during the three preceding days, wine, bread, flesh, and fish were given in such abundance, that not one person of that prodigious multitude could complain of not having received sufficient. There were present ten archbishops, forty-three bishops, Richard, prince of Capua, with his son, and brother Gisulfus, prince of Salerno, and his brother Landulfus, prince of Beneventum, Sergius duke of Naples, with Sergius duke of Sorentum: and as for the other princes and nobles, both Italian and Norman, it would be impossible to name them. So the church was dedicated, in the year 1071, with the utmost devotion and joy, and honor, and glory. The crowd continued during eight days, confessing their sins to gain the indulgence, and then all returned to their homes in great joy.

"Nec modus est populis coëuntibus agmina denso,
Nec requies; properant in lucem à nocte, diemque
Expectare piget."

"Milia profundens ad mœnia celsa Casini,
Vincit iter durum pietas, amor, et Benedicti,
Vincit et alma fides præsens de omnibus istic
Creditur, et summi Benedictus gloria Christi."

In fine, each one would have deemed himself an infidel, or most wretched, if at least he could not have come in for the end of such a solemnity.*

Popes, emperors, kings, princes, and great noblemen, were often in the list of visitors to abbeys in the middle ages, when the solemnities of religion attracted them. Cluny and Mount-Cassino could boast of having often received to hospitality the vicars of Christ. That was a memorable scene which ensued in the church of the latter abbey, when Pope Adrian II. gave absolution to the emperor Lothaire, who, with all his courtiers, committed perjury to obtain it, and so partook of death, receiving the communion to judgment, which fell almost suddenly upon them!

In the Benedictine abbey at Ferrara I read an inscription, stating how Pope Pius VI., on his return from Germany, had stopped in that abbey, and delighted the monks with his cheerful, angelic countenance, and human conversation.

In the Carthusian monastery, on the Roman way, three miles from Florence, I was shown the cell in which the same holy pontiff lodged in darker times. That evening all was silent in its solemn corridores, save that the voices of the monks chanting vespers in the church, were faintly heard in the distance. The solemn convent of the Dominicans at Sienna is still standing, which once received within it St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Antoninus, blessed Ambrogio, and Guido Lusignan, king of Cyprus. Here, in 1462, was held a general chapter of fifteen hundred friars; and here, in 1464, Pius II. blessed the standard of the Crusaders.

* Chronic. Cassinensis, Lib. iii. c. 22.

In the ancient monastery of Grotta Ferrata there is a solemn painting, to represent the emperor, Otho III., arriving there, and St. Nilus, with his monks, proceeding forth to meet him. That emperor, through remorse for having caused the rebel Crescentius to be beheaded after he had capitulated, having walked barefoot to the sanctuary of St Michael, on Monnt Gargano, passed a whole Lent as a penitent in the monastery of Classe. In that season it was common to find crowned heads under the cloisters of St. Benedict. Thus we find king Charles the Bald passing the Lent and Easter festival of the year 869 in the abbe, of St. Denis.*

In the great abbey of St. Maur des Fossés king Henry I. testified, by a charter of the year 1058, that he used often to come there to pray. Louis VII. came there in 1168. Philippe Auguste lodged there in Mid-Lent in 1223. St. Louis was there in 1229 and 1254. The emperor Charles IV. came there twice in 1377 to perform his devotions.† Orderic Vitalis says, that when Boemond, after his deliverance, had left St. Leonard-le-Noblet having made his prayers at the tomb of the holy confessor, he spent the Lent in travelling through France, making his offers at many altars. He had great reason to rejoice in the monasteries, where he was received with open arms, and he returned thanks to God for the benignity of the western Christians. He was accompanied by the son of the emperor Diogenes, as well as by many other illustrious Greeks.‡

The emperor Lewis II., celebrating Easter, in the abbey of Fulda. was heard to say, "O I wish that I might always remain in this court of heaven, and die in it! What can be desired more delightful and profitable?"§

Orderic Vitalis mentions that Count Richard, son of Richard I. of Normandy, used to hold his court at Easter in the monastery of Fécamp, founded by his father, and make offerings at the solemnity before the altar of the Holy Trinity. The same day, after mass, before going to his court and dining with his barons, he used, with his two sons, Richard and Robert, to repair to the refectory of the monks, and the two youths, taking the dishes from the kitchen window, used to present them to their father, as the monks used to do; and then he used to place them, first before the abbot, and then before the monks. When he had so done, with great humility he used to present himself to the abbot, and obtain permission to depart, and then he went to the court gaily with a contented heart. One day Richard came to Jumiège, and passed the night there. The next morning, after saying his prayers, he placed on the altar a little piece of wood. When he was withdrawn, the Sacristans approached the altar, expecting to find a mark, or an ounce of gold, or something similar. Finding only this little piece of wood, they were astonished. At length they asked him why he placed such a thing on the altar. Then he told them that it was Vimoutier, a certain manor, which he wished to give them for the salvation of his soul.

* Lebœuf. Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, iii. † Id. v. 185. ‡ Lib. xi.
§ Schannat. Hist. Fuldens. i.

Independent of such visits, many religious houses were visited on certain occasions by a kind of domestic court. The hundred knights attached to the estates of the abbey of St. Riquier composed a retinue almost royal at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. The chapter or general assembly of the knights of St. Michael was held every year in the hall of the knights, in the abbey of Mount St. Michael, on the 29th of September.

In 1113, Henry, king of England, accompanied by many princes and prelates, came to the abbey of Ouches and celebrated the Purification of St. Mary. He remained a long time in the cloister of the monks, examined them carefully during the repast, and having considered the conventual customs, praised them highly. The next day he entered the chapter-room and humbly besought the monks to grant him the favor of their association.*

King Canute, with Queen Emma, and the grandees of his kingdom, proposing to celebrate the festival of the Purification of St. Mary in the abbey of Ely, proceeded thither in boats. As they approached near, the king ordered the rowers to rest upon their oars, that he might gaze upon the church which rose above the bank. Then it was that he heard the chant of the monks, which filled him with such joy, that he broke forth in the song, "Merry sungen the Monches of Ely," which was ever afterwards a common song, and proverbial in the country. Then landing, he was received at the church processionally by the abbot and monks, according to the custom of receiving great men. This king used sometimes to be drawn in a sledge over the ice to Ely, when it was not possible to approach it in any other manner.†

In the annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read at the date of 867 as follows: "Lewis the younger made his devotions in our monastery, praising the discipline of our brethren, and saying that there was no happier life than that of monks always conversing with God. From Corby he went to Herivortium." Again in 940 "the Seigneur de Woldenberg came wounded to the monastery, desiring to pass the night in prayer and fasting near the relics of St. Vitus. He was better next day, and soon quite cured. He was grateful. In 1136, Lotharius Augustus stayed in the monastery some time. In 1378, many nobles were with us this summer, and each was gracious."‡ In the abbey of Einsiedelin, are records attesting the arrival of distinguished pilgrims. There we read that the Emperor Otho the Great, and St. Adelaide his wife, came there in 965; St. Gerold, duke of Saxony, in 972; King Charles IV. attended by a crowd of signeurs and prelates in 1353; the Emperor Sigismond in 1417; Ferdinand III. emperor of the Romans, in 1442, besides a multitude of princes and nobles of the first houses of Germany, and many ambassadors, representing their respective sovereigns.

King Conrad being at Constance on Christmas-day, after dinner the bishop

* Orderic. Vit. Lib. xi. † Hist. Eliensis Lib. ii. c. 27. ap. Gale Hist. Brit. tom. i.
‡ Ap. Leibnitz, ii.

praised the processions at vespers, which took place during those three days in our abbey, says a monk of St. Gall. "O I wish that I were there!" exclaimed the king, "why should not we go my friends to that abbey to-morrow morning?" Boats were accordingly prepared, and early at daybreak, the king embarked with the bishop and all his court, and at mid-day reached our shores, and was received with great joy into our monastery, where he remained three nights. It would be long to say with what delight the days and nights were spent, admiring the old men and youths in the choir like so many angels. At the procession of children, the king ordered an apple to be thrown on the pavement; and when he saw that not one of the least children was moved so much as to look at it, he wondered at the discipline. On the king saying that he would dine in the refectory and partake of the common fare, the prefect said, "Alas, it is unfortunate that you will not wait till to-morrow, for then perhaps we shall have beans and bread, which we have not to-day." Then the children reading in order, on descending from the desk, the king sent gold to be put into their mouths, and when one boy spat it out, "This one," said he, "if he lives, will be a good monk." Then rising from table, he turned to his men and said, "that he had never before dined with such pleasure." On the morrow he caused himself to be enrolled as a conscript brother, when he gave the price of a vestment to each of the monks, and to the boys he granted three days' play. Then entering the oratory of blessed Othmar, lately canonized by Roman authority, who had been persecuted by his own family, he offered gold and silver on the altar. That day also, he said, "he wished to dine with the brethren as a conscript brother," adding, "that he would furnish pepper to season their beans." Never before was there seen or heard such a feast in that refectory. There was the smell of meat, the dance, and the symphony. The king marked the graver brethren, and smiled to see their darkened countenances, as not liking the unaccustomed thing, but through respect for the king they said nothing. On the fourth evening he departed, the brethren thanking him with tears, to whom he promised that he would be a benefactor as long as he lived.*

Eckehard the fourth, in his benedictional says, that when the Empress Gisela, and her husband Conrad II. with their son Henry III. came to St. Gall, and had themselves received as conscript members of the abbey, they begged from the Abbot Dietbald, the book of Job and the Psalter, which Notker Labeo had first translated into German.

The occasion of some royal visits to monasteries, as we have already observed, was the pacification of differences. Thus the monastery of Ranshoven beheld the solemn interview of Frederic, duke of Austria, and the emperor Lewis IV. when by the intervention of the archbishop of Salzbourg they were reconciled to each other.† The custom of courts gave rise to others; as when the kings of Bur-

* Eckehard de Casibus S. Galli, c. 1.

† Anon. Chronic. Lud. iv. Imp. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. tom. ii.

gundy, whose capital was Geneva, used to be crowned in the abbey of St. Maurice, in the Valais. Where men had spent their youth as scholars, it was sweet to die; in their sickness, therefore, or when wounded, kings used to be conveyed to the monastery in which they had been educated, or at least to some religious house. Thus we have seen how Louis-le-gros, thinking his end to be near, removed to the abbey of St. Denis, and when he recovered, all the ploughs in the fields round the abbey were deserted, as Suger says, the people flocking together to hail him on his return to Paris, and commending him to God for having so long preserved their peace. When William the Conqueror fell from his horse, having been carried to Rouen, he was removed to the priory of St. Gervais, to be under the care of the Abbot Gouthard, who foresaw from the first that he could not recover. There he died. So again it was in the monastery of Longpont, that Louis, of France, son of King Philippe-le-Hardi, died, the day and hour of whose decease were carefully noted in the diary of the house. But men of all classes in the first shock of calamity, used to turn their eyes towards the cloister, so that the romances of chivalry when they represent the wounded knights desiring to be carried to some abbey in the neighborhood, are faithful pictures of the manners of the age. Thus when Gyron-le-Courtois lying on the ground near the fountain in the forest, after his combat with another knight, asks "where he can have repose?" his varlet replies to him, "Sir, near here is a house of religion, whither knights often repair, and know that the brethren in it labor very willingly, and do the honors to all strange knights who come to them, and you may remain there at your ease as long as you wish."* History presents many instances of illustrious men of the true heroic stamp, who expressly repaired to monasteries in order to prepare for death. Thus the great Count Richard, of St. Boniface, whose removal from the world gave such joy to Eccelino, died in the convent of the Dominicans at Brescia, in which he was buried. Every one has heard of the national legends which predict the return to his country at a future day, of some hero whose memory is still in benediction. Well, even these attest the predominant inclination of the heroic mind; for, if you believe them, it is not in the palace or at the domestic hearth, that he will re-appear: it is in some abbey that he will first be discovered. Accordingly when the Portuguese thought that Don Sebastian had actually returned to Portugal, it was a convent of Franciscans that they said he was seen to enter.† Monasteries often received great personages within their gates as visitors, who only sought a religious retreat or momentary refreshment.

Ingulphus relates that in the year 1464, in which King Edward IV. was married, Margaret, Duchess of Somerset, widow of Duke John, who was always most favorable and benign to the monastery of Croyland, came there, and was willingly received as a sister into the chapter. In the great Cistercian monastery of du

* F. 285.

† Hier. Conestaggi de Portug. et Castel. Lib. ii.

Val Nôtre Dame which stood in a deep valley, six leagues north-west of Paris, the King Philippe-de-Valois, came to lodge for some time in the year 1333, and King Charles V. lodged there in 1369.* It appears from tablets of wax preserved in the abbey of St. Germain-des-Près, that in 1306, King Philippe-le-Bel came to the abbey of Vaux de Sernay, with all his court.† This monarch often visited the abbey of Longpont. It is marked on tablets of wax that he was there in September in 1308, and in December in 1304. Almost every year some sovereign was lodged in the abbey of Cluny. Dom Martene was shown in the abbey of Royaumont, the place where the King St. Louis used to sleep in the dormitory of the monks. When King Childebert, with his wife and court, arrived at a short distance from the monastery of Ouches, which he was about to visit through desire of seeing the blessed Father Evroul, whose reputation had reached his ears, he alighted from his horse and ordered all his company to prepare for appearing worthily before the monks.‡ We read in old Spanish chronicles, that King Ferdinand coming once to the monastery of St. Facundus, and dining in the refectory, content with the common fare of the monks, and observing all discipline like a brother, there was brought to him a glass vessel, and while receiving it from the abbot's hand it fell to the ground and was broken. The king, lamenting his own negligence, caused to be brought to him a gold vessel adorned with gems, and offered it to the abbot in compensation.§

In the monastery of the Holy Cross at Ratisbon, the emperor used often to dine with his court, when hunting. In the monastery of Montserrat, there were certain chambers set apart for lodging separately, kings, dukes, marquises, counts, and knights.‖ In fact, all high personages used to spend certain intervals within religious houses. The counts of Champagne, whenever they came to Lagny, always had their lodging in the abbey. Stephen, the most ancient of the Seigneurs de Baubigny, was known in the abbey of St. Denis as a knight and gentleman commensal of the Abbot Sugar.¶ Cosmo de Medicis being received an exile at Venice, with every mark of highest honor, chose for his place of residence the monastery of St. George, where he afterwards erected a superb library, which he enriched with many manuscripts, to express his gratitude for the hospitality used towards him by the friars on that occasion. In the first court of Camaldoli is an inscription, stating how the pious princes of Tuscany had visited that wild wood and sacred cloister, and how their presents had exhilarated the monks. Warriors on their expeditions sometimes demanded hospitality in abbeys. The historian of Ely relates an instance: "One time," he says, "when the venerable Duke Brithnod. of Northumberland, was advancing with a small force against a great army of the Danes, on approaching the abbey of Ramsey, he sent forwards to beg

* Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, iv. † Id. ix. 168. ‡ Ord. Vit. vi.

§ Roderic. Toletan. de reb. Hispan. Lib. vi. c. 14.

‖ Lucii Marinei Siculi de reb. Hispan. Lib. v.

¶ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. vi. 280.

hospitality : but the Abbot Ulsio sent back answer that the place was not sufficient to receive such a multitude, but that he would gladly entertain him and seven companions : to whom the duke replied, "Let the lord abbot know that I do not wish to sup alone without these, because I am not able to fight alone without them;" and so saying he passed on to Ely, sending forwards to tell the Abbot Elsius, that he and his army meant to sup with him ; who returned answer, that "in the work of charity he was afraid of no numbers ; but that he rather congratulated him on his coming." So he was received by the monks, and with such love and service, that he ever afterwards had a great affection for the place, testifying his gratitude the next day, by giving to the abbey the manors of Spaldewich, Trumpington, Fulbourn, and many others, and only begging in return, that if he should fall in battle, they would carry his body there to be buried. Then commending himself to the prayers of the brethren, he proceeded on his expedition, in which after fighting courageously for fourteen days, on the fifteenth as he foresaw, he fell, when the Danes cut off his head and carried it away with them. The Abbot of Ely, with some monks, hearing the event, came to the field of battle and having found his body, brought it back to the abbey and buried it with great honor, placing upon it a globe of wax in place of the head. This pious and brave man flourished in the days of King Edgar, and of Edward the Martyr, and he died in the fourteenth year of King Ædelred. His widow Ædelfleda gave several manors to the abbey, and also a veil woven and painted, representing the deeds of her husband, in memory of his worth.*

The record of the visits of great historical characters to the religious houses is indeed very interesting. Let us take for example that which describes the strangers who came to the abbey of Mount-Cassino, to which such crowds resorted from the east as well as from the west, either to view the church or to converse with the illustrious Abbot Desiderius, with whom emperors, and kings, and queens corresponded by letters, in which they commended themselves to his prayers.† Hither came the Empress Agnes, wife of Henry II., from the farthest limits of Germany, to see him, like another Saba to see another Solomon. Here she remained six months venerating the brethren. Hither came Robert, count of Lauretello, with his knight, in Lent, for the sake of prayer.‡ Hither came Otho III., Pandulphus of Beneventum, the Emperors St. Henry, Conrad II., and Henry III. Richard, prince of Capua, Robert Guiscard, duke of Calabria, the Emperor Lothaire, Henry, duke of Bavaria, and Robert, prince of Capua, in company with St. Bernard and many Norman magnates.§ These visits of kings to monasteries were an occasion to the monks of satisfying their projects, not of ambition, but of humility ; as when the venerable Hartmot, abbot of St. Gall, availed himself of the visit of the emperor to that monastery on his return from Italy, to obtain permission to abdicate and retire from a post of authority.‖ In general the monks

* Hist. Eliens. Lib. ii † Chronic. Cassinens. Lib. iii. 32. ‡ iv. § Hist. Cassinens. vii.
‖ Ratpert de Origine Monast. S. Galli, cap. x. ap.. Goldast. Rer. Al. i.

Morena, found Father John of the Cross, who was then prior of the monastery of Calvary. He disclosed to him his unhappy state, and the holy man made him reflect so well on the happiness of his sufferings, that he was changed into a different man, and lamented nothing but his former impatience. "I speak from experience," said this gentleman, "for though my sorrows were very great, his discourse caused me not only to bear them patiently, but even to rejoice in what I suffered; and I think that I should never have been able to have endured my misfortunes if he had not come to my assistance." "Whatever prejudices a stranger might have against monks," says Bourgoign, "he would renounce them after a visit to the Hieronymites of the Escurial: he would be convinced that under that habit the Spaniard clothes much true goodness. There he is received with hospitality, loaded with kindness, and, if inclined to letters, all the treasures of the library are at his disposal."* Some guests were so charmed that we find them remaining several years in monasteries. Thus in 1197 Albertus is found dwelling in the monastery of St. Andrew, in Mantua, with the understanding that he should neither offer himself, nor wear the monastic habit, nor profess obedience to the abbot, but should have free liberty to go to whatever regular or irregular place he might choose with all his books, and without asking the abbot's permission, according to mutual contract made between him and the abbot. There were also residing there Daniottus and Bogajolus, and others, like Albert, not bound to the house.† So in the annals of Corby in Saxony we read, "This year, 937, C. de Peyne, long a hunter of castles, and a brave knight, for the rest of his soul, chose his habitation, his wife being dead, in our monastery, and though not made a monk, he yet lived devoutly according to our rule and order." Nevertheless these visits became often a source of great abuse, of which the directors of the cloister complained. St. Bernard writing to Hugo, a novice, who became afterwards an abbot, says, "As much as you can, my son, avoid the conversations of guests, which, while they fill the ear, empty the mind."‡ Men who came through curiosity to listen with learned rather than religious ears were not such welcome visitors.§

St. Stephen, on being elected abbot of Citeaux, applying himself with great zeal to preserve that fervent community in the spirit of poverty and seclusion, among other precautions provided against the visits of strangers. This shocked the duke of Burgundy, who was in the habit of holding his court in the abbey, and in consequence he withdrew the alms which had been its only support. The holy abbot however persevered with courage, and was at length abundantly consoled by the arrival of St. Bernard and his companions. In Italy the visits of the rich became so unreasonable and troublesome, that an abbot writing to Peter of Blois expresses his intention of abdicating his office in consequence. "Quid de

* Tableau de l'Espagne, i. 238.

‡ Epist. 322.

† Annal. Camaldulensium, Lib. xxxv.

§ Sul. Sever. Dialog. iii. 1.

hospitalitate dicam, quæ merito hostilitas potius quam hospitalitas censeretur ?"* Peter of Blois, however, in reply, advised him to think no more about abdicating, but to put a stop to abuses, and observe moderation. The rule of Fontevrauld says, " If the king or queen, the dauphin, or other royal princes or founders should desire to enter the monastery and no entreaties can dissuade them, let them enter, but with as few attendants as possible: but let them not attempt to pass the night within, if they wish to avoid the sentence of excommunication."† The old kings of France being used to hold their court at St. Denis, where they had a palace, at the four solemn festivals of the year, King Robert promised the monks that henceforth neither he nor his successors would celebrate the great festivals there, in order not to disturb the service of the monks, who used to be troubled by the presence of their courts. It appears also from a charter of Henry III., count of Champagne, in 1271, that Count Thibaud, one of his predecessors, had given up the right of gîte in the abbey of Lagny, in order to please the monks, who paid him in return the annual sum of one hundred liv res.‡

Examples, moreover, were not wanting of the visits of great men to monasteries with an intention of ungratefully requiting their hospitality by plundering them. Herluin, chancellor of the duke of Normandy, and Raoul de Traci, came to Ouches, and received hospitality in the convent of the confessor St. Evroul. "In their simplicity," says Orderic Vitalis, "the monks, overjoyed at the arrival of such great personages, rendered to them all manner of duties. They led them familiarly into their chaples, and oratories, and private chambers, and showed them the shrines and relics of the saints, which were till then preserved in secret. These lords viewed apparently with respect the sacred objects, and withdrew after making their presents and prayers ; but soon after, as the Chaldæans in Jerusalem, they returned with a troop of brigands, and cruelly carried off the vases, books, relics, and all the precious objects of the church of God."§ Christiern II., king of Denmark, was received to hospitality with all kindness into the monastery of Nydalens, called Newvale, on the day of the Purification. He took occasion to seize the abbot, with seven monks, after they had said mass, and tying their hands behind their backs he caused them to be flung into the river ; and when the abbot by natural strength succeeded in breaking the cords and in gaining the shores, he was slain by the king's satellites.‖ What Cicero said of a whole province, that "if the Romans wished to maintain utility in war and dignity in peace, it should be defended not only from calamity but even from the fear of calamity,"¶ being generally admitted as a principle to guide all nations in regard to every separate religious house, it followed that monasteries, during times of war, received numbers of fugitives who sought an asylum. Not to speak of the numerous population attracted permanently by the peace which reigned round them,

* Epist. 102. † La Reigle de Fontes. c. vi. ‡ Lebœuf, xv. 71.
‖ Olai Magni Septent. Hist. Lib. viii. c. 18. ¶ Pro lege Manilia.

many towns and even cities owing their origin to their neighborhood, we must, therefore, make mention there of the guests who came to them for a time to escape the desolations of war. The site of monasteries was often a protection. On the invasion of the Danes in 1013, the abbeys of Croyland, Thorney, and Ely, owed their preservation to the heavy rains which had laid the country round under water. Orderic Vitalis says of Thorney, "There is a convent of monks, seperated from all secular habitation, built in honor of St. Mary, which is celebrated for the purity of worship which God receives there.

The venerable Adelwold, bishop of Winchester, built this house in the time of king Edelred, after the massacre by the Danes, in which the blessed Edmund suffered martyrdom. He transferred to it the body of St. Botulf, abbot of Ichenton. In this obscure asylum the monks were in safety while combating faithfully for God."* Under the Carlovingians, the abbeys being fortified, there was danger of kings converting them into royal palaces for their permanent abode; but when the abbeys were pillaged by the Normans, while cities were able to resist them successfully, kings found that they were more secure inthe latter, and thenceforth their only constant inhabitants were the monks or the dead, as at St. Denis. Against ordinary wars, however, the monasteries proved, in most instances, a secure asylum.

During the dreadful insurrection of the north, in the reign of Henry VI., the monk of Croyland describes the alarm of the monks in that monastery hearing of the devastations committed so near them, and because the country people had brought all their treasures with them to Croyland to be in greater security, which made it a more likely prey to the invaders. The precious vessels, with the charters and monuments, were, therefore, all carefully hidden within walls. Processions issued daily from the convent, and every night, after matins and lauds, prayers and tears used to be poured out round the tomb of the most holy father Guthlac, the patron of Croyland. A watch was set also at every gate of the town, and no one was allowed either to enter or depart without leave. The adjacent ways were obstructed by great trees thrown aross them in many places. Blessed be God we were not given a prey to our enemies, for that savage army passed on after having been within six miles of us. On one occasion the convent of hermits in the desert of Camaldoli run a still greater risk; for on the passage of a certain army we read that it was resolved to send a detachment to plunder it, because a quantity of corn and utensils had been sent there for safety by the people of Cesena through fear of the army. Some of the hermits in terror were preparing to fly over the high rocks of the mountains; but one of them, Petrus Teutonicus, of most holy life, exhorted them to remain, and make a solemn supplication, proceeding two by two, with the cross preceding them, when, lo! such a dense and frigid darkness came over the desert that the day was turned into black night,

* Lib. xi.

which man was ejected by the envy of the serpent; such was the peace, and order, and angelic tone of the society.*

> " O who with speech of war and woes
> Would wish to break the soft repose
> Of such a tranquil scene ?"

Yet such speech did penetrate even into the enclosures of religious men; and in one of their old chronicles there is an anecdote related which presents in a very beautiful and striking manner the contrast to which this gave rise. " A dreadful contention raged between King Theodoric and Theodebert, both swelling proudly against each other with the strength of the nations. At this time the man of God, St. Columban, with St. Magnus and others, had been received by Theodebert on their retreat from Luxeuil. Arriving on the shores of the lake of Constance, they built a cell in an ancient destroyed place called Arbona, and there awaited the result of this contest. Soon the great battle was fought near the castle of Tolbiac, in which innumerable men of both armies fell. Theodebert being conquered fled. Now it came to pass at the same hour in which the battle was fighting, that the man of God, Columban, was sitting in the forest on the trunk of a decayed tree reading a book, over which he fell asleep; and while sleeping he saw what passed between the two kings. Awaking, he called Magnus, his disciple, and told him that a bloody battle of kings was just taking place, and that much human blood was shedding. Magnus then answered and said, 'Lord father, I was lying under a pine-tree, oppressed with sleep, and it seemed to me also as if a battle was fought; and taking a staff I wished to strike Theodoric and deliver Theodebert, but a certain form forbad me, saying, It is not necessary for you to do so, since the Lord will soon avenge thy master Columban. Then awaking, I rose and hastened to declare to you this vision.' While both of them wondered at these things, Eunochus standing by, said rashly, 'My father, you ought to afford the suffrage of your prayers to Theodebert, that he may vanquish the common enemy Theodoric;' to whom blessed Columban said, 'You give a foolish counsel, and one alien from religion; for such cannot be the will of the Lord, who has commanded us to pray for our enemies." '† How impressive is this scene! this contrast between the delights of the peace of God and the bitterness of human misery! How calm the forest, where, from branch to branch, the feathered quiristers apply their wonted art, with full joy welcoming these hours of prime, and so, unconscious of any evil, as if the universe were thrilled with love, warble still amid the leaves that to their jocund lays keep tenor! What peace too in the hearts of these monks sitting so thoughtfully as if entranced by the sweetness of their song! And then how sad to think that all the while the work of cursed hate should be so near! for hark! at long intervals, with each return of the slowly

* Vita S. Adalhardi ap. Mab. Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iv. 1.

† Vita S. Magni, Lib. i.c. 5. ap. Goldast. tom. i. p. ii.

undulating air, there comes a harsh demoniac sound, deep and terrible, for which nature has no echo. It is the noise of the crimson seething plain, made up of the cry of blood, and the fierce taunt of an immortal rage, and the shrieks of scornful and unyielding wretched men hurling defiance as they die.

Tidings of war penetrated into cloisters whenever any monk arrived who had been obliged to make a journey during its continuance. To the perils which such men encountered Lupus alludes in writing to the Abbot Marcwad, saying, "We commend this novice, our runner, to your sanctity, answering in every respect to his profession, excepting that, I believe, on account of nocturnal fears he cannot sleep alone."* In war-time monks who returned from a journey had no want of adventures to relate. Rodulph, of the Benedictine abbey of St. Tron, about the year 1000, was chosen by the other monks as a proper person to bear a message from them to the bishop of Metz respecting the unjust usurpation of Herriman, a service of some danger, as the roads were beset with hostile armies. "However, regarding," he says, "more the utility of the church than my own life, I set out; but in order not to take the public road, I joined myself to the army of Godefrey, duke of Lorraine, and Frederic, bishop of Cologne, which was advancing, as I supposed, to Verdun. Good Jesus! what did I not endure in that journey! or who could relate it! And what was I to do, a monk, and having only one attendant? If I directed my steps to a town, either the town had been already destroyed by the army, or, if it existed, I knew there was no security in it: but if I were to remain in the open fields between the armies, I had no means of contriving a roof or shelter for myself or my horses. I knew not where to procure food for myself or for them; nor did I dare to separate myself from my companion. At length, committing myself to God and to our blessed patron, leaving the army, I passed on to a little village which was half burnt down, and there was not one man left in it; but I found some women there who had fled through fear of the army; and seeing me, a monk, advance to them, they rushed to meet me, contending with each other as to which of them should give me hospitality for the night, that by my presence they might be defended from the rapine of the armed men. When I had turned into one house, immediately all the women with their boys and children that had been left in the village came crying and groaning to my hospice, dragging with them their pigs, and their cocks and hens, and all their animals; and they brought to me and my companion oat-bread and cheese, and milk for provisions, and also hay and oats for our horses; but returning, thanks to God, I took nothing from them gratis, and we lost nothing during the night. Early the next morning the army moved on, and so the good women preserved all their stock. After many hardships we reached Verdun on the tenth day; and the bishop of Metz was in the neighborhood at a place called Dongeus; so there I delivered my letters. The reply of the bishop was favorable to us; but as there

* Lupi Epist. lxx.

was danger lest, on my return, I might fall into the hands of Herriman, a letter was also directed to him in which the words were so modified as to admit of a double signification. Having received these letters, and the kiss of peace from the bishop, I prepared to return; but I hardly knew by what way, for I knew that Herriman had an ambush ready to intercept me. However, I passed by the castle of Brie, and took up my lodging for the night with the regilious canons of the monastery of St. Peter, who had a house in the forest. Early next morning they gave me a guide, and I proceeded to the castle of Cuns, where was a cell of the brethren of the monastery of St. Hubert, and with them I passed the night. On the third day I came to the monastery of St. Hubert, through a long way, and a vast and most horrible solitude. On the fourth day, being guided by a certain clerk who feared captivity no less than myself, we rode on, I know not through what passes of lofty mountains and rocky heights, and then through deep and marshy valleys, to the great exhaustion of our horses and our own anxiety, turning our ears on every side to the least sound lest we should be taken; till, at length, at dawn on the fifth day, we found ourselves at the end of that terrible desert, and the clerk pursued one way and I another. The monks of Cluny have a cell in the woods between Huye and Liege, and there I was received for the night with all humanity. On the sixth day we came to Liege, where the most pious abbot of St. James, Dom Stephen, entertained and consoled me, but warned me that Herriman had his scouts on the look out for me. I took a bold step, for I repaired to the wife of Count Gislebert, which count was joined with Herriman, and showing her the ambiguous letter, I had her permission to proceed, and no one dared to contradict her: and so monastic simplicity deluded the cunning of the woman. On arriving at our convent the brethren were astonished; and sat themselves down round me with great joy, and gazed on me as if I had returned from the tomb: and they gave thanks to God for my wonderful escape. But after a time, when the countess discovered how she had been deluded, she kindled the rage of her husband against me to such a degree that I was not safe even within the walls of our cloister; and so, fearing constantly for my life, I secretly made arrangements with Count Arnulf of Louvain that he should conduct me away in safety. He led me out on the fourth of the calends of September, very sad on leaving a place so long familiar to me, and the young men in whose education I had taken such pains, and a congregation in which I had so long labored, and which I was never likely to see again. I wept, therefore, bitterly, and so proceeded to St. Laurence, to be under the wise abbot Berenger, where, thanks to his great humanity, I was fixed and consoled by the third week of September.*

But to return to the Abbey and observe the fugitives who came to it for hospitality. When Ingulphus came first to Croyland as abbot, he found there sixty-

* Chronic. Abbatiæ. S. Trudonis, Lib. vii. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vii.

two monks, of whom four were lay brothers, besides monks of other monasteries, who were in community with the chapter of that house, and who whenever they came sat in the choir and in the refectory, and slept in the dormitory, and there would stay as long as they liked: and sometimes not till half a year or a whole year would they return to their own monasteries; for particularly in time of war or disturbance they flocked to Croyland. On this occasion there were in the house ten monks from Thorney, six from Bury, eight from Ramsey, three from Ely, nine from St. Edmund's, twelve from St. Alban's, ten from Westminster, two from St. Andrew of Northampton, fourteen from Christ Church, Norwich, fifteen from Thetford, seven from Coventry, six from St. Mary's, without York, ten from St. Mary's of Stow, six from Michelneys, and five from Malmsbury, besides daily comers and others who always lived there for the sake of security, and had obtained leave to be united with the society; for the urbanity of Croyland was such that no one was ever sent away." In much later times, when the Swede was carrying on war against the Catholics of Germany, the monks of the abbey of Einsiedelin gave hospitality at one time to three abbots and to more than thirty monks from other monasteries, who had taken refuge there.* The Count of Stolberg, in his history of Alfred, after observing that "in times of war and desolation illustrious sufferers found a sure refuge in the holy asylum of a monastery," adds, "this explains why so many princes, when restored to their thrones, showed such gratitude to them. In the day of adversity they had found there protection against their enemies, consolations in misfortune, and wise lessons; leisure to reflect upon the disorders of their past life, and new strength to resolve upon reforming it."† "The tempest of civil war," says Ingulphus, "was now hanging over the kingdom: but in order to escape a little from it during Lent, King Henry VI. came to the abbey of Croyland for the sake of devotion, to make his offerings humbly at the tomb of our holy father Guthlac. When he had tranquilly remained for three days and three nights, being much delighted with the observances of religion, he earnestly sought to be admitted into the fraternity of our monastery, and he obtained it. Soon after, in order to show his gratitude, he published a decree exempting all the inhabitants of the town of Croyland for ever from the tax-gatherers and ministers of the king." But to return to the more ordinary times of general tranquillity.

We have observed how the hospitality of the monks was often abused; but there were visitors of a different class from those we have hitherto seen, whose arrival at monasteries was an occasion of unmingled joy to their holy inhabitants, and whose presence disturbed not the tranquillity of the house of peace. Hearken to their first words:—

"We enter from this time to prove
Thy hospitality and love,

*Regnier Chronique d'Einsiedelin, 78. † Chap. iii.

Shown toward thy meanest guest:
From land to land we would not stray;
For whither should we go away?
With thee is perfect rest."*

These are the pilgrims who used so often to come from distant countries and remain to die. Such was St. Mulachi, who, as St. Bernard says, journeyed from his far distant country, the farthest Scotland, unto Clairvaux, where he died.† Such was Mŏngal, another Irishman, who made a pilgrimage to Rome, in company with his uncle Markus, a distinguished monk, and many of his countrymen. On their return over the Rhetian Alps they all took the way to St. Gall, in order to see the place where the holy Gall and so many Irishmen after him had lived and were still living. Mŏngal and Markus being pressed by the monks to remain, consented, and gave their horses and money, books and vestments to the abbey. Mŏngal, under the name of Marcellus, diminutive from his uncle Mark, was made teacher of the inner school, in which he formed many eminent men.‡ These Irish, in the ninth century, "quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam pæne in naturam conversa est," as Walafrid Strabo says, in his life of St. Gall,§ were welcome visitors to the different religious houses which they visited; and many of them never returned to their country, but remained in Italy, France, and Germany, where they became monks or hermits. In a codex of St. Gall are these lines alluding to them—

"Hi sunt insignes sancti, quos insula nostra
Nobilis indigenas nutrivit Hibernia claros,
Quorum grata fides, virtus, honor, inclita vita
Has aulas, summasque domos sacravit amœnas.
Semina qui viæ Anglorum sparsere per agros,
Ex quis maturos convertis in horrea fructus,
Nos igitur fratres, una de stirpe creati
Hic sumus; imbecilles, miseros quos mente superba
Despicitis; proceres, mundique tumentia membra!
Cum Christi potius debetis membra videri,
Prudens hic pausit quin Gallus atque sepultus,
Ardens ignis Scotorum conscendit ad altos.
Lubslane meruit nomem, dignumque vocari.
Aunue rex Cœli me hic pro nomine Fælan,
Dubduin hos hortos fecit, quicunque requiris,
Versibus labrisque canens, qui dixit amice."‖

Sometimes, however, these holy guests only remained for a season. Thus in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read, "This year, 1423, Nicholas, one of the hermits of the monastery of St. Gall, came to us, and was made a reader; he re-

* Trench.

† Ireland used to be called Scotia Major. Martyrol. B Notker Pet. Lombard de Hibernia Commentarius, 34.

‡ Eckehard in Cas. § Lib. ii. c. 47. ‖ Ex. Cod. Sæc. x. n.10.

turned to Switzerland, and became, we hear, an abbot." We lately observed how many personages of dignity in this world visited the abbey of Mount-Cassino. Let us hear its annalist record the arrival of other guests, whose chief greatness consisted in their saintly fame. Hither, then, came St. Adalbert, bishop of the Sclavonians, having left his see by permission of the Roman Pontiff, through desire of making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; but the abbot and prior, as if by divine admonition, dissuaded him, saying, "It is the part of a magnanimous man to avoid the perplexities of this fugitive world, sed quotidie loca nova mutare minus laudabile est. For as the inconstancy of the wintry sea is an evil to navigation, so a wandering from place to place threatens danger. To stand in one spot, and the more freely to apply to supernal things, not we, but the precepts of our ancestors and the examples of the bravest men exhort you." Moved by these words, he resolved to renounce that project, and to proceed no farther, but to conclude there the remainder of his days; though by command of the Pope he afterwards returned to the pagan people, from whom he received a martyr's crown.* Hither also came, for the sake of prayer, St. Romuald and St. Boniface, and many others of the Teutonic race: hither came Count Olibanus, by advice of St. Romuald renouncing the world, and along with him bringing fifteen horses laden with treasure, ostensibly coming to pray for a season, but in fixed resolve to remain here for ever.† Hither came the Lord Odilo, of venerable fame, from Cluny: through reverence for St. Benedict, he ascended the mountain on foot, and when, after the custom of the monastery, he had been introduced into the chapter-room, and led honorably to the abbot and brethren, after the solemn words used on the reception of such a guest, he said aloud, "Sicut audivimus ita et vidimus in civitate Domini virtutum, in civitate Dei nostri, et in Monte Sancto ejus."‡

Hither came very devoutly Hugo, the venerable abbot of Cluny, a man of celebrated life, desiring to be received with his congregation into community of prayers in life and death with the brethren.§ Hither came St. Villibald from England, which he had left ten years before, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The joy with which the monks must have welcomed the arrival of such men could only have been equalled by that of the guests themselves on entering their gates. When we find St. Thomas Aquinas seized with sickness, which appears to be mortal, at the castle of Magenza, the seat of the Count Annibal of Cecan,—at which he had stopped on his way from Naples to the council of Lyons, in order to bid adieu to his niece Frances of Aquin,—and afterwards proceeding on his journey, though inwardly persuaded that his last hour was at hand, how consoled are we to hear of his arriving at Fossa Nuovo, the famous abbey of the Cistercians, in a desert in the diocese of Terracina! In fact, he had hastened his departure from the castle, saying, "If the Lord pleaseth to give me a little strength, I shall

* Cap. xvii. Lib. ii. † Id. cap. xix. Lib. ii. ‡ Cap. liii. Lib. ii. § iii.

proceed, in order that I may be found in some monastery, rather than in a secular house." On entering the abbey, after first praying before the blessed sacrament according to his custom, he passed into the cloister, which he never lived to go out of, repeating these words, "Hæc requies mea in sæculum sæculi." The monks were not insensible to the honor conferred on them by the arrival of such a guest. He was lodged in the abbot's apartment; and the monks would cut down and carry with their own hands the wood that was to burn in his room, thinking themselves happy if they could render any service to the holy doctor, who, as yet living, was hastening to a kingdom. They entreated him to dictate discourses on the Cantica Canticorum; but he replied, "Give me the spirit of St. Bernard, and I will comply with your request." There he died on the seventh of March, 1274, some hours after midnight, just at the dawn of day.

A scene of the same kind was witnessed in the monastery of Faventia, at Ravenna, in the year 1072, at midnight, on the octave of St. Peter's chair, when St. Peter Damian, that great star of sanctity and learning, set upon the world, closing in that house his legation with his life.* Trithemius relates another deeply interesting visit made to a religious house. St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, hearing of the blessed Abbot William and the sanctity of the monks at Hirschau, turned out of his way when on his return from Rome and visited them, remaining with them fourteen days,—a man holy with the holy, a monk with monks, and an humble archbishop with the humble. St. William rejoiced to see the primate of England, whom he had so often heard spoken of as a man of God. In the midst of the brethren the holy archbishop remained like one of their number, speaking many things on the Holy Scriptures, on the observance of the monastic conversation, on the salvation of souls, and on the love of God. Often he lamented aloud his own cares, that he was drawn from a cloister to an episcopal chair; he was compelled, he said, to converse with the world. "O happy, and thrice happy, those," he cried, "who could serve God in monastic peace and solitude!" Then commending himself to the prayers of all, and giving them his benediction, he departed on his return to England, whence he came, but he never lost the memory of this visit. Bishops, indeed, were generally glad to pay such visits, which conferred pleasure on the monks. Thus, in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read, "This year, 875, Luithebart, the bishop, on his journey, passed a night in our monastery, and was benignly received by Adelgarius and the whole convent." And in the records of Einsiedelin, the arrival of St. Charles Borromeo, in 1576, is noted down.

Great men in exile, and mere secular wanderers too, arrived often at the monasteries, and received hospitality during a certain space of time. In 1380, Peter II., abbot of Einsiedelin, obtained from the Emperor Winceslas a confirmation of the privilege which conferred on his abbey "the right to receive banished

* Annal. Camald. Lib. xix. † Chronic. Hirsaug.

persons." In all ages, the Benedictines desired this "droit d'accueillir les bannis," to which they owed many illustrious visitors. The well-known compassion of all the religious orders drew many strangers to their houses: for those who could sympathize so deeply with woes they only read about, as may be witnessed in the impassioned exclamations of the poor Friar Martinus, on hearing of the sufferings of St. Elizabeth, would not be frigid comforters in presence of the unhappy. The abbey of Blandinberg, near Ghent, acquired fresh celebrity from having received, in his banishment, St. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury. In the abbey of Clairmarais, St. Thomas, of the same see, found an asylum; and, when lodged again in the abbey of St. Bertin, at St. Omer, he remembered with pleasure that the same house had received the learned Alcuin, the great Kings Alfred and Canute, and that resplendent light of England—St. Dunstan. St. Thomas, on his way thither, having reposed for a night in Lille, the house in which he lodged still bears this inscription: "Sancto Thomæ Canturbiensi hujus ædis quondam hospiti sit laus, honor, et gloria;" and the water of its well is asked for by the peasants, with faith in Him whose martyr drank it. The abbey of Pontigny, that second daughter of Cîteaux, served as an asylum to three holy archbishops of Canterbury; St. Thomas, and Stephen Langton, and St. Edmund. Many were the victims of oppression who found refuge in this house, and hence we find there this inscription:—

"Est Pontiniacus pons exulis, hortus, asylum;
His graditur, spatiatur in hoc, requiescit in illo."*

Another class of pacific visitors whose presence was hailed with an immense and holy joy was that of men intellectually great; whose genius, that cast glory on their age, was not without enthusiastic admirers under the monastic cowl. Never did such high intelligences give each other rendezvous in the palace of princes, as used to meet here. For whom now sounds the porter's bell?—there are quick steps in the cloister; the abbot smiles, to indicate the joy that will accompany the coming guest.—It is Michael Angelo who arrives!—it is Dante! or a prince philosopher perhaps, a Picus of Mirandula; or the Songster of Jerusalem, the sweetest of the poets,—Tasso! When the ponderous gates of the abbey flew open to receive such men, there were that day many glad hearts within it, though plaudits were not heard to wound its sanctity. Where did Dante find that friendly solitude which invited him, as he says, to visit ancient books?† Where did the great Buonarotti hold that silent and meditative intercourse with eternal truth? It was in some monastery among woods and mountains, to which they used to repair from time to time, seeking renovation of their spirits and peace. Learned renowned monks of distant abbeys were also welcome visitors to relig-

* Gall. Christ. xii. 440.

† De Vulgari Eloquentia.

ious houses. Thus, in the records of Einsiedelin, the arrival of Don Mabillon, in 1683, is noted down; as also that of Dom Calmet, in 1748.

No one being rejected, even the mere secular wanderers, like those of latter times came to abbeys, and were received into them as guests. The Songster of Newstead himself, when at Athens, in the city of Minerva, in presence of the Parthenon, chose for his lodging the convent of Capuchins.* Count Elzear de Sebran—whose name alone brings one back to the ages of faith and heroic virtue—has left, in the tablets of Vallombrosa and Camaldoli, a memorial of the peace that he derived from inhaling the sanctity of those cloisters; and certainly, most strangely perverted must be the mind which does not regard the memory of a visit to the monasteries of Switzerland and Italy as one of its most delightful recollections. What, in fact, is more calculated to make a deep and lasting impression than the solemn music of the monks, chanting by night in the church of Vallombrosa? What more exhilarating than that new life one seems to breathe in those delicious scenes sanctified by religion, when, after escaping in the summer months from Florence to the mountains, one treads those swelling lawns when yet the tender dew strives with the sun, or takes shelter at noon within the dark primeval forests that screen that abbey? Who can forget the tolling of the matin bell at Camaldoli, so awful amidst the solitude of those Appennines! or the salutation, each day before the dawn had chased the hour of prime, by the monk entering in his long white habit, carrying his lamp, and saying with a smile, "Deo gratias!" Ah! one cannot wonder that poets of old chose to accept the hospitalities of religious men, rather than to court the invitations of the great. In Dryburg abbey resided often the moral Gower, and the philosophic Strode. In the convent of the Carmelites on that hill where Cato had his farm, and where highest God in tender mercy now shows miracles, Vida wrote his Christiad. In the Carthusian monastery, one league from Milan, Petrarch, who had a country villa near it, spent his happiest hours. "In that cloister," he says, "I enjoy at all hours of the day the pure and delightful pleasures of religion; the gates are always open to me; but I am resolved not to lodge there, lest I should give trouble to others in seeking my own pleasure. In this happy retreat I draw consolation from my pious monks. Their conversation is not brilliant, but it is innocent and holy; their repasts are not inviting, but in their company there is perfect freedom; while their prayers will be my great comfort, both in my life and at my death."

Finally, for it would be endless to proceed with instances, to the monastery of St. Onufrio Tasso came, in his last hours, when he felt that he was never to leave it more. Seized with mortal sickness, at the moment when the triumph of the laurel-crown was to have been conferred upon him, he caused himself to be removed to this monastery, where all his thoughts were fixed on God. On the ar-

* Michaud, Correspond, de l'Orient.

rival of Cardinal Cinthio with the Pope's benediction, he exclaimed, "This is the crown with which I hope to be crowned, not as a poet in the Capitol, but as a child of the church in heaven."

So here, in conclusion, we discern that not in vain were made these visits to the monasteries of the middle ages, where men found that for which their hearts perhaps so long had yearned,—edification and peace. "Alas! but you astonish me," exclaims the youth who receives a stranger coming as a suppliant to the temple in the ancient tragedy, "that your eyes should overflow with tears, thus moistening your gentle cheeks on beholding the chaste oracle of Apollo; all others, as soon as they see the vaults of the god, are filled with joy,—and you must weep!" "It is not strange that I should weep," was the reply, "for I applied my thoughts to an ancient remembrance: my mind was at my home, and not here." The suppliant, who came devoutly to the sanctuaries of Christian peace, could not so easily stand aloof to cherish the remembrance of even the dearest things domestic: his tears were only of repentance or of ecstasy.

> ' "How much,' say'd he, ' more happie is the state
> In which ye, father, here doe dwell at ease,
> Leading a life so free and fortunate,
> From all the tempests of these worldly seas,
> Which tosse the rest in daungerous disease;
> Where warres, and wreckes, and wicked enmitie,
> Doe them afflict,—which no man can appease.' "*

Such were the impressions of Petrarch when he visited the Carthusian monastery of Montrieux, and found there his brother Gerard become a perfect anchorite, disengaged from every thing upon earth, consummate in piety, and longing for the joys of heaven. "I blushed," he says, "to behold a younger brother, and my inferior, now risen so far above me. At the same time, what a subject of joy and glory to have now such a brother!"

George Vasari, in a letter to Giovanni Pollastro, describes his own affliction, amounting almost to madness, on the death of Duke Alexander, and the consolation he derived from a visit to Camaldoli. "I verily believe that had I persevered long in the same course, it would have brought me to an untimely end. But it was by you, my dear Master Giovanni,—blessed be God for it a thousand times!—it was by your means that I was conducted to the hermits of Camaldoli; and it was impossible for me to have been conducted to a fitter place to bring me to my proper senses, because I passed my time in a way that did me infinite service: for, by communing with these holy hermits, they, in the space of two days, worked such an alteration in my mind for my good and my health, that I began to be sensible of my former folly, and the madness with which I had been blinded. But now, it is in this chain of lofty mountains of the Appennines, beautified by

* Spenser, vi. 9.

the straight fir-trees, that I am made to feel the high value of a life of peace. Here these holy hermits have their abode together, leaving the vain world below them, with a fervent spirit elevated to God. I have seen and conversed for an hour with five old hermits, neither of them under eighty years of age, and who are strengthened to perfection by the Lord; and it seemed to me as if I had heard the discourse of five angels of Paradise." Then, after a pause, returning to his pagan images, he says, "If there had been a Camaldoli, Lysander would have been enabled to get rid of that deep melancholy which preyed upon his strong mind during his latter years."

And now, having observed the guests in all their variety of character, what are we to think of these monastic receptions? As a French historian takes occasion to demand, in alluding to that papal court which derived its brightest luminaries from the cloister, Where will you find a house in modern times where the Church, the Christian monarchy, Theology, Philosophy, History, Poetry, Painting, and Music, send thus, day after day, their representatives? Where even the human soul, as if already passionless and escaped from all its fleshly bonds, comes to substitute the substance for the hope; and to enjoy, in present reality, what is of faith,—the communion of saints?

But we must leave it to the chronicles of the middle age to describe the guests of the last and highest order, who came to monasteries to salute the sons of peace within them, and receive from that sweet interchange of holy looks, a profound and mystic consolation. "When the king St. Louis," says one of these, "was at Rome on his pilgrimage, having heard the renown of brother Giles, who was then residing at Perugia, he took the road to that city in order to see him. Being arrived at the convent of the Friar Minors, without being recognized, traveling as a pilgrim, he begged the porter to permit him to speak to brother Giles. The brother who had charge of the gate invited him to wait, and proceeded to look for Giles, who had a sudden revelation that it was the king of France, and under this impression he descended, and threw himself on his knees at the feet of the holy king, while the king, in like manner, knelt before Giles, and having kissed and embraced each other with many signs of mutual charity, they separated in silence, without either of them uttering a word. While these two devout souls were thus united in spiritual content, the porter asked one of the strangers who was that pilgrim that had embraced brother Giles with so much familiarity, and he answered, that it was Louis, king of France, who was come for the purpose of seeing the good father, being on a visit to the holy places of Rome. The friars, hearing of the circumstance, were displeased at the little ceremony with which brother Giles had received this great king, and expressed their surprise that he should have committed such a fault. 'My brethren,' replied Giles, 'be not troubled at what has happened. The king is content with me, as I am with him; and be not astonished that we have not exchanged a word with each other, for our discourse was mute; and know that while we embraced, the divine light

revealed to each of us the interior of the other's heart: and having fixed the eyes of our souls upon that eternal brightness in which all things are beheld clearer than in themselves, we have spoken to one another, although we used no words.' The friars remained astonished and confused at this reply, beating their breasts for having so rashly judged an action so holy."

To enjoy this mute discourse, this ineffable communion of inspired hearts, this participation of eternal brightness, this supernatural, divine contentment, the visitors to monasteries often avowedly came. For hear a memorable example. One day a pilgrim entered the abbey of Corvo, and stood in silence before the monks. After some time, one of them demanded what he wished and what he sought there? The stranger, without answering, contemplated the arcades and the columns of the cloister. The monk asked him again what he desired, and what he was seeking? Then he slowly turned his head, and looking upon the monk and his brethren, replied, "Peace." Struck with the word, his tone, and manner, the monk took him aside, and after a few words, understood that it was Dante who stood before him. Then he, drawing a book from his breast, gave it to him graciously, and said, "Brother, here is a part of my work, with which perhaps you are not acquainted. I leave you this remembrance." "I took the book," adds the monk, "and after pressing it to my heart, opened it in his presence with great love, expressing, however, my surprise that he should have written in the vulgar tongue. In reply, he adduced many things, full of a sublime passion, in praise of the people, and to the disparagement of the nobles of our time." What seekest thou, stranger? Peace.

In the next chapter we shall see how many others came with the same object, and how divinely their best wishes were fulfilled.

CHAPTER XIII.

"WHENCE come ye, friends?" The poet fancies what the monk beheld. Alas! "I cannot name all that I read of sorrow, toil, and shame on your worn faces; as in legends old, which make immortal the disastrous fame of conquerors and imposters, the discord of your hearts I in your looks behold. Whence come ye? From pouring human blood forth on the earth? Speak! Are your hands in slaughter's sanguine hue stained freshly? Speak then! Whence come ye?" A youth made reply,

> "Wearily, wearily, o'er the boundless deep
> We sail. Thou readest well the misery
> Told in these faded eyes; but much doth sleep
> Within, which there the poor heart loves to keep,
> Or dare not write on the dishonored brow.
> Even from our childhood have we learned to steep
> The bread of slavery in the tears of woe,
> And never dreamed of hope or refuge until now."*

Such words spake the convertities when first they reached the portals which received them to religious peace. Such were their recollections of the world they were leaving, and such their experience on catching the first glimpses of a better. The change, though so complete, was often already consummated when they first came, for it was the previous conversion of their hearts to God which had made them resolve to assume the cowl of Benedict, or to gird themselves with the cord of St. Francis. Their voices, therefore, as we are led towards them, may be the echo of that chorus of spirits of which the same poet so beautifully sings,

> "Changed is our mind
> Which was late so dusk, and obscure, and blind:
> Now 'tis an ocean
> Of clear emotion,
> A heaven of serene and mighty motion.
>
> "Years after years,
> Through blood and tears,
> And a thick hell of hatreds, and hopes, and fears,
> We waded and flew,
> And the islets were few
> Where the bud-blighted flowers of happiness grew.

* Shelley.

" Our feet now, every palm,
Are sandall'd with calm,
And the dew of our wings in a rain of balm ;
And, beyond our eyes,
The human love lies
Which makes all it gazes on Paradise."

In the beginning of this book we observed that there were men among the lost and found again for whom it was necessary that there should be places, as St. Bernard says, fit and delectable, not for rejoicing, as in the world, but for mourning the things committed in the world, where by much subtle and useful preaching of the seniors, and by much more subtle and useful examination of their conversation men might be instructed to all good,* in other words, that there are persons who must cloister them in some religious house, where holy lives must win a new world's crown, which their profane hours here have stricken down. The change of mind implied in this necessity, constituting the conversions which we are now about to consider, though deemed unintelligible by the blind world, remains a psychological fact, the existence of which, history places beyond all doubt or question. Could one read the hearts, known only to God, of men during the last moments that precede their death, during that twilight of life when nature makes a pause, and they lie passive and voiceless, with thoughts beyond the reaches of their souls, one would find that sooner or later the need of such mighty renovations became known to most of Adam's sinful children. But long before that hour, it has been disclosed to thousands, to men who, as the poet says, in all their enjoyment

" Have this trick of melancholy."

and who say from the bottom of their hearts, " in omnibus requiem qnæsivi, et in omnibus dolorem et laborem inveni. Non est requies nisi in hereditate sanctorum." O melancholy ! who ever yet could sound thy bottom ! O God ! O God ! how bitter is the state of man unreconciled, unsanctified ! Hearken to his cries, " woe is me—whence are we, and why are we ? of what scene the actors or spectators ?—evening must usher night, night urge the morrow,—month follow month with woe, and year wake year to sorrow." St. Bernard heard cries like these. " I have known men," he says, " satiated with this world, and to such a degree as to nauseate its memory. I have known them satiated with money, satiated with honors, satiated with pleasures, satiated with curiosities, and not moderately, but even to the utmost stretch of loathing satiated."† Nevertheless, the difficulty opposed to conversion might remain the same as before, for adversity and prosperity seem to present an equal obstacle to it. Therefore St. Augustin says, " for me, when I reflect on the conduct of the lovers of the world, I know not at what time preaching can be employed most seasonably to heal their mind : for when

* Epist. 418. † De Conversione, 14.

events are favorable to them, one sees them drunken with fortune; and the insolence of their pride makes them reject as fables, the remonstrances and sayings of holy men. If adversity press them, wholly occupied with what afflicts them, they think more of delivering themselves from the evil which they feel, than of taking measures against that which menaces them. The Israelites, oppressed by Pharaoh's officers, refused to pay attention to what Moses had to say to them from God. "They would not hear him," say the Scriptures, "on account of their extreme affliction, and the excess of the labor with which they were loaded." "Non acquieverunt ei, propter angustiam spiritus, et opus durissimum." A holy pope therefore said: "that it was a greater miracle to convert a sinner, than to restore a dead man to life." "He who hath not experienced the enmity of the furies," says the Greek poet and philosopher, "knows not whence are the wounds of life." The ancients thought that all unhappy men had their attending fury. The true wisdom, *πανακὴς πάντων φάρμακον ἡ σοφία*, as it was styled by one, who, alas! knew it not, with the substitution of a word, accepts the same idea, suggests the need of discovering some spot like that promised by Minerva, *πάσης ἀπήμον' ὀιζύος*, * the need of taking some courageous irrevocable step, which may secure for ever the soul from such demoniac persecution, and concludes her address to him, who feels the power of calamity in words like those which Dante heard, when admitted to behold the suffering spirits. "Oh! this is so strange a thing, it is a great sign that God doth love thee." There are men who correspond to these first sounds of her voice, and say

> "Some great thing is to be endured or done:
> When I know what, I shall be still and calm,
> And never anything will move me more."

Then begin those terrible struggles between the demon and divine grace in human breasts, which the chronicles of the ages of faith so awfully describe. Then there is a counter voice, which says,

> "Thine own soul is changed to a foul fiend
> Through misery——
> This fiend, whose ghastly presence ever
> Beside thee like thy shadow hangs,
> Dream not to chase;—the mad endeavor
> Would scourge thee to severer pangs.
> Be as thou art. Thy settled fate
> Dark as it is, all change would aggravate."

Thus is he for a while turned back to thoughts which can delight no more, to books whose power is dead. Vainly would his winter borrow sunny leaves from any bough. He is discouraged at the immensity of the change required. "Sunt enim omnia ista ex errorum orta radicibus," as the philosopher says, "quæ evel-

* Æsch. Eum. 893.

seems to slacken, but it is only because every power that fashions and upholds, works silently. Consideration, like an angel comes, as the poet says,

"Whips out the offending Adam."

Then his resolutions become fixed to feed his eyes no more on vanity.

" O let me not," quoth he, "then turne againe
Backe to the world, whose joyes so fruitless are,
But let me here for ale in peace remaine."

In fine, his wish becomes that which is so beautifully expressed by Shirley,

" There is a sun ten times more glorious
Than that which rises in the east, attracts me
To feed upon his sweet beams, and become
A bird of Paradise, a religious man,
To rise from earth, and no more to turn back
But for a burial."——

Some may be offended on hearing of his choice, but all his true friends answer,

—— 'O let him pass! he hates him
That would upon the rack of this tough world
Stretch him out longer."

It would be difficult in this frigid atmosphere which now encompasses us, to conceive the meek and holy joy which the recital of such conversions excited in ages of faith: "Gloria in excelsis Deo," exclaimes St. Anselm, when he hears that his ancient friend Rodulf has become a monk, "glory be to God in the highest, who gives a good will to men on earth, 'qui in terra dat hominibus bonam voluntatem;' whose right hand hath changed according to my desire, the will of my beloved friend from the vanity of the world, which profits no one, but injures all who love it, to truth which never injures any one, but which profits all who seek it."*

Of the successive scenes of this great drama within human breasts, it is not for my pen to trace even a faint outline. What was the discourse which worked such miracles, can be learnt best perhaps hereafter, when we come to converse with the monks. Expressly suited sometimes to the professed enemies of peace, their words resembled those of Spenser.

"Henceforth the suitt of earthly conquest shoune
And wash thy hands from guilt of bloody field:
For blood can nought but sin, and wars but sorrow yield."†

Their exhortations, however, to embrace a monastic life, are chiefly founded upon the great truths, the appreciation of which moves men to a sense of religion in general, as when with St. Jerome they say, "if you had the wisdom of Solomon,

* Epist. 11. 10. † i. 10.

the beauty of Absalom, the strength of Samson, the wealth of Crœsus, the power of Augustus, what would it all avail you, when your flesh would be consigned to worms, and your soul to demons?" As when they tell men to address themselves in the words of Peter de Roya, who says, "O Peter, the things in which you delight are of the world. There will be a time when they will not be, but you will be."* And as when they entreat them to conclude with St. Augustin, "terrena calcare, cœlestia sitire." Which do you wish, they ask with him another time, to love temporal things, and to pass with them, or to love Christ, and with him to live for ever? But can I not love him in the world? some will say, to whom the monk replies as the spirit did to Dante, heaving forth a deep and audible sigh, "brother the world is blind, and thou in truth com'st from it."† "It is true," as Richard of St. Victor says, "that in the sterile and arid desert of the world, the devout soul, while it labors for true joy, can fructify this barren soil, and bring forth even there something that will remain."‡ But esteem not yourself to be of such perfection that you can associate with those who keep in the broad, while you walk in the narrow way."

Then turning to depict the vanity of the former, they appeal to the calamities of life, and say to the sufferer, "thou most beauteous inn, why should hard-favor'd grief be lodged in thee? Et nunc quid tibi vis in via Ægypti, ut bibas aquam turbidam? et quid tibi cum via Assyriorum, ut bibas aquam fluminis?" If it were ever so delightful, as St. Bernard says, "the world passes, et relinquere magis expedit quam relinqui." Of the rapid and imperceptible flight of time, even poets of the world, they add, remind you, when like Guillaume de Lorris, the Ennius of France, they remark, how, in a moment, three times are already past,

"Le tems que s'en va nuit et jour
Sans repos prendre et sans séjour;"

which made the Gentile say,

τα θνητα δ' οι νυν πρωτον ἡγουμαι ὅσιαν,
οὐδ' αν τρέσας ειποιμι τοὺς σοφοὺς βροτῶν
δοκουντας εἶναι, καὶ μεριμνητὰς λόγων,
τουτους μεγίστην μωρίαν ὀφλισκάνειν.§

"The world is called a desert," says Richard of St. Victor, "either because it is deserted and despised, or because it deserts and fails in itself. For daily with time pass the joys of time, and as many joys of days as days pass away and fail. The world, therefore, is always losing joy, and consequently the soul perfectly despiseth such fleeting joy, and endeavors to ascend by the desert to true and eternal joy."‖

* S. Bern. Epist. 441. † Purg. xvi. ‡ In Cantic. Cant § Eurip. Medea, 1223.
‖ In Cantica C

They conclude with moving exhortations such as these of St. Jerome, "my friend, what is it that still retains you in the world? You, whose fine soul is not made for the world, how long will you bury yourself in these perishing habitations? How long will you remain prisoner in these cities, the worthy abodes of human vanity? Trust me, come and join your friend." Come after me, and to their babblings leave the crowd. "Ah, be persuaded by me," says Petrus Cellensis, "to leave the world of sorrow. The tumult will never cease until we be cast upon the shore like foam. Let thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us! What avails the ambition of honor, the delight of the flesh, the visitings of friends and relations, the offerings of subjects? Is not the soul chained down by these, so that it cannot fly away and find celestial bliss? We must either conquer these or be conquered by them. O human heart, why do you fear? why do you fly? There is nothing hard or bitter here, but a little bark and surface. The substance is sweetness and peace. O human heart, why fear to be called back? Why tremble to be repaired? You are willing and unwilling. O heart! wanting fervor, why do you not hasten to the Lord of hearts? Why do you collect all things but yourself?* After all, however, as St. Bernard says, "the conversion of souls was the work not of a human, but of a divine voice, for the hearing which no labor was necessary; since the labor wanting was rather to deafen the ears, that they might not hear it."†

Goërres has devoted one portion of his great work to a treatise on the call of men in the middle ages to a monastic life, of which we shall presently relate instances. I shall take care not to involve myself in the mysterious depths of this subject, by inquiring how this call was made, and whether the result was spontaneous,—the fruit of that consideration to which the poet ascribes the expulsion of what offends, or, involuntary, the consequence of those peculiar graces which St. Augustin says God gives, without being excited by any previous disposition on our part. In either case, that Angel whose name expresses cure of God, and he who, according to St. Thomas, is the breath of the spirit of the Saviour which is to kill Anti-Christ, contributed to the work, assisted doubtless by those who dissipate the darkness of spirits, who have received from God the charge of guarding men, who have joy on the conversion of sinners, who led Lot from the midst of the re-reprobate, and who hereafter will make the final separation between the just and the unjust. The visible causes which led men to enter monasteries were many and various. As Cæsar of Heisterbach observes, "Conversion sometimes precedes and sometimes follows contrition."‡ "For some," he adds, "are led from the first by the sole vocation of God, of whom Petrus Sutorus, the Carthusian, says,—

"Sunt qui blanditiis, sunt qui terrore vocantur:
Et tamen hos omnes spiritus unus agit.

* Lib. 2. Epist. 12. † De Conversione. 1. 2. ‡ Illust. Mir. Lib. ii. 1.

An humble coronet of hair, left by
The razor thus———."*

"Dimisit comam capitis," says an ancient author of one who underwent this transformation, "et invenit coronam gloriæ reliquit vestimenta sæcularia, et suscepit stolam candidam; reliquit pompam hujus mundi, et indutus est loricam fidei." In the middle ages therefore it surprised no one on visiting a monastery to find a king among the hooded heads. In the abbey of St. Medard at Soissons, the kings Eude and Raoul were abbots. In a cloister of Armagh in the eighth century might be found Flaithbertach, an Irish king, who after a prosperous and peaceful reign of seven years, abdictated the crown, and spent the remainder of his life in monastic seclusion. In the monastery of Iona might be found his successor Niat II., brother of Hugh Allan IV., who in 734, after a happy reign of similar duration retired to the same religious peace. Many Irish abbeys beheld examples of this kind; and soon after the conversion of England, the Anglo-Saxon history mentions the names of more than thirty persons of both sexes, who left their thrones to consecrate themselves to God, in the solitude of a cloister. "Whatever may have been the circumstances of their time to facilitate such a measure, it cannot be denied," says the count of Stolberg, "but that such a resolution in persons of that rank proves a deep sentiment of the vanity of greatness and terrestrial pleasure,—a serious meditation on what is visible and on what is invisible, on what is perishable and on what is eternal."* In the abbey of Mount-Cassino might have been found St. Carloman, eldest son of Charles Martel, and the uncle of Charlemagne, to whom by his father's testament had fallen Austria, Suabia, and Thuringia, all which he resigned to his son Drogo; in the height of prosperity bidding adieu to the world in 785, resigning his dignity, leaving the guardianship of his children to Pepin, and retiring first to the monastery on Mount Soracte, where, being too much regarded on account of his contempt of royal majesty, he feared vain glory. So he fled thence by night with one companion, and repaired to this abbey. He applied at the gate in the usual manner, asking to speak with the abbot, and offering himself as a poor Frank, who sought to do penance for homicide. As such he was received, and here he remained long unknown,‡ becoming the king of obedience and humility; so that he was appointed to tend a few sheep, which he used to lead forth to pasture and back again, having on one occasion to defend them from robbers. Here he died in odor of sanctity.§ In the same monastery might be found Rachiz, king of the Longobards. After sparing Perugia at the prayer of Pope Zacharias, he was converted by him at Rome to a religious life, with his wife Tasia, and his daughter Rattruda. Here he became a monk; and there is a vineyard which is planted

* Shirley, The Grateful Servant. † Life of Alfred, chap. iii.
‡ Annalista Saxo ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i. § Chronic. S. Mon. Casin. c. vii.

near the monastery, that is called after him to this day.* To the abbey of Prum came the Emperor Lothaire, son of Louis-le-Débounaire, where, after making the world tremble by his arms, he made the sacrifice of himself to God, by taking the habit ; and in that house he died, where Dom Martene saw his tomb in the middle of the choir.

What an impressive comment on the same lesson is furnished by a walk under the doge's palace at Venice, from which so many of those great princes passed to the tranquillity of a cloister. Of the great Urseolus we shall soon speak more fully ; but besides him, observe how many took the same road to peace. Ursus Badoarius II. created in 912, a most holy duke, after twenty years' reign, put on the monastic habit in the monastery of St. Felix in Amiano, where he died in odor of sanctity. Vitalis Candianus, created in 978, put on the monastic habit. Tribunus Memius, created in 979, became a Benedictine monk. Otho Urseolus, created in 1009, fled into Greece, where he wished to become a monk. Olius Malipetrus, created in 1179, the conqueror, of Ptolomaide, who vanquished Saladin, after fourteen years of glorious dominion became a monk. Petro Ziani, created in 1205, after twenty-two years of glory, exchanged the ducal dignity for the habit of St. Benedict.† Such names alone impose silence ; but what would be the impression if we had before us their portraits, like that by Bellini of the Doge Leonard Loredano, whose eye of fire piercing from a bony orbit, does not overcome the expression of an imperturbable religious calm ? Let us hear the monastic chroniclers. "In this monastery of Villiers," says its historian, "were many convertites, noble men, who came there to perfect their conversion. There were here, Gobert, count of Asperimont, Henry de Birbac, William de Donglebiert, and Oliver, of the noble house of Sombreffe. There were also here many famous knights, who having renounced the temporal for the celestial chivalry, now clothed their limbs in the monastic habit. Franc d'Exkenna, chatelain of Montigni, the lord of Bohenem, the lords Gerard de Greis, Henry de Brein, John de Salench, John de Roist, and Walter de Riklam. These four last knights assumed the habit of convertites. Theobald, Chatellain de Courtray, and lately a bold knight, became a monk, and at the same time another renowned son of chivalry, Franc de Lachem, a convertite."‡ "This year, 871," says another, "Eccericus from a knight is made our brother and obedient son, formerly a wild man, ferus homo." Such is the notice of his conversion in the annals of Corby in Saxony.§

The origin of the foundation of Hulne Abbey in Northumberland, the first of Carmelite friars in these kingdoms, presents another instance ; for among the British barons who went to the holy war in the reign of King Henry III. were William de Vesey lord of Alnwick, and Richard Gray, who on visiting Mount

* Id. c. 8. † Thesaurus Antiq. It. tom. v.

‡ Hist. Monast. Villariens. Lib. ii. Prolog. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii.

§ Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. ii.

Carmel, unexpectedly found there among the monks a countryman of their own, Ralph Fresborn, from Northumberland, who had distinguished himself in a former crusade, and who was then professed in that solitude. When Vesey and Gray returned to England, they importuned the superior of the Carmelites to let their countryman accompany them home, which was granted upon condition that they would found a monastery for Carmelites in their own country. Soon after their return, Fresborn, mindful of his engagement, began to look out for a place, and after examining all the circumjacent solitudes, he at length fixed upon this spot, induced it is said, by the resemblance which the adjoining hill bore to Mount Carmel.

Thus among hooded men the red-crossed knight and once gay champion in the tilted ground might be seen walking under the vaulted cloister, appearing, perhaps, to those who had before known him, like de Wilton to Clara, on the battlements of Tantallon Castle, of whom the poet says—

> "Wilton himself before her stood
> It might have seemed his passing ghost,
> For every youthful grace was lost."

"Adam, a monk of Lucka, told me," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "that there was in Saxony, a knight of the name of Alardus, a man of such prowess, that in his first tournament, when made a knight, he acquired with his own hand fourteen horses. As a prudent man, ascribing the temporal honor not to his own strength, but to God, he restored them all, and bidding adieu to his companions and the world, took the habit in the monastery of Lucka."* In the abbey of Bousolas in Tuscany could be found brother Arsene de Janson, who before becoming a Cistercian monk had been the count of Rosemberg, a famous knight, who fought at the siege of Vienna, at the capture of Buda, and at the great battle of Barcan, where Sobieski defeated the Ottoman army. So again, Herman, count of Zirungen, son of Bertold I., renounced his power and all his worldly splendor, and wandered in a pilgrim's habit to the monastery of Cluny, to pray and serve God. He lived there undiscovered and in great humility; as the chronicle says, "he was made keeper of the swine of the convent, for the love of Christ; and until his death remained unknown, tending the swine."†

Burchard, count of Corbeil, educated at the court of Hugues Capet, and the intimate friend of King Robert, after a life of military fame, retired to the monastery of St. Pierre-des-fossés, where he took the habit, and used to perform the office of an Acolythe.‡ Similarly, Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, once a most valiant knight, a man of high spirit and immense possessions, came in the end to be a shorn monk in the abbey of St. Alban, where he lay buried, on the north side of the sacristy, having died in the year 1106. In the convent

* Illust. Mir. xi.c.19.

† Chron. Hirsaug. 1092.

‡ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xi. 164.

of St. Evroul at Ouches, as we learn from William of Jumiège, might be found Robert de Grandmenil, who having studied letters in his youth, and afterwards interrupted his studies during five years, while squire to the duke of Normandy, by whom he was then knighted and loaded with immense presents, was moved by the Spirit of God to disdain all things and become a monk in this abbey, which he had rebuilt.* In the monastery of Corby was a young man of twenty years, employed in laboring in the garden. This humble novice, standing among the beds with the hoe in his hand, has lately been seen among the first nobles in the palace of the emperor Lewis; for this is Adalhard, who has been moved to renounce the world in disgust, by observing the injustice of the emperor in putting away his wife, through dislike of her father Desiderius.† In the abbey of Einsiedelin in the ninth century might be seen St. Gerold, duke of Saxony, who had left all things to become a monk there, and his two sons, who had followed his example, and who remained there till their death. In the abbey of Préaux, as Orderic Vitalis relates, might be found Roger de Beaumont, a wise and modest nobleman, who had always been faithful to the dukes of Normandy, and who bowed his head under the monastic yoke in this convent, which his father Onfroi de Vieilles had founded on his own estate.‡

Helinand, whose verses on death were so celebrated, was a nobleman, remarkable for his beauty, and skill in all chivalrous accomplishments. He became a monk at Frigid Mont, and paints himself, in writing to Walter, in these words: "Lo! he is made a spectacle to angels and to men, who before was a spectacle of levity: for no scene, no circus, no theatre, no amphitheatre, no forum, no gymnasium, no arena, resounded without him. You have known the man Helinand, —if indeed, a man,— for he seemed not so much a man born to labor, as a bird born to flying; running round and perambulating the earth, seeking whom he might devour, either by adulation or defiance. Lo! in a cloister is now enclosed the man to whom the world seemed not only like a cloister, but even a prison. No one would believe that he could be converted at the age of fifty. Yet such was the example he gave the world."§

In the abbey of Croyland, at one time, was seen an abbot who was a man of royal blood, and who had inherited from his father sixty manors and vast riches. This was Turketel, who had renounced all the pleasures of the world for the divine worship, and who became a monk there, as Orderic Vitalis relates.‖

In this monastery of Hirschau, says Trithemius, there were many who before entering religion had been of great name and ample dignity in the world, of lofty blood and great riches; and there were others who had sprung from rustic and poor parents. Yet the utmost love bound them altogether in charity. All followed one mode of living: the gentle were not preferred to the servile com-

* Lib. vii. 23. † Vita S. Adalhardi Mab. Act. S. Ord. Ben. iv. ‡ L

§ Bulæus, Hist. Universit. Paris, tom. ii. ‖ Lib. iv.

tite; nor could blood usurp any place of honor among monks, but only virtue; for, whether servant or free, all were one in Christ Jesus. Such was the attraction of sanctity here, that glorious dukes, counts, and sons of nobles, despising all that they possessed, came here to keep company with the poor of Christ, and conformed themselves, in all humility, to the one pattern, as if they had been before sons of beggars.*

The chronicle of the abbey of Monte Sereno, after relating many passages in the secular life of the prince of the country, in these words makes mention of his end: "In 1156, this Conrad, marquis of Misnia, by divine grace, considering the uncertainty of his life, and fearing lest he should fall with a falling world if he remained in it, resolved to leave it, and so assumed the regular habit, embracing poverty for the love of Christ; whose devotion and aspect extorted tears from all the princes who were present to witness such a change in such a man."

When we hear the circumstances of conversions we shall meet with many more remarkable instances. At present I shall only observe, that the mendicant orders which arose in the thirteenth century, in like manner received into them many high and potent lords, who preferred to their grandeur in the world the cord which now girded them. How many illustrious nobles and princes of Italy became minor friars! Wadding distinguishes among them William and Barnabas, nephews of the marquis of Malespina; Bonaventura, count of Monte Dolio; Simon de Battifolio, count of Puppio; Boniface, son of Count Raynerius de Depnonaco, of Pisa; Bandino, count of Santa Flora; Albertuccio, count of Mangona; Tondellino, count of Gangalanda; Lewis, son of Count Bandino da Mont-Granello: and then he says, "If so many nobles entered this order from Tuscany alone, what numbers must not have come to embrace it from the other provinces of Italy, as also from Spain, France, and Germany!"† The number of noble youths converted by the preaching of St. Francis alone, and who became his companions, renders vain all attempt at a general enumeration. Blessed Dionysius, the Carthusian, remarks the same fact generally in respect to all orders in his time, and says, "Do you not see how many elegant, learned, rich, and noble youths every day desert the world, and all that they possess, in order to enter a monastery and remain in it for ever?"‡

But why, it may be asked, have we been so careful to observe the rank and worldly condition of these convertites who came seeking peace? We shall remain longer perhaps surveying the return of others; but the monks themselves did not disdain to notice the nobility of the great men who joined them. "God, indeed," says St. Bernard, "is not an acceptor of persons; nevertheless, virtue in a nobleman—I know not how—pleases more: is it perchance that it is more conspicuous? True it is, that a person not noble, wanting glory, cannot so easily make it appear whether it be because he is unwilling to have it, or whether he is

* Chronic. Hirs. † Ann. Min. tom. v. ‡ B. Dion. Carthus. de Convers. Peccat. Lib. vii.

unable. I praise a virtue of necessity, but still more that which freedom chooses than that which necessity requires."*

In withdrawing kings from secular pomp, and knights from the warfare of the world, God seemed to triumph more gloriously, casting down such chivalry into the sea of contrition and penitence. In fact, converts of this kind were often the most perfect; as was remarked by Hugo of St. Victor, for he says, "It is detestable that the poor should be delicate where the rich is laborious and abstemious; which yet we often find to be the case: for many, in proportion as they were more noble and delicate in the world, live in the monastery so much the more in an abject and strict manner; and many, in proportion as they were more abject and poor, so much the more seek they to be exalted and delicate in the monastery."† The monk of Cluny cites a memorable instance, for he says, "We have seen Hugo, formerly duke of Burgundy, and afterwards standard bearer in the spiritual warfare; who used to grease the shoes of the brethren, and so to humble himself that the lowest persons used to be amazed to see such a prince beneath their feet."‡ Tacitus says that the habit of ambition is the last garment that the sage throws off, and Pericles went farther still, for he said that the love of honor never grew old—*Τὸ γὰρ φιλοτιμον ἀνήρων μόνον.* "That passion," he says, "is always young; and in the extremity of old age it is not gain, as some say, which delights men, but the being honored."§ What then, would have been the astonishment of these great thinkers of antiquity if they could have seen the duke of Burgundy with the Cluniac monks? For, let it be remembered, when such men withdrew to cloisters from the stormy scene of a discordant world, it was not with the mind of Achilles, who, though removed from the battle, still longed for it—*Ποθέεσκε δ' αὐτήν τε Πτολεμόν τε.*‖ The convertites were not, as the moderns suppose, always ready at a word to reassume their former exercises; as easily excited as Ulysses, who, on being taunted by Eurycolus, declares that he will engage in the games, adding,

θυμοδακὴς γὰρ μῦθος· ἐπώτρυνας δέ με εἰπών.

All whose enthusiasm returns in an instant:—

δεῦρ' ἄγε, πειρηθητω· ἐπεί μ' ἐχολώσατε λίην,
ἠ πύξ πάλη ἠ καὶ ποσίν.¶

"I am no unworthy combatant when it is a trial of strength; I know well how to bend the bow; I am the first to strike, aiming the arrow against the crowd, though there be many others at my side who can direct them well; and I affirm that among the present generation I have no equal." The convertite, wrapped up in his sable weeds, had no disguise to throw off thus, no desire lurking in his heart such as the Homeric hero proclaimed with so much emphasis, that he might

* Epist. cxiii. † Institut. Monasticæ. ‡ Bibliothèque Clun. 459.
§ Thucyd. ii. 44. ‖ Il. ii. ¶ Il. viii.

be once more what he was before he wore the cowl, when he stormed cities with harness on his back.* Alluding to his changed condition, he would not have said with a sigh, like him described in the Last Minstrel's Lay, "I was not always a man of woe!" That he was not always holy and pacific as he had then become, was the source of his lamentations; the feeling with which he looked back upon his former years was not that expressed by Octavian de Saint-Gelais in the stanzas which conclude,—

"Adieu, maisons nobles et les beaulx lieulx,
Où j'ay passé ma première jouvence,
Quant je vivois en mondaine plaisance."

But it was rather that described by Dante, when he says,—

"And as a man, with difficult short breath,
Forespent with toiling, 'scap'd from sea to shore,
Turns to the perilous wide waste, and stands
At gaze; e'n so my spirit, that yet fail'd,
Struggling with terror, turnd to view the straits
That none hath pass'd and liv'd."†

Baptist of Faensa, the celebrated convertite, who, from being a ferocious soldier, became a Capuchin, on one occasion going out to beg alms in Faensa, and carrying a wooden cross in his bosom, according to his custom, a certain young nobleman began to accuse him for so doing as a hypocrite; to whom Baptist meekly answered, "Why do you censure me so severely? If I carried so many years in my bosom the weapons of the demon, with which I perpetrated so many crimes, why do you condemn me for now, though late, carrying in it the image of Christ?"‡ The historian of the abbey of Villiers dwells on another instance in point. "The pious Gobert," he says, "proposed in his heart to forsake the sterile warfare for God; and not a second time after this did he look back with the eyes of his mind or of his flesh. Thus was this man converted,—once so powerful in all virtue according to the world, most noble in the antiquity of his race, robust in body, tremendous in aspect, terrible in word, a famous count. Thus did he withdraw himself from the embraces of the world, and deserve to approach to the way of true and perfect safety. And in this beginning of his conversion the Illuminator of all nations so enlightened his heart, that he regarded with the utmost contempt that excellence of the most illustrious nobility which had been transmitted to him by blood; so that, despising all that was lofty, like a poor stranger he took refuge in this abode of the poor of Christ. This man, elect of God, weighing and estimating worldly warfare and all the glory of the world to be but as dust before the face of the wind, learned to despise all that was of the

* xxiv. † Hell. i. ‡ Annal. Capucinorum. ad. an. 1562.

> And one to wistless indolence resign'd :
> What time, from all these empty things escap'd
> With others, I thus gloriously
> Was rais'd aloft, and made the guest of heav'n."*

Some of these narratives are quickly told. Theobald, a venerable man of the Cistercian order, nobly born, by chance seeing St. Bernard, immediately left all and followed him.† Henry, the eldest brother of King Louis VII., who enjoyed many ecclesiastical dignities, while that monarch was on the crusade, coming one day to Clairvaux to consult with St. Bernard, expressed a wish to see also the monks and recommend himself to their prayers. The saint, who always took care in his conversation with guests to suggest some salutary advice for their salvation, after concluding the affair of business, turned the discourse to spiritual matters, and added, "I trust in God that you will not die in the brilliant condition which you now occupy, and that you will experience how useful are the prayers which you have now been demanding of the brethren." The prediction was fulfilled the same day: the young prince resolved from that hour to consecrate himself to God; and, sending away his guards and the troop of gentlemen who accompanied him, he remained at Clairvaux, renouncing all his benefices.

A company of young gentlemen came to Clairvaux on one occasion through curiosity to see the holy Abbot St. Bernard, of whom fame reported such great things. It was then Shrovetide; and they, being in the heat of youth, sought out a place near the church to run at the ring, to exercise themselves in arms, and such like entertainments. The saint entreated them not to do so; but they would not listen to him. He then commanded beer to be brought out and given them to drink; but he first blessed it. Scarcely were they gone out of the monastery, when, moved by a new spirit, they began to talk amongst themselves of the world, of its deceits and dangers. Presently, without delay, they altogether, with one mind and will, returned to the monastery, and with great humility begged to be admitted into it; and, with great courage and patience, passing through many labors, they gloriously persevered in the order.

Adalbero, a young clerk of Constance, in the train of Godefrid, duke of Bouillon, came to the abbey of St. Hubert with the duke, to meet by appointment the Count Albert of Namur; between whom there was a grevious discussion respecting the castle of Bouillon. Adalbero came to hear a discussion, and he remained to enjoy that peace, being converted by observing the holy brethren.‡

Daniel de Ungrespuch was a German merchant, who used to trade with Venice. While remaining in that city he used often to pass over in a boat to the monastery of the hermits of St. Maria de Muriano, and to spend whole hours in sweet discourse with them. He repeated these visits so often, that at length he resolved to follow the example of the men whom he so greatly loved; and in

* Par. xi. † Hist. Prælator. Monast. de Fontanis, ap. Dacher, Spicileg. x.

‡ Hist. Andagenensis Monast. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 955.

1392, he was received amongst them as an oblat.*

Rudolf, elected abbot of St. Tron in 1107, relates his own conversion. He was born in the town on the Sambre, conspicuous for its monastery of St. Peter, built by the bishop St. Amand, where rests the glorious saint Fredegand. His parents were plebeian, but most Christian and spotless in reputation; showing great hospitality and kindness, without ceasing, to the poor. He was placed at school till his eighteenth year, and on being made subdeacon, with liberty of going where he chose, being induced through love of a certain companion, a clerk, by name Lambert, who confessed to him that he wished to become a monk at Aix-la-Chapelle, he went with him to that city, hoping to see the famous place where warm water springs out of the earth, which is near the palace there; yet nothing was then less in his mind than to become a monk. But when every night, after the manner of monks, the lives of the fathers were read to the brethren at collation, he used to hide himself in a corner, whence he could hear and understand all that was read. Neither did he do this as yet so much for the sake of edification as of merely hearing the miracles of the life of simple men, such as were there read, and of listening to the novelty of their still more simple style; but when he had attended more frequently and ardently, not so much to the rusticity of style as to the wonderful sayings and actions of the simple and holy fathers, he began to feel a great contempt for the miseries of this present life, and to ascend to a disrelish for the world; and this used to be the subject of his thoughts at night when he retired to his bed. What remains? After a few days he not only confirmed his as yet wavering companion, but took the same habit himself, together with his companion, on the same day of the conversion of St. Paul.†

"Brother Gerlac," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "as he acknowledged to me, conceived his first design of conversion from seeing a certain monk, whom I knew well, saying mass with abundant tears in his parish church. Gerlac, who served his mass, from that hour, conceived such a love and reverence for the order that he could not rest until he became a monk himself."‡ "You knew Henry," he says, "our chamberlain, whose conversion was in this manner. Being a clerk and canon of Treves, loaded with riches and honors, he fell sick, and, in hopes of recovering health, he proposed to descend the Rhine in a bark, and consult the physicians of Cologne, who are numerous in that city. As he passed by our monastery he inquired the name of the place, and then said that he would lodge there; so he sent his boys to the abbot to ask for horses to carry him up to it; and they returning with them, he was received to hospitality. That night I know not what he saw, or by what influence he was converted, but in the morning he sent back his attendants weeping with the bark, and then assuming the habit, he remained with us."§

* Annal. Camaldulens. Lib. lvi. † Chronic. Abb. S. Trudonis ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vii.
‡ Illust. Mirac. Lib. i. 24. § Ib. Lib. i. c. 28.

Guibert de Nogent also ascribes his own first conversion to the mere beholding monks in their church. "My mother," he says, "having renounced the world after my father's death, I was left alone, without parents, without a master, without a pedagogue; for he who had so faithfully educated me, had followed my mother's example, and taken a monastic habit. So, possessing full liberty, I began to abuse it intemperately; to laugh at the churches; to have a horror for the schools; to affect the company of lay youths of my own age who were devoted to equestrian studies; to let my hair grow like theirs; and to indulge so much in sleep that I began to grow fat. Meanwhile the fame of my deeds reached my mother's ears, and immediately, as if anticipating my destruction, she became as one dead. The very clothes which she had herself made for me, to excite me the more, in which I used to go to the church, I began to cut short now after the fashion of youthful petulence; and, in short, there was nothing about me pensive or moderate. My mother, at this crisis, hastened to the abbot of Flaix, or St. Gernier, which was in the diocese of Laon; and he was soon persuaded to receive me as a disciple into that monastery. I call thee to witness, O God! pious disposer of all things, that from the hour in which I entered the basilica of that monastery, and beheld the monks sitting there, I conceived in consequence of seeing them, such a desire of becoming a monk that my fervour never afterwards grew cool, nor did my mind ever rest till the vow of my heart was fulfilled. So then, dwelling with them under the same cloister, and considering all their habits; as a flame is excited by the wind, so my mind, from contemplating them, could not but be kindled with the desire to resemble them. At length I disclosed what was in my mind to my mother; but she, fearing puerile levity, rejected my proposal, to my great concern; and, when I applied to my master, he opposed it still more. So by this double repulse I was grievously vexed; but, through reverence for my mother and the fear of my master, I began to act as if I had never thought of such a thing. Thus I remained from the octave of Pentecost till Christmas, when no longer able to resist thy internal excitement, O Lord, I had recourse to the abbot of Flaix. I threw myself weeping at his feet, and finally received the habit from his hands; my mother in the distance looking on. And now, O Lord, true light, clearly do I recollect the inestimable bounty which thou didst lavish upon me; for as soon as I had, on thy invitation, received the habit, there seemed to be a cloud removed from the face of my heart."*

A manuscript of the abbey of St. Victor, at Paris, relates that William, surnamed of Denmark from his having lived for a long time in that kingdom, being at Epiney, where he had retired in the year 1150, one day, on rising from dinner, a letter was brought to him from the abbot of St. Geneviève, begging that he would come to him. William cried out, on reading it, "Is this a dream?" Being come to St. Geneviève, the abbot spoke to him of the contempt of the world in a

* De Vita Propria.

rinth of life, might be distinguished perhaps from others by a certain tone peculiar to them. It is not that they envinced a desire to return again to earth, according to the common fable of the day, which represents them inwardly pining till they can throw off the cowl; for, as we before observed, with respect to the converted warriors, men from the cloister did not lookback so upon their former years; but it is that they evinced in general more reserve than others, and perhaps, if possible, a still greater abstraction from the visible world, when they sung that hymn of the church for lauds in the spring:

"Dies venit, dies tua,
In qua reflorent omnia;
Lætemur et nos in viam
Tua reducti dextera."

"For, O stranger," as the monk would say, if he had ever heard these words of Landor, "the heart that has once been bathed in love's pure fountain retains the pulse of youth for ever. Death can only take away the sorrowful from our affections; the flower expands; the colorless film that enveloped it falls off and perishes."

Antonius Santaranensis, when a youth, loved a beautiful girl, and sought her in marriage; but she answered contemptuously that he should first go and wash in the Jordan before she would accept him. Through ardor of love, accordingly, he set out and went into Syria, bathed in the Jordan, and brought back a phial of water; recounted to the maid the labors and perils of his journey, undertaken for her love. The ingenuous girl thought she ought to yield to such constant affection, and so married him whom before she had despised; but, shortly after dying, Antonius bade the world farewell, departed into Castile, and took the habit of the Minors, and died in odor of sanctity in 1270.* In fact, compassion, so closely allied to love, led many to the cloister in ages when men had such great hearts, so susceptible, like him who fainted at the recital of Francesca.

The calamities of life opened wide the door of cloisters for those whose mourning was from God, whom fond nature indeed commanded to lament, but whose tears, as Shakspeare says, were reason's merriment; for the monks who pitied the sorrows of these wanderers did not, like the Minerva of Homer, accuse heaven of cruelty towards them, but saw only fresh instances of its providence and of its mercy: for, as a poet says,

"Seeds burst not their dark cells without a throe,
All birth is effort—shall not love's be so?"†

St. Cloud, son of Clodomir, king of Orleans, and grandson of Clovis and of St. Clotilda, after escaping assassination when a boy by his uncle, who murdered his

* Wadding, An. Minorum, tom. iv

† Trench.

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* Orderic. Vital. Lib. iii. † Wad. An Minorum.

filled his mother's desire, and assumed the Franciscan habit in the convent of Parma.*

Remorse was another source from which conversions came, and strange were the first greetings of the men it drew, who might have truly said on entering,

> "If there had any where appeared in space
> Another place of refuge, where to flee,
> Our hearts had taken refuge in that place,
> And not with thee."†

Of these conversions, Cæsar of Heisterbach cites curious examples. "I said," he observes, that many became monks through fear of hell; such were men who had studied magic, and given themselves to Satan, and had been miraculously converted by visions."‡

Guido Bonatus, the Florentine, that man of dark renown as an astrologer and mathematician, of whom we spoke in the last book, though Wadding only styles him "a philosopher, to hear whom disciples flowed in from all parts of Europe, and who in the tumults of Florence, being exiled, took up his residence at Flori," at an advanced age embraced the order of St. Francis, in the province of Bologna, and humbly and holily terminated his life.§

Guido da Monte Feltro, count of Urbino, whose posterity became the princes of Urbino, a man renowned through all Italy for his military glory, having conquered so many cities, wearied at length with so many wars, sought to make his peace with the Holy See, and for the injury which he had wrought in war, threw himself at the feet of Celestine V. and of Boniface his successor, and begged to be received to grace, promising to make restitution, and as a sign of perfect contrition and true penance, expressing a wish to be received into the order of the Minors. To that effect, the pope wrote to the minister of the province of the marshes, and on the feast of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, that hero renowned for warlike glory, assumed the Franciscan habit in the convent of Ancona. The rest of his days he past in constant prayer, and in the exercise of the most profound humility; and made a blessed end in that cloister: which evidence of domestic witnesses and serious writers is to be preferred, says Wadding, to the poetic fictions of Dante, who places him in hell, for having given perfidious counsel to Pope Boniface, and for having at his desire resumed his former ways.‖

The conversion of John of Erfurt was most affecting. This youth in the beginning of the fifteenth century, born of a noble race of Thuringia, loved a maid of equal birth, but found a rival in another knight. They agreed at length to fight for her; the day was fixed; crowds assembled; the two knights came forth, adorned with their most sumptuous ornaments. Thrice they ran against each other with terrible effect each time, and the third fall proved fatal to his op-

* Id. tom. viii. † Trench. ‡ Lib. i. c. 83. § An. Min. tom. v. ‖ Id. v. 1[illegible]

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onent, who lay dead beneath his horse. A general shout hailed the conqueror; but this spectacle of death had a different effect upon him. He rode off instantly to the door of a Dominican convent, and called out to them to open. The porter, all astonished, let him into the court. John alighted, and held his horse a long time, till the prior came down to ask what he wanted; at whose feet he threw himself, and besought admission into the order. The community was called to deliberate, and the next day he was received. Soon after, his father and relations arrived, threatening vengeance unless he were delivered; but the friar succeeded in soothing them. This convertite became an apostle to some Prussian tribes, and died in odor of sanctity in 1464. Thus there were occasions, when, as Climachus says, it was better to afflict parents than our Lord Jesus; for he created and saved us, whereas their love often betrays its objects. Aristotle himself taught that there were times when a physician or a commander were to be obeyed rather than parents;* and those who blame St. Thomas for flying from his father's house, never think harshly of Telemachus for leaving his mother to mourn his absence, without having apprised her of his project.† The authority of parents being a participation of that of God, from whom, as St. Paul says, is all paternity; when God commanded one thing, and parents a contrary, there was no question as to the principle, though there might be difficulty as to the circumstances by which men were to be guided. However, all through the ages of faith the instances of such contrariety were of the rarest possible occurrence.

But to proceed. Here is another convertite whose history is deeply affecting. Jacoponus was born in the city of Todi in Umbria. At first he applied to civil law, in which he made such a proficiency, that he was created a doctor. In this early stage of his life he courted honors and luxury, and held human things within his arms with a close embrace; and all arts and frauds he knew. He married a noble lady adorned with all virtues and of singular piety, yet who, through love of him, adopted the manners of one who meditated only vain and profane things as a worldly woman, in order that she might appear not inferior to her husband. Meanwhile, not forgetful of God, she led a holy life in secret, and under the veil of an ambitious splendor, concealed great virtues of mind. It happened one day, that as she was assisting with many noble ladies at a certain spectacle of games, in the midst of the joy and plaudits of the assembly, the beams on which the spectators sat gave way, and suddenly that whole troop of women were buried in a mighty ruin; some had their limbs broken, others were wounded mortally, amongst whom was the wife of Jacoponus, who remained speechless, and shortly after died. The husband, on hearing of what had happened, flew to the spot, seized his wife in his arms, and carried her out. On uncovering her bosom, in order to assist her breathing, lo! under the luxury of a precious vest, he beheld next her skin a coarse hair shirt, which she was thus wearing on the very day

* Ethic. ix. 2. † Od. iv.

when he thought that she with other women was abandoned to the delights of secular entertainment. Immoveable, with fixed eyes like one wrapt in a maze, he stood discerning the hidden virtue of his spouse, and the secret of her thoughts respecting the vanity of the present, and the importance of the future life, arguing a mind so different from what he had always wished to think that she possessed. Syllable he spoke none; but wore the semblance of a man by other care beset, and keenly pressed, than any thought of those who in his presence stood. This was not a vain astonishment, or idle perturbation, but that holy sorrow which renders the soul and spirit dear to God. From that moment he began to philosophize subtilly in the school of Christ, became a most holy man, and so verified the apostle's words, that an infidel husband is sanctified by a faithful wife. Thus being seriously turned to God, he surveyed the darkness which had before encompassed him, and resolved to renounce the world for ever, and to dedicate the remainder of his life to God alone. So he withdrew from the honors and pursuits which had engrossed him in the city, and sought no longer any thing else, but how to conquer himself, subdue his passions, and do penance for the sins of his past life. Giving all his riches to the poor, he clothed himself in a vile habit, and desired to be despised and rejected by all men; so that through the city and villages adjacent he even courted the derision of the vulgar—ingenious and most holy artifice to avenge her whom he had loved vainly until now. For reflecting that his wife had sinned through human respect and regard to his opinions, it was most just he thought, that all the scorn and infamy that the meanest profligate could merit should light on him. So he counterfeited idiotcy, and made his appearance as a hideous vagrant amidst the public games at Todi; but no one amongst grown-up persons laughed at his extravagance, for, suspecting his purpose, all were struck with astonishment and admiration, at seeing a man once so noble and wealthy, now such a humble penitent. A day being fixed for the marriage of his niece, his brother sent to request that if he assisted at it, he would not dishonor the family by any extravagance: he replied that his brother might attend to the honor of his family, but that his thoughts, were elsewhere set. In fact he appeared suddenly in the midst of that joyful feast, covered with mud and feathers, like a wild monster, more hideous than any African savage, and the company broke up in consequence, some with indignation retiring, others with pity. The children used now to pursue him, and style him Jacoponus contemptuously, instead of Jacobus, his baptismal name, and that title he chose ever afterwards to bear: still, in the midst of all his extravagance, his grave and wondrous answers used to fill men with stupor and admiration. A citizen of Todi having purchased a colt, and wishing to send it to his house, asked Jacoponus, who stood nigh, to lead it home, which he promised to do, replying, "Trust me, I will take it to your home:" he took it to the church of St. Fortunatus, where that citizen had his ancestral tomb, and he fastened it to the stones of the sepulchre. The citizen, on learning what he had done, returned to his house in thoughtfulness and dread.

Ten years did Jacoponus spend in this manner, which he commemorates in his poem of Odario. Finally, he desired to receive the habit of St. Francis, but the Minors feared to receive one amongst them who passed for an idiot or a maniac. After this repulse he was not seen for many days; but at length he returned to the same convent, and delivered a manuscript to the frair, with a request that it might be presented to the guardian. This was the book which he had just composed on the contempt of the world. The frairs on reading it, and hearing that he was the author, discovered the mystery of his penance, admitted him with veneration, and immediately gave him the habit.

The servant of God was a noble civilian and doctor. Nevertheless he refused to be raised to the priesthood, and desired to remain a laic; and under the name of brother Jacoponus was he received. Within the cloister now he only sought how to humble himself, and imitate Jesus Christ; all night long he used to exercise himself in prayer and meditation; being asked what he was ready to suffer, he replied, that he desired to suffer all the pains of earth and hell if, what is impossible, he could satisfy the divine justice, and be anathema from Christ for Christians, Pagans, Jews, and Demons. It would be the highest joy, he said to, suffer for all these in hell, in order to imitate Christ, who would have saved all. Thus was he filled with the fervent love of God: he sung, he wept, he broke forth in sighs; and withdrawing into solitary places he would embrace the trees, and in an ecstasy of divine affection cry out, "O sweet Jesus, O most loving Jesus!" Being asked by one of the brethren on a certain occasion why he wept so, he replied, "Because love is not loved—quia amor non amaretur." Inflamed with divine charity, he was no less zealous to defend the honor of God, reproving vices with admirable liberty, and, like others, profoundly devoted to the Holy See, not sparing on one occasion even the person of the chief pontiff; on which account, after the twentieth year of his being in religion, he was confined by order of Boniface VIII. It is said that the Pope passing by the prison, and seeing him there, asked when he thought he should get out? and that he replied, "When you enter it;" which prediction was verified; for when Boniface was sacrilegiously captured by Colonna at Anagni, Jacoponus was liberated.

From that time his whole life seemed absorbed in divine love. He composed several beautiful canticles, indulging like a swan in melody shortly before his death. At length, being very old, he fell sick; and the brethren seeing that his death was near, advised him to fortify himself with the sacraments of the church; but he said that it was not yet time. Some one then not understanding him, exclaimed, "Do you not know, father, that unless you receive the mysteries, you will depart from life like an atheist;" when he answered, "I believe in three Persons of one Divinity, which created the world out of nothing, and in Jesus Christ His Son, born of a virgin and crucified." The brethren, surprised at his answer, observed, that this was not sufficient; but that he must receive the sacraments of the church; he replied, that he fully intended to receive them, but

Tot clari proceres, tot rerum spatia,
Tot ora præsulum, tot regna fortia?
Tot mundi principes, tanta potentia?
In ictu oculi clauduntur omnia.
Quam breve festum est hæc mundi gloria!
Ut umbra hominis, sic ejus gaudia,
Quæ semper subtrahunt æterna præmia,
Et ducunt hominem ad dura devia.
O esca vermium, O massa pulveris,
O ros, O vanitas cur sic extolleris?
Ignoras penitus, utrum oras vixeris.
Fac bonum omnibus, quamdiu poteris.
Hæc mundi gloria, quæ magni penditur,
Sacris in litteris flos fœni dicitur.
Ut leve folium, quod vento rapitur,
Sic vita hominum, hac vita tollitur.
Nil tuum dixeris, quod potes perdere,
Quod mundus tribuit, intendit rapere.
Superna cogita, cor sit in æthere,
Felix qui potuit mundum contemnere."

Such then was Jacoponus; the history of whose marvellous conversion could not but detain us long.

But now,—to cite no more instances of this extraordinary kind, for, in general, divine grace, without the instrumentality of any violent external events, led men to embrace a monastic life,—let us observe what was the ordinary manner of conversion; and illustrate it by examples of transitions both from previous innocence and from the disposition of a secular mind to the sanctity of the cloister, the former being only from peace to peace more profound.

Pandulph was bred a shepherd on the mountains of Tuscany near Pistoia. From youth tending his sheep amidst lonely mountains, he acquired the grace of a celestial life. Such was his abhorrence for money and profit, that he counted all as dross excepting what he gave to the poor; he wore a knotted cord round his waist in memory of our Lord's Passion, on which he meditated continually; and while his sheep fed on the pasture he used to climb to the top of the hill, or retire into the wood and pray there. His fellow shepherds and all the rustic lads respected him; and he used to exhort them to abstain from all sin. In his thirty-third year, being sent on a journey, in crossing some water it chanced —eternal God that chance did guide—that he should meet two Capuchin friars in the same boat which conveyed him. A short conversation with them determined the rest of his life. He was admitted among the novices in the convent of Montepolitiani, where he died in odor of sanctity.*

Heladius, rector of the royal court, as Hildephonso styles him, "Under a secular habit had long fulfilled a monk's vow—inter decorem insolentiamque seculi

* Annal. Capucinorum, -568.

he loved solitude—and followed secrets; and at length, leaving all things, he fled to the monastery which had long been the object of his affections."*

Thomas Justiniani, a Venetian senator of the illustrious family of that name, embraced a religious life, became a hermit in the monastery of the desert of Camaldoli in 1510. He describes with affecting simplicity the anguish with which he abandoned relations and friends; but nothing could shake his resolution. He persuaded his friend Vincentius Quirinus, another senator of Venice, to follow him, who embraced the same life within the year. Thus these two noble friends became the humble brothers Paul and Peter. Quirinus had written many learned works; he was versed in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; he had filled many high posts and legations for his country; he had been ambassador to Philip, duke of Burgundy, to Maximilian, Emperor, and to the king of Spain. Numerous friends wrote to dissuade him, but he was immoveable. All Florence was filled with amaze on hearing of his flight to the desert. He died in the arms of his sweet friend Justiniani, in the thirty-fifth year of his age and third of his being in religion. Justiniani, who signs himself brother Paul the hermit, took an active part in the administration of his order. It was he who surrounded the hermitage with a wall. He died on Mount Soracte in 1528, a most holy blessed death, which he seems to have foreseen and predicted in a certain poem which he composed the same year, in which he sung the combat of nature and of grace. His ancient portrait in his cowl, a most striking painting, is in the possession of that illustrious family.†

Petrus Quirinus, on his embassies for the Venetian republic, had visited Germany, France, Spain, Burgundy, and England, and found no place preferable to the solitude of Camaldoli. So also Andreas Trivisanus, another Venetian senator, had searched various parts of Italy, all Dalmatia, a great part of Greece, and even had been to Palestine, and he found no place safer and more apt for a Christian contemplatist than the same desert. So writes Paul Justiniani in a letter to two noble Venetians, his friends.‡

But here comes a convertite whose history we have been long promised. "Petrus Urseolus was elected doge of Venice in 976. He for a long time refused to accept it, fearing lest by the ambition of secular honor he should lose the resolution of sanctity, as Dandulus says. At length, however, he was prevailed upon by the people, who supplicated him to consent, for the good of his country. What noble edifices he erected and repaired in the city, and what holy laws he instituted, may be seen in the authors of the Venetian history, and in his life by Guido Grandia.

It happened in the course of time, that a certain venerable abbot, Guarinus by name, from the farthest parts of Gaul, came for the sake of prayer into Italy, being accustomed to make pilgrimages to various regions of the world. After

* Hildephons. Vitæ Illust. Episc. Hisp † Annal. Camald. Lib. lxx. ‡ Id. Lib. lxx. lxxi.

assisting at the elevation of the bones of St. Hilary the second, bishop of Carcasson, he proceeded to Venice, to venerate the body of St. Mark. Having performed his devotions in the basilica, he asked a citizen on leaving the church, where he could find a hospice, who replied, 'Why do you seek a hospice from me, when I durst not grant a lodging to you, my lord, or to any coming to the relics of blessed Mark?' 'But why so?' demanded the abbot. 'Because the duke of this country,' said the citizen, 'who is the host of all strangers coming hither, has made a decree that no stranger should be received to hospitality by any one but himself alone, or with leave from him; for he has built great houses for the purpose, in which the rich and poor are alike received.' On this intelligence the pious Guarin repaired to the palace and entered it with confidence. 'Who art thou, venerable father,' ask the guards, 'who seekest admittance to the prince?' 'I am Guarinus, coming from far lands, and having visited the oratory of blessed Mark, I seek needful hospitality; and it was told to me to apply here, but I know not to whom I ought to address myself.' Then the illustrious domestics immediately received the abbot, and led him to the duke's bed chamber. And when the duke saw him, he rose up instantly and gave him a kiss of peace. The next day he desired the holy man to give him advice respecting his own state; for he said he felt it to be full of peril for his soul; and he entreated him to devise some way by which he might be delivered. The abbot replied that he was bound to go to Rome, but that he would soon return, and that then he might depend upon his giving him counsel on that point. Accordingly to Rome he departed, where he saluted the threshold of the Apostles, and threw himself at the feet of the Pope Benedict VII. In fine, he returned to Venice on the day he had appointed. The solemn discussion being resumed in the palace, he advised the duke to renounce the world and the dukedom, and to embrace a life of holy obedience. Now this was the plan which the duke had long desired to adopt, without having ventured to disclose his intention openly. From this moment, however, he began to arrange measures for carrying it into effect.

"On the festival of the marytr St. Ammon, which was in September, having deposed the ducal robe, he secretly left the palace, and accompanied by Guarinus, Romuald, and Marino, he embarked on a vessel which conveyed him to the abbey of St. Hilary of Gambaranus, which had been erected by Angelo and John, patriarchs of Venice. Early in the morning, as the holy duke did not come as usual to the matutinal office in the basilica of St. Mark, he was sought for in the apartments, but could not be found within the palace. After long search the messengers at length came to the abbey of St. Hilary. Urseolus had prayed Guarinus to shave his beard and to clothe him in the Benedictine habit. They recognized Guarinus, and laying hold of him, asked where was the duke? But he said, 'Lo, here am I, with these my companions. Examine whether your lord be here.' They gazed on all without being able to recognize him. However, as soon as they had departed, the duke fearing lest he should be discovered

on a second visit, proceeded immediately with his companions to Verona, on entering which city, in order to pass with more security, he followed the feet of the mules as a humble muleteer, and so escaped through; then mounting their horses they rode on, avoiding Vicenza; and such was their haste, that on the third day they reached Milan. Thence they pursued their journey steadily to Narbonne; and then after taking some rest there, they passed into Catalonia. On coming within view of the white top of Mount Canigo, which is so called from being covered with snow, the blessed duke knew that he was near the monastery that was to receive him, and he said to the abbot, 'I believe we are now near the place. It would be wrong riding thus proudly to approach the court of angels; for an unworthy servant like me should enter the presence of his master in humility and penitence.' So saying, he alighted, took off his spurs and his shoes, and thus barefooted proceeded the rest of the way. The brethren came forth a mile to meet them, singing hymns to God, and with a solemn procession bearing the relicks which the abbot had brought with him into the church. Thus in the year 978, one month after his flight, did they enter the abbey of St. Michael at Cuxano, and here he received the habit from the hands of St. Romuald. In this house he remained, a mirror of justice to all, performing every duty with the utmost obedience and humility, being chiefly employed at first in dispensing food to the poor, assisting the sick, receiving strangers, tilling the ground, and subsequently as sacristan, showing himself in all states a man both in heart and word pacific,—Senex in mundo juvenescit in Deo,—accustomed to command, he submitted to obey; from being a lord he became a servant, and led a humble and merciful life. During this time Romuald and Marino lived in a desert place not far from the abbey, in a wood called Longadera, where they erected cells.

"The death of this great duke took place in the fifth year after his arrival. After receiving the sacraments with infinite devotion, he begged the brethren to place him sitting up in his chair, and then asked if the lord of that country would come at his invitation to see him; for he wished to give him useful counsel and the kiss of peace. Accordingly, that nobleman, Oliba, count of Cabra, came humbly to see the venerable duke, who gave him the kiss of peace, and exhorted him to despise the world for God. His words made such an impression that Oliba soon after chose the monachal life. The blessed duke expired at the ninth hour on the third day of January. Immediately alternate choirs of monks with tearful and tremulous voices sung the office round the dead. The next day the lord of the province coming with the first nobles, at sight of the pious limbs lying upon the bier, burst into tears. Then the body was brought into the church, and masses were said with all devotion: they buried him in the cloister near the church door. Some time after, it is said, lights used to appear by night over the grave, illuminating in a wonderful manner all the cloisters, so that the brethren did not dare to pass one by one separately before the office, as they had previously been accustomed. The Count Oliba leaving great riches to his son, having a treasur[redacted]

cient to load fifteen horses, after consulting with St. Romuald, proceeded in c pany with Guarinus Marinus and John Gradiniscus to Mount-Cassino, whe assumed the habit. St. Romuald desiring to follow them, such was the ard the people for possessing him, that, in order to escape, he was obliged to f himself mad. So he returned at length barefoot to Ravenna. Marinu hermit, whose only object had been to accompany Oliba to Mount-Cassino, to venerate there the bones of St. Benedict, being accustomed to solitude, dep soon after their arrival and travelled into Apulia, where he fixed his hermi near Mount Gargano. Here his travels ended, for the Sarassins who occupie top of the mountain strangled the pious hermit in 988, a man of wondrous plicity and of sincere purity. The Christians, however, gave him an honor sepulture in the place which they called after him Marino. Guarinus, who so accustomed to wander, being rather a palmer and superior of different abb than the abbot of any one house, resolved to proceed to Jerusalem, and John dinisous, the third companion of Oliba, proposed to accompany him. That convertite was overwhelmed at the thought of being deserted by them all: he w and entreated them not to forsake him. 'You, at least,' he said to John, 'o not to violate the promise you make to St. Romuald, who wished you to kee company in the service of God.' Nothing, however, could change their res tion, so they set out together. After descending the hill, the horse on w Guarinus rode became restiff and after wheeling round, struck John with his and broke his thigh. Falling down, he began to think of his own perfidy disobedience; his broken thigh reminded him of his broken faith. Being ried back, he begged permission to have a cell built for himself near the mo tery, after the manner that he had learned from St. Romuald in Catalonia; there, during thirty years, till his death, he remained in holy conversat Guarinus and Marinus being departed, and John Gradiniscus coming but ra to the monastery, Oliba left Mount-Cassino and returned to his own country; the next year we read of his being present at the consecration a church there. death of Guarinus is only indicated by letters of Pope Sergius IV. in 101 Oliba, his successor, son of that former count whom Petrus Urseolus and R uald had converted, but who subsequently returned to his former state. R uald, in fine, by his prayers and tears gained his father, Duke Sergius, to re ion, completing thus the group of chosen spirits that surrounded Urseolus."*

The next, also, comes not singly. Let us inquire who he is. The monk should be thus questioned would acquit him thus.

Charles, the eighth abbot of Villiers, had been a famous knight, and mig in deeds of arms. From the school he had been trained to warfare, in whic so greatly distinguished himself, that he became dear to kings and princes that the Lord Philip, archbishop of Cologne, when at the court of Mayence, f

* Annal. Camaldulensium, Lib. iv. viii.

ing for his own life, chose him for his special guard. It happened once that he rode from Mayence with the Lord Gerard Wascard to a certain tournament at Worms. After some time they descended upon a meadow, which was most agreeable with flowers of every color, with streams and fountains, which they traversed in silence, neither speaking to the other. At length, breaking silence, they proposed that each should tell the other what had been his thoughts. "Truly then," said the first, "I have been thinking and attentively considering the wonderful and various beauties of this place, and in fine, it has been foreshown to me, that all which flourishes in the world is but vanity and of little value:" and the other replied, that such precisely had been his own thoughts. Thereupon they said to each other, "Let us provide something for ourselves of real utility. Shall we pass the sea? But we shall meet with there what we leave behind us here,—noble horses, seductive beauty, brilliant armor and weapons; hearts will be wounded, and perhaps virtue injured. What then? Shall we pass to the wolfskin habit of Emmerode, and declare a truce to tournaments for five years?" This was their resolution. So they proceeded to that monastery, and made their vows conditionally; and then, contented with one squire each, they returned to Cologne. Soon afterwards Ulricus Flasco, who had wished that they might accompany him beyond sea, took himself the same vow, and with them received the habit. Gerard Wascard lost a part of his hand, because he said that he had rather this should happen to him than that the least injury should befall Charles, whom he foresaw would by God's grace become a clerk. After some time such was the event; for Charles having left his parents, and his riches, and his companions, repaired to the abbey of Emmerode, and there assumed the arms of sacred chivalry, and by his example and exhortations, many nobles and chieftains, not only from the holy city of Cologne, but also from remote lands, namely, Ulricus Flasco, Gerald Vastaldus, Walter de Birbac, and many other renowned men in secular warfare, became no less illustrious in spiritual conversation. How much the monastery of Emmerode was benefitted by this accession may well be thought. When the Emperor Frederic came to Liege, and a great crowd of nobles had met there, as soon as Charles and Ulric appeared, Philip, count of Flanders, with a multitude of nobles, went to meet them; so that the emperor, as if deserted by all, was left almost alone; for as they had the favor of the emperor in the world, so he loved and honored them in religion. His son the Emperor Henry no less honored them; he gave to Charles a cross adorned with precious stones and gems. About this time Godescald de Volmonsteyn was converted from the world to which he had been wholly devoted: he went to the abbey of Mount Stroeberg, and left all the world in ignorance of his vow. It happened that Evrard his brother was going into Westphalia, and on the way he turned aside to see a certain recluse, who lay concealed on a rock, who received him with great benignity. After the first words of holy salutation she said to him, "My lord, say to your brother Godescald, that his light is burning before the Lord, and that it shines brightly." He, all

astonished at these words, said, "Sister, consider what you say. There is no one in all Cologne so devoted to secular pleasures as my brother: for he attends to nothing else but to satisfy his curiosity. Therefore reflect upon what you say." After much entreaty he extorted from her the meaning of her words; when she told him plainly, that God had effected this great change. Hearing such news or his brother, he was profoundly sad, like a man devoted to the world; and returning to Cologne he found that what had been told him was quite true. Godescald thus wishing the world farewell, entered Stroeberg, and led a holy life among that congregation of saints. His brother Evrard was afterwards seen in the monastic habit, in a certain church in which all the congregations of Cologne were assembled."*

Perhaps, however, no conversion was more celebrated in the middle ages than that of the Duke St. William. "Where is there a dance of young people," demands a monk of his monastery in the desert, "or any assembly of peasants, warriors, or nobles, or when is there a vigil of a holy feast, when one does not hear sung sweetly in modulated words what and how great was William? with what glory he served Emperor Charles? and what victories he gained over the Infidels."

The conquest of Barcelona, which they surrendered to him in 801, was his last exploit; for he then resolved to retire from the world, and abdicate his military command of Aquitaine. He found an austere desert in the Cevennes, at the junction of the little valleys of Gelon and of the Herault, and there he built his monastery. Still he doubted whether he ought to come to any instant decision without having consulted Charlemagne, to whom he was attached by the closest friendship. It seemed to him best not to transfer himself to this new warfare until he had gained the consent of this most Christian king. He accordingly departed to the north of Gaul, desired the occasion of a private interview, and spoke as follows:—"My lord and my father Charles, whom the heavenly King hath made king over the people; you know how true and faithful I have been always to you, and how I loved you more than my life and this pleasant light. You know how often as your soldier I have followed you to the peril of death, always ready to lay down my life for you. Now then hear me, I beseech you, patiently: lo! I reveal to you my conscience before God, and demand permission to become a soldier of the eternal King. I have a vow and a long desire, that, renouncing all things, I may for the future serve God in that monastery which by your favor I have constructed in the desert." At these words the countenance of Charles fell, and his eyes overflowed with tears. "My Lord William," he replied, "what a hard word is this,—and how bitter! You have wounded my heart by this petition. Nevertheless, since it is just, devout, and reasonable, I have nothing to oppose to it; nor is it lawful for me to refuse you. If you had preferred the service of any other mortal king, I might indeed have

* Hist. Mon. Villariens. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii.

felt that it was an injury to myself,—if you had done it for the sake of greater honors, or dignity, or riches, I would willingly have offered all that I possessed to retain you; but since nothing of this is the case, but that, despising things present, you wish to be the soldier of the King of angels, so be it with you; I consent to it: only you must take with you some gift, as a token of my affection, and a memorial of our friendship." With these words he burst into tears, and fell upon his neck, and for a long time wept bitterly.* After this scene William returned to Aquitaine, visited on his way the famous monastery of St. Julian at Brives, where he deposed his arms as an offering to God. In the twelfth century, his buckler used to be shown in the treasury of that house as a precious curiosity, attesting, by its dimensions and weight, the gigantic form and strength of the hero. Thence he returned to his monastery of Gelon, where he took the habit, and ever afterwards comported himself as the humblest of the brethren. The disciple and biographer of St. Benoit d'Aniane says, that he had often seen him in the plain of Aniane, in the time of harvest amongst the reapers, mounted on an ass, and carrying before him a great vessel of wine, which he presented to each reaper in turn. It must have been an affecting spectacle, to see so humbly and charitably employed the man who had so often given battle to the Sarassins, and won such renown among worldly heroes.†

Guibert de Nogent ascribes the restoration of monastic discipline in his time to certain wondrous conversions which had lately taken place; of which one of the most remarkable was that of Ebrard, count of Breteuil, in Picardy. This was a famous nobleman,—young and handsome, immensely rich, but of a proud mind; a man distinguished, however, for many brilliant qualities, amongst the first nobles of France. At length, he began to contemplate his own state, and to consider how he did nothing in the world but consign himself and others to damnation. So having secretly made some of his ancient companions aware of his thoughts, he privately along with them departed into some foreign country, where unknown he employed himself in making charcoal in the forests; and there, when he had sold it in the towns, he thought he had for the first time attained to supreme riches. Thus the interior glory of the king's daughter might be considered by all. Teudebaldus, who is now universally regarded as a saint, a youth of noble race, had previously renounced the world; and it was his example that Ebrard was animated to follow. Finally he sought the abbey of Marmoustier, where he received the habit. We have heard, that, when he lived in the world, he was so studious of dress that none of the rich could equal him, and of such a haughty manner that no one could hardly address a word to him; but, after he became a monk, we beheld him so careless about his person, that to judge by his dress and humble countenance, you would have thought that he had not been a count, but a

* Vita S. Will. Ducis et Mon. Gellonens. ap. Mabil. Acta S. Ord. Ben. sæc. iv. 1.

† Fauriel. Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. iii. 489.

poor rustic; and when he used to be sent by the abbot through cities and towns, he never could be induced by his own will so much as to enter the castles which he had left. All these things, continues Guibert de Nogent, he related himself when I was young, for he used to treat me with an especial love on account of our consanguinity. On these conversions,—for that of Bruno also was at this time,—vast flocks of men and women began to follow in the holy track. What shall I say of their ages, when children of ten or eleven years used to meditate things belonging to the old, and acted with more discipline than would seem possible for their years! In these conversions took place what was observed in the ancient martyrs,—that greater vivacity of faith was found in the weak and tender bodies of the young, than in those which were in the authority of age and science. Monasteries then increased in number, and were built not only in cities, towns, and villages, but also in the woods and deserts, where formerly were only dens of wild beasts or caverns of robbers. Nobles caught the holy flame, and came forward with their treasures, and illustrious women enriched and adorned churches with precious gifts.*

All these that we have as yet beheld are convertites that once were eminent in secular and military life, but there are amongst them many others, who, though previously separate to the Church, stood in no less need perhaps of total renovation. The crowd which follows, then, is made up of priests and great philosophers, who have come here demanding from the cloister peace. Thus to Mount-Cassino came Paul the deacon, after the captivity of King Desiderius, whose notary he had been, and the death of Ariches, prince of Beneventum, who had received him in his banishment; for the sentence of death passed on him on account of his fidelity to the king had been commuted to exile, through regard for his genius as an historian and poet.† Hither came Mark the poet, contemporary of St. Benedict, who speaks of his own conversion in these lines:—

" Huc ego cum scelerum depressus fasce subissem,
Depositum sensi pondus abesse michi
Credo quod, et fælix vita fruar insuper illa
Oras pro Marco si Benedicte tuo."

Hither came to receive the habit Constantine Africanus, that prodigy of learning, who brought from the east, after studies and travels of thirty-nine years, a profound knowledge of grammar, dialectics, geometry, astronomy, and all the sciences of the Chaldæans, Arabs, Persians, Sarassins, Egyptians and Indians. Here came also Alfanus, a poet and musician; and Alberic, full of all erudition.‡ Many others of this class might be shown in different monasteries. To single out but one from England —Henry de Murdac, a great theologian in the church of York in the twelfth century, and of eminent dignity in the province from his

* De Vita Propria, Lib. i. c. xi. † Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. xv. ‡ Lib iii.

nobility and riches, left every thing to become a monk at Clairvaux, under the conduct of St. Bernard. Such convertites excited greater astonishment than the sight of kings, and barons, and laymen who had studied sciences, in the cowl; for, as Dante says, "More easily and perfectly do they come to the habit of philosophic truth who have never heard it, than they who have heard it when imbued with false opinions."*

Jordan of Saxony being asked, on one occasion, why masters of arts, more than theologians, came to the sermons of the friars, replied, "As peasants that drink water are more easily intoxicated with wine, so those who drink only the water of Aristotle, when on Sundays or festivals they come to the church, are more easily converted by the words of Jesus Christ; whereas theologians are like sacristans, who, from daily habit, pass before the altar without saluting it." In fact, the lay scholars come in crowds to conversion.

"How many learned men and great philosophers embraced the Carthusian order, beginning with St. Bruno? Sutorus enumerates them:—Guigo de Castro, Rifferius, Trusianus the Florentine physician, Ludolphus, Henricus de Kalkar, Rainald, Bonifacius Ferrarius, brother of blessed Vincent the Dominican, Henricus de Cosfeldia, Adrian, John de Teneramunda, Hermann, Henry de Halsia, Stephen de Senis, Goswin de Beca, Oswald de Corda, Gerard de Stredam, Nicholas Albergatus, Bartholomew of Ruremunda, John of Louvain, James de Paradiso, Ægidius Aurifaber, Ulricus, John de Indagine, Dionysius Rickel, James de Gruytrode, Henry de Piro, John Venetus, Henry Vroede, Henry Arnold, Gerard of Breda, Henry Loen, Laurentius, Martin of Laon, John de Lapide, Werner de Laer, Peter Ruffi, Francis de Puteo, author of the Margarita Philosophica, and others.† In fact, the Carthusians, more than any other order, received into its port the wearied scholars and philosophers of the university of Paris.‡ Cluny and Cîteaux, however, were not without their tribute. But we must not suffer to pass by unnoticed in the crowd the Socrates of the Gauls, the western Plato, as his friend the venerable Peter, styled Abeilard, of whom he says, after describing his intellectual victories,

> "————tunc magis omnia vincit,
> Cum, Cluniensem Monacum moremque professus,
> Ad Christi veram transivit philosophiam."

Let us hear the holy abbot describe this illustrious convert in a letter to Heloisa, who called herself the source of all his misfortunes, and from whose affection death alone could take away the sorrowful. "I wish that our Cluny might possess you;" it is thus he writes to her; "I wish that you might there be expecting, with the other handmaidens of Christ, the day of heavenly deliverance; but since this is not

* De Monarchiâ, i. p. xiii. 41.

† De Vita Carthus. II. iii. 7.

‡ Bulæus, Hist. Universit. Paris. 11.

granted to us, yet we may rejoice in possessing your—yes, I say, your servant; who is always to be named with honor, that true philosopher of Christ, Master Peter whom in the last years of his life the same divine disposition transferred to Cluny; and with him enriched it as with something far above all gold and precious stones; to relate whose holy, and humble, and devout conversation among us would require no short discourse. Unless I am deceived, I do not recollect that I ever saw any one like him in the habit and gesture of humility; insomuch, that neither Germain was more lowly nor Martin himself poorer to a discerning eye. And when I compelled him, amidst that vast flock of brethren, to hold a superior rank, he seemed to be the last of all. Often I used to wonder, during the processions, when he with the rest walked before me, and to be truly amazed how a man of such a celebrated name could thus despise himself, and throw himself away. He was the most simple, the most abstemious, the most mortified of us all. In him were seen constant study, frequent prayer, perpetual silence, unless when a familiar conference of the brethren, or a public sermon in the convent, obliged him to speak: devoutly he use to frequent the celestial sacraments, offering up to God the sacrifice of the immortal Lamb. His mind, his tongue, his work, were always divine, philosophic, full of erudition and instruction. Thus did this simple and just man, fearing God and departing from evil, pass some portion of time with us, consecrating the last days of his life to God. For the sake of his health, as he labored under a bodily disease, I sent him to Châlon-sur-Saône, which is the most agreeable and beautiful spot in our Burgundy, and there I procured him a residence in our monastery near the city. There, renewing his ancient studies, as far as his malady would permit he was constantly over his books, and every moment, like the great Gregory, he either prayed, or read, or wrote, or dictated. In these exercises did the evangelical summons find him, not sleeping like many, but watching; truly watching; and called him, not as the foolish but as the wise virgin, to the marriage of eternity: for he bore with him a lamp full of oil; that is, a conscience filled with the testimony of a holy life. His last illness was sudden, conducting him speedily to the extremity. Then, how holily, how devoutly, how Catholically, did he make the confessions of his faith, and of his sins! With what affection of a desiring heart did he receive the body of our Lord and Redeemer, the viaticum of this pilgrimage and the pledge of eternal life! How faithfully did he commend to Him his body and soul, here and for eternity! all the religious brethren of that monastery are witnesses. Thus passed to God with meekness and humility Master Peter, the master of science, he who was known to the whole world, and every where celebrated. Therefore, venerable and beloved sister in the Lord, he to whom you were bound in the bonds of marriage, and in the still better chains of divine charity; with whom, and under whom, you have so long served the Lord: he, I say, in the last advent, with the voice of the Archangel, and with the trump of God, shall be restored to you. Be mindful, therefore, of him in the Lord: be

mindful also of me and of the holy sisters associated with our congregation.*

With the fame of this flight the whole Christian world rung; and yet there were instances in which the power of grace was thought to be still more visibly displayed; for the conversions deemed most astonishing of all were those which took place within the cloister itself, of monks who had not the spirit of their order, or of men who had assumed the cowl without purity of intention, and worn it without sanctity of life.

"A wandering clerk," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "came to Clairvaux with a design to steal, under cloak of religion. During the whole year of his noviceship he could pilfer nothing, such vigilance was observed. 'Then,' said he to himself, 'if I become a monk I shall have more opportunities:' so with that intention he was received to the habit. But the pious Lord, who wisheth not the death of a sinner, wonderfully changed his perverse will; for he became contrite; and so much did he advance in holy religion, that soon after he was made prior of that abbey. Such was the mercy of God and the monachal benediction."†

This example, however, exhibits not one of the most desperate cases; for, of all conversions, the most rare and difficult was from the corruption of the best state or from tepidity in the cloister. So deep was the impression of this truth, that we find there was a necessity for guarding monks against being too quick to believe themselves involved in the danger. Let us hear Ælred, abbot of Rivaulx. "Not long ago," he says, "a certain brother, renouncing the world, came to our monastery, and was placed by our reverend abbot under my littleness, to be instructed in regular discipline. He used sometimes to ask me how it came to pass, that, while in the secular habit and conversation, he used oftener to feel compunction and to be dissolved, as it were, in the sweetness of divine love. I demanded of him whether he thought his life was then more holy than his present, and more acceptable to God. 'Far otherwise,' he replied: 'since I now do many things, of which if I had done one formerly; not only I should have been thought holy by all, but as worthy of being adored.' On my questioning him still further, he said, that 'he did not remember to have thought much about the many tribulations through which we must enter into the kingdom of God, but he used to feel as if he loved Christ with more sweetness. Yet,' he added, 'I then never suffered any thing for Him, whereas now I suffer much for His sake; formerly I never kept silence, or refrained from idle and vain words; and even after my devout tears, I used immediately to return to laughing and to fables, being borne hither and thither as passion directed; loving assemblies, not shrinking from drink-bouts, and indulging in matin sleep and in excessive feasting. I was subject to anger, and I had cupidity for worldly things: and now all is changed and reversed for temperance, coarse raiment, study, a hard bed, and a bell to call one up to Matins; we eat our bread in

* S. Petri Ven. Abb. Clun. Epist. Lib. iv. 21. Bibliothec. Cluniacensis.

† Cæsarius Heisterbachensis Illustrium Miraculorum et Hist. Memorabilium, Lib. i. 4

the sweat of our faces; we have no will of our own; their is no place for idleness. I ought not to omit some things which no less delight than the former fatigue; there are no quarrels; never is there heard a sorrowful complaint, on account of the dire oppression of the rustics, nor the piteous clamor of the injured poor; no law-suits, no secular judgments; all is peace, tranquillity, and wondrous freedom from worldly tumults. There is such unity existing among the brethren, that we seem to be all one; and there is no excepting of persons, no regard to birth; the will of one is law to three hundred men, who hear his words as from the mouth of God: and to sum up all in brief, there is nothing in the Gospels, or Apostolic precepts, or books of the holy fathers, which does not belong to this order and profession.' 'What you say.' I replied, 'is not to be ascribed to your boasting, but to the fervor of a novice; yet I wish you to be cautious that you should not believe there is any profession in this life which has not feigned persons attached to it; lest if by chance you should find something in word or deed deficient, you might be troubled. But do you think that all these things which you enumerate, may be compared with your former tears?' 'No, truly,' replied he, 'for that flowing of tears never rendered my conscience more secure, nor delivered me from the fear of death; and now I have attained to this good. Of a truth, I must confess, unless I wish to deceive myself, that were I to choose to return to that former life, it would not be on account of Christ, but for the sake of the world; not through a desire of greater perfection, but through unwillingness, to endure my present labors. So that, notwithstanding what I remember of those sweet tears, and that fervent love for Christ, I am compelled by the authority of all Scripture, by reason, and by my conscience, to believe that this life is to be preferred to that former conversation; for it is the keeping of the commandments which proves love.' 'Remark again,' I said, 'how that transitory emotion can be no criterion of the love of God, since men are moved so easily to tears at any tragedy or vain recitation which displays the oppressions of innocence, or any beautiful and heroic deed; therefore, it is absurd to estimate love from such vain piety; for were such things really to pass before his eyes, the same man would not sacrifice the least part of his substance to deliver the person for whom he weeps in fable. Much greater folly is it to believe that if any luxurious or tepid person, by the hidden dispensation of God, should be easily moved to compunction and tears, and yet return with the same facility to his former vanities, 'that his sterile tears and momentary affection would be a greater proof of the love of God than the resolution to fly from whatever is contrary to the divine will, and to endure every labor which is imposed upon him in his name.' This is true,' he replied with downcast eyes; 'for I remember that I used to be sometimes moved to tears at the fables which are invented about Arthur; and, therefore, it was great vanity in me to think that I was holy, and capable of great things, mearly because I used often to weep when they read some affecting trait respecting our Lord. Ah, how miserably are such men deceived when they are encouraged, by

the experience of such emotions, to return to their unholy living!' 'Truly,' I concluded, 'the pouring forth tears is a most grateful and acceptable sacrifice to God; but only so when offered by the penitent and the assailed, in the spirit of humility, and with a contrite heart; by those who fly to the bosom of Jesus, and bring forth fruits worthy of penance. Therefore, you and I, and all of us should labor that this mortification of the flesh, this solicitude of vigils, this coarseness of raiment, this austerity of food, this gravity of silence, this holocaust of the whole interior and exterior of man, may be fattened, as it were, by the sweetness of tears and devout affection; that being lighted over the altar of the heart by the fire of divine charity, it may send up a pleasant savor; but if you cannot have both, it is better to be without tears in apostolic poverty than with daily tears to transgress the divine commands; for though we should raise the dead and cast out devils, and give sight to the blind, we should nevertheless hear from the Lord these words, 'Discedite à me quicunque fuerint operarii iniquitatis.' "*

Moreover, converts within monasteries sometimes complained that they were no longer objects of the same attention as before they entered them, when they were only wavering between the world and God. A knight who had entered the order of St. Francis, complained thus to brother Giles through whose admonitions he had taken the habit, that since he had followed him to the cloister, he no longer instructed and conversed with him as he had been accustomed to do while he was in the world. The holy man replied "that now being of the house and family of God, he did not think it becoming to advise him any longer, as he was now only his companion and brother."† However, the evil did exist, which rendered necessary conversions within the cloister, and its insidious progress is thus described by Richard de St. Victor: "If you think that you have fallen from that grace which you enjoyed at the commencement of your religious life, attend diligently to what you act silently with yourself, think upon what thoughts occupy you. If you meditate only on vain, only on present things, how is it strange that you should be deprived of a revelation of profound and future things? In the beginning of your conversion, when you thought alone on eternal, alone on spiritual and future things, when you breathed only for things sublime, what wonder if, according to your desire, you deserved to be comforted? The Lord heard the desire of the poor. You have ceased to sit at the feet of the Lord, and to rest like Mary. You are troubled about many things, like Martha. Remember then whence you have fallen; do penance and resume your former works. If you desire to regain the ancient grace, if you seek to recover those visions in your secret chamber, recur to Daniel, renew your devotion, and prepare again your heart for the recovery of that pristine grace."

Again, he speaks as follows: "The voice of the Lord is on the waters. Re-

* Ælredi Rhievallens. Abb. Spec. Charitatis. Lib. II. c. 17. 20.

† Les Chroniques des Frères Mineurs. Lib. vii. 18.

‡ De Eruditione Hominis Inter. Lib. I. 1. c. 19.

member this when you tremble for your own infirmity. Do you fear pride of mind and vain self-confidence? The voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars. Do you fear the flames of passion? The voice of the Lord extinguisheth the fire. Behold, you say, your mind is very light, inconstant, wandering, fluctuating, wishing and not wishing, changing its purpose like the flood of the sea, which is moved by every wind. But he who converteth the sea into dry land can easily cause the waters which are under heaven to be gathered together into one place, that the dry land may appear. The voice of the Lord is on the waters. How many do you see advancing before you to religion, who were before inconstant and frivolous like yourself, and who are now stable, solid, and perfect in discipline. When you see these men leaving the world to assume the habit of religion, know assuredly that the Lord of Majesty hath thundered, hath terrified their hearts, hath sent forth his thunder over many waters. He who hath given them stability can also strengthen you, and repress these fluctuating thoughts which detain you. The Lord will give you latitude of heart even as the sands on the sea-shore, and you will have as great an abundance of good, as you had formerly of useless and vain thoughts; your heart, like the great sea of the world, will be made to repose, and good desires will be multiplied in it like the sand on its shore. What almighty power is here displayed? But you say, vile men are in authority who abuse it according to their own caprice. How could I ever endure this, who am an ingenuous and learned man, and of noble family? How should I be able to stoop who bear a lofty heart, exalted above the cedars of Libanus? To this I answer in brief, the voice of the Lord breaketh the cedars. He can easily repress your pride, and make the camel pass through the needle's eye, for all things are possible to him who can do all things in heaven and in earth, in the sea, and in all deep places. Though he behold a heart bitter and fluctuating as the sea, a mind dark as the abyss, yet always and every where he can do all things, and not only at the thunder of his voice, but even often at his aspect, the mountains of arrogance are broken down, the hills of pride bent low, and the cedars of Libanus laid prostrate."*

But let us now observe some of these converts whose deliverance had consoled the family of heaven. St. Gunther had been received into the Benedictine abbey of Altaich, but the habits of his early life were so strong, that the efforts of the Abbot St. Godehard were ineffectual to overcome his fickleness. To reclaim him from his lingering attachments, a more powerful monitor was, at the abbot's request, induced to see him. This was no less a person than the Emperor St. Henry, who represented to him that as he could not serve two masters, God and the world, he must choose which he would follow. From that moment Gunther became as firm as he had before been wavering.

The next is still more worthy of regard. Suger's early life was in the bustle

* Annot. in Ps. xxviii

of secular affairs, amidst wars, and diversions of the chase, which were but ill becoming in a monk. The origin of his conversion is ascribed by Gervaise, abbot of La-Trappe, to many events that were calculated to turn his mind to meditation. Such were the circumstances of his last military expedition when he followed King Louis against certain nobles who had driven the bishop of Clermont from his see, at the siege of which city Suger was exposed to great danger, and this he considers to have been the first blow by which God deigned to open his eyes, and make him consider the fragility of life. The second he suggests, was the assassination of Charles, the good count of Flanders, who had often admonished him to amend his life; and the third, which made sure the conquest of this rebellious soul, the spectacle of the terrible vengeance which King Louis exercised against his enemies. After this last sanguinary expedition, Suger returned to his abbey very pensive, buried in profound melancholy, of which no one could imagine the cause; "he was suffering," says Gervaise, "the pangs of parturition," that is, as St. Augustin explains it, the sorrows of a true penitence, which were to bring forth the fruit of salvation, and produce the formation of Jesus Christ in his heart by a new life. It is the combat of the flesh and spirit, of nature and grace, which causes all these convulsions: and the life which Suger had previously led, had fortified nature so that the struggle was terrible; but his heart having now been shaken, might with only one more effort be carried by assault. The tragical end of two famous abbots of his order, who had been his friends, and who had led a life very similar to his own, was the last blow which grace made use of to carry this fortress, which had long been giving way. The one was Ponce, abbot of Cluny, and the other Orderic, abbot of Mount-Cassino. The former deposed by the Pope, and excommunicated, died in a tower at Rome, impenitent, notwithstanding every effort made for his conversion. The latter was also desposed and excommunicated: in which acts of just discipline, Suger beheld the judgment passed upon his own conduct by the sovereign pontiff, similar probably to that which awaited himself. Finally, the charitable severity of St. Bernard, his strong and energetic remonstrances, filled with the Spirit of God, completed the conversion of this noble heart. Being thus wholly transformed into a new man, his first act was to reform the abbey of St. Denis by his guidance and example; which he effected without noise, opposition, or scandal. Thus was God glorified, the neighborhood edified, the church consoled.*

Now comes another of great learning and no less renown, who will relate to us his own conversion. "There was a time," it is Guibert de Nogent who speaks, "when I was animated with such a desire of learning, that I gasped after it, and thought myself worthless if I past a day without study. Often was I thought to be sleeping when my mind was dictating something, or my eyes rivetted on some book. And, O pious Jesu, thou wert not ignorant what was my intention;

* Hist. de Suger, lv. v.

for I sought to gain praise and to become more honorable in the present world; for I had friends against me, who, though they advised me well, yet encouraged me with praise; and when I fancied that I could soon obtain all that they promised me, they were but deluding me with most vain expectations. However, my mind was thus prepared for temptation, and undoubtedly at that time I was in a certain manner reformed as to my intelligence; for although I still had puerile movements of joy and anger, yet I felt not formerly more horror at the greatest sins, than I experienced now at the least, or rather at what were none at all. I emulated most zealously those whom I saw weeping for their offences, and whatever things were from thee, were to my seeing and hearing most grateful. Clearly, O Lord God, I was then living with a great reverence for thy law, and with an infinite execration of all sin; and whatever could be said and heard and known of thee, most ambitiously did I drink it up. The cruel demon, irritated by these puerile studies, afflicted me now and sent me horrible dreams, so that one winter's night, lying in my bed, and the lamp shining brightly, near me suddenly I thought I heard the voice of many persons, and I seemed to behold a dead man, who cried out; and when I arose up terrified, I saw the lamp extinguished, and a demon stood near, at whose sight I should have fallen into madness, if my master had not hastened to tranquillize and console me. Thus in many ways did the tempter persecute me in these years of youthful tenderness; and, O pious God, how many victories, how many crowns for victories should I this day merit, if I had immoveably persisted in combating him! I now suffer great sorrows from the jealousy and envy of others, who were angry at my sucess; and I was wearied by constant subtlety of inquisitions. I became so enraptured with the study of versification, that I neglected the serious things of the divine page for ridiculous vanity, and I even affected to write in the style of Ovid and the Bucolics,—so forgetful did my mind grow of the proper rigor, and of the monastic profession, only considering how I could imitate the writings of some poet, without ever considering to what distance this might lead me from the end of my holy order. In fine, such an effect had this lascivious literature upon my mind, that at last, from the abundance of the heart, the mouth began to speak, and I composed letters void of all honesty and moderation: this my deplorable state was divinely revealed in a dream to my master, who beheld an aged man, and heard him say, 'Give an account to me of the letters which have been composed, but the hand which wrote these letters is not his who wrote them;' the meaning of which words, my master and I easily conjectured, for they seemed to predict that my hand would not persevere in such compositions: and yet, O Lord, thou knowest how I did still continue secretly to write such poems, without daring to show them to any one, though sometimes I used to recite passages to my companions, and be overjoyed when they exalted them. For all this, O Father, thou didst punish me, visiting me with various sorrows and vexations of mind, and infirmities of body, and thus at length came that sword even to my soul. Having then felt the vanity of use-

less studies, I began, though late, to breathe after the commentaries on the sacred Scriptures, to which many good doctors had often endeavored to entice me. I now gave myself to the study of Gregory and of Anselm, that man of incomparable learning and most holy life, who knew me when a boy; and when he heard how my interior proceeded, used to teach me many things; and when he came to this monastery in which I resided, he so sedulously indulged me in the benefits of his erudition, that I seemed to be the sole cause of his having come to reside with us. In process of time, being exhorted by my abbot, I began to compose a commentary on Genesis; which work, whether it hath done service to any other, I know not, but this is certain, that it conferred no small benefit on me, by delivering me from the idleness which ministers to sin. I have besides written many other works, which I shall not enumerate, because I intend to exercise myself, as long as I live, in such exercises."*

How many curious facts might be elicited from this affecting description, given by Guibert of his early life, which would throw light upon the intellectual history of the middle ages, and confirm many of our former statements! but for such comments time is not allowed us.

The conversion of John Taulerus, which I shall next relate briefly, was, however, more remarkable. Born in 1294, he had embraced the Dominican order in the convent of Strasbourg, in which city and at Cologne he had preached with great fame, though being still far removed from the spirit of an interior life. His change was mysterious. He arrived at the age of fifty in 1346, when a simple laic of devout retired life was secretly warned to go to Cologne, a distance of fifteen leagues. He obeyed, arrived, heard Taulerus preach, and the spirit of God made him feel that it was to instruct this preacher that he had been called from his solitude. Accosting him he besought him to be his confessor. Taulerus consented. After three months, the penitent requested him to make a discourse on the means of attaining to perfection. The confessor was surprised at the demand, but he complied, and nothing could be nobler than the sermon which was the result. The laic at his next confession repeated it all word by word, and then asked him if he really felt that he possessed that humility, that purity of heart, and detachment from creatures; or if he, like a Pharisee, only pretended to have these graces. Taulerus, already humbled under the hand of God, opening his eyes to the divine light, heard him with respect and astonishment, and then said, 'Finish what you have begun, you know me better than I know myself; behold me in your hands and under your direction; you are my conductor and my master." Thus did this renowned doctor become the humble disciple of a poor peasant. The catechism or alphabet which he placed in his hands, to teach him the practice of whatever was most elevated in religion, has been published by Surius.† The laic, on seeing him well confirmed in his resolution, said that the will of

* De Vita Propria.

† Hist. Vit. Sublim. ex Surio.

God called him elsewhere; told him to refrain from preaching and from hearing confessions during two years, and to pass that time in solitude, studying the life and doctrine of Jesus Christ in his cell. "And now, my lord master," said he, "confiding in the divine assistance, persevere as you have begun, and resign yourself to God in all things with profound and true humility. Trust in God and expect his grace; and obey whatever He may prescribe, whether it be sweet or bitter. As for me, I beseech you, be not troubled that I can no longer remain with you;" and with these words he departed to his own country. The sacrifice thus imposed was immense; but Taulerus never hesitated to comply, giving up all the fruits of his ministry and his great reputation; for, in fact, it soon became the general opinion, that he had lost his senses, his best friends repeating what the Roman governor said to Paul, "Multæ te litteræ ad insaniam convertunt." At length, in 1348, the term of his retreat drew near its end. The church celebrated the conversion of St. Paul. He felt an extraordinary consolation: the laic returned and told him that the time for resuming his preaching was arrived. Taulerus announced that he would preach on the third day. Immense crowds assembled. He ascended the pulpit, and found himself unable to speak: he wept, but could not articulate a word. The people withdrew, saying, "Of a truth he is mad." The laic however returned to him, and suggested that the humiliation must have come from God. There was too much confidence in his first announcement. "Ask," he said, "permission after a lapse of five days, to preach in any obscure church of Cologne, or in your convent. Having obtained leave, his first sermon to the brethren filled them all with astonishment, and his second before the people, on the words, "Ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei," produced effects that would seem incredible, if they were not attested by eye-witnesses. In fine, through all the provinces of Germany, from the day of his conversion till his death, his preaching reaped innumerable souls, while his predictions as to the religious innovators who were to commence with Wickliffe, seem to warrant the opinion that his voice was miraculously prophetic.* When he foresaw his end to be near, he desired once more to see the mysterious laic; and on his arrival he put into his hands the history of his own conversion. "Do with it," said he, "what you please, only let not my name appear in it." "I have," replied the laic, "five of your sermons, written out as I heard you preach them: I can join them to these memoirs, so as to form a little book." Taulerus made signs of assent, and shortly after was seized with paralysis. He expired in his convent of Strasbourg, on the 17th of May, 1361, nine years after his happy conversion. Taulerus wrote only in German, and to Surius we owe the Latin translation of his works, which, Louis of Blois says, "alone are sufficient to refute all the heresies of these later times."†

One more instance let us mark, and then the chapter ends.

* Taul. Serm. Dom. Pri. Quad. 148.

† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. Dom. tom. ii. Liv. 12.

A wondrous conversion was that of John of Fano, provincial minister of the marshes, who, after being the bitter enemy of the Capuchins, and, like another Saul, in his attempts to extinguish that reform at its birth, became suddenly, in 1534, another Paul in regard to zeal and services for the same reformation. The origin of his change is thus related. Having been for some time considering the decayed state of his order, and the virtues ascribed to the new reformers, he called to mind the persecution he had exercised against them, and thought at times that he was called to judgment on account of it. While ruminating these things there arrived late one evening at his convent of Cingulo, over which he presided, two Capuchin friars drenched with rain, to whom the porter, with harsh words, refused a lodging. John, who was walking in the cloister next the gate, asked the porter who they were, and when he heard they were Capuchins, he ordered them to be admitted and received with kindness. So a fire being kindled, while they dried their habit, John considered within himself the rough mended stuff, recalling the ancient poverty of St. Francis, their cheerful faces, their humility, modesty, and simplicity. The sight affected him, as it did also the other brethren. After supper, when the others had retired to their separate cells, John alone remained with them, and began to inquire of them respecting the state of their reform and their mode of life. After they had explained every thing, he rose, broke an apple which he held in his hand into two parts, and gave it to them, saying, "Meanwhile, take this apple, brethren, graciously until you can receive myself more happily." In brief, the whole community resolved to migrate to the Capuchins, but each had only ventured to disclose his wish to one especial friend. John of Fano had deliberated with Eusebius of Ancona, general of the Capuchins, and each of the brethren having taken similar precautions with respect to himself, while each supposed that there was only one friend privy to his design, it so happened that all set out in one night, though at different hours, taking the road to Rome, so that there remained in the convent only one old layman and a companion. It is said that they all met together before the gate of the convent of St. Euphemia, where they were received with joy, and admitted into the order.*

But we have already overpassed our limits in remaining with the convertites. Our guide proposes to introduce us now to the community at large; as it is important that we should observe the peculiar features of the monastic character, concerning which there are at present such contradictory opinions. Modern sophists, when alluding to the religious orders, are fond of designating them contemptuously as "a race." Well, be it so. Let us observe then by what traits of instinct, if you will, it was principally distinguished.

* Annal. Capucinorum, 1534.

CHAPTER XIV.

WHOEVER is conversant with the different estates that spring from the different duties in human life, needs not to be told that there are intellectual and external features appropriate to all, in forming which nature, that is, the seal to mortal wax, doth well her art. The pacific inhabitants of the cloister, perhaps above all others, were subject to the influence of a peculiar mould from which no disposition could very long escape; and our object now must be to ascertain what fruits were the result.

It has been said that one should have past five years in tilling the ground to understand the Georgics of Virgil, and twenty years in the management of affairs to see one's way clearly through the epistles of Cicero: but to comprehend and taste the monastic attributes pourtrayed in the living book, a much shorter interval spent in intercourse with those who wore the cowl will prove sufficient; as every one must feel assured who, like the Author of the pages, has seen monks with his own eyes, and conversed with them as familiarly as with other men.

A sweet and natural simplicity, including all that was gracious in Homeric manners, may be noted as the first effect of embracing that monastic rule which rectifies in men whatever the world made crooked and depraved. "If you wish to have rest in the order," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "its simplicity will suffice to you."* "Simple is the way of the Lord," says Fulbert of Chartres, "and he who walks with simplicity walks securely."† "You will be simple," says the monastic guides with St. Augustin, "if you do not involve yourself in the world, but extricate yourself from it. By extricating yourself from it you will be simple; by involving yourself you will be double." "Now," says St. Gregory, truth, which is simple, does nothing by duplicity."‡ Therefore Bona counts among the marks of being led by a divine and not any other spirit, "that love of simplicity which is unknown to the lovers of the world."§ The Benedictines pray expressly for this gift in their hymn for Lauds on the fifth feria: for, in allusion to the golden light of morning, the words are these—

"Hæc lux serenum conferat,
Purosque nos præstet sibi:

* Lib. vi. l. † Fulb. Epist. 27. ‡ Hom. 22. § De Discretione Spirituum, 8.

Nihil loquamur subdolum,
Volvamus obscurum nihil."

The monks, in fact, brought the simplicity of truth into the paths of life, where it was found as becoming in actions as in words. Nothing required them to depart from it; for "a simple and obedient brother," says the ascetic, "without many arguments and learned discourses, can come to the kingdom of heaven with a safe conscience, and escape the eternal torment of hell."* Savanorola philosophizes on this theme, and distinguishes, as theologians say, for he speaks thus: "Spiritual and moral simplicity renders us most resembling God; and in proportion as we have this simplicity, our science, and prudence, and wisdom, are increased, as is also our similarity to God. The true Christian loves and embraces moreover exterior simplicity according to his degree, the wants of which are to be estimated according to Christian simplicity; for all the works of nature are simple and yet unequal; and in like manner all exterior works of the Christian are simple but yet different, according as the state and condition of each requires: for man being a civil and social animal, there must be among such a multitude a difference of office and degree."† Such were the principles or the general ideas. Now let us look at the facts that were combined with them.

The character invariably ascribed to monks when not degenerate, is that attributed in the most ancient of books to the great Oriental prince, Job. "Erat vir ille simplex et rectus, ac timens Deum, et recedens a malo." Thus, "To Odo the second, abbot of Cluny, succeeded Heymandus, of happy memory, a child of innocence and blessed simplicity," says St. Odilo‡ Speaking of the blessed Maiolus, the fourth abbot of that house, the same saint says, "He preferred to syllogisms and rhetoric, and all the wisdom of all the philosophers, the practice of Apostolic simplicity, saying with Paul, 'Ego enim didici, in quibus sum sufficiens; scio et humiliari, scio et abundare. Omnia possum in eo qui me confortat.' As is said of Moses, he was loved by God and men, and therefore his memory is in benediction."§ Of St. Adalhard, abbot of Corby, Paschasius Radbert says, "There was in his breast nothing but a fountain of truth. Wondrous was his simplicity; if you looked at him attentively, you discerned in him a mind impressed with the zeal of Christ. Therefore in no respect could he ever be corrupted."‖ The very tombs of monks attest this trait in their character. The inscription over Pierre de Saux, abbot of St. Victor at Paris, in the cloister of the abbey of Livry at Saux, who died in 1383, began with these words—

"Hic jacet in tumbâ simplex humilisque columba."¶

To estimate this grace rightly, we should observe that it was a virtue of which the possessor was so little conscious, that he might have truly said with the

* Thom. à Kemp. Serm. i. 5. † De Simpliciate Vitæ Christianæ, ii. 4. iii. 6.
‡ Bibliotheca Cluniacens. 269. § Ibid.
‖ Vita S. Adal. Mabil. Acta. S. O. Ben. iv. 1 ¶ Lebœuf, ix. 313.

patriarch, "Etiam si simplex fuero hoc ipsum ignorabit anima mea:" for there was no sophistical affectation under the cowl; so that if a philosopher had come to the monks, and, as Socrates acted with the poets, had asked them concerning the science of their art, with their books before them, however he might be ashamed to relate it, the truth would be that he would find every one present able to discourse better concerning what they had done than they were themselves, and therefore he would be driven to draw the same conclusion in their regard, *οτι οὐ σοφίᾳ ποιοῖεν ἃ ποιοῖεν, ἀλλὰ φυσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες ωσπερ οἱ θεομάντεις καὶ οἱ χρησμῳδοί· καὶ γάρ ουτοι λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἴσασι δὲ οὐδὲν ὧν λέγουσι.**

And now, pausing for a moment, who can remark without delight this feature in the monastic character? Menedemus used to say of those who flocked to Athens, "that at first they became sophists, then philosophers, then rhetoricians, and at last, like other men, *ἰδιώτας*; because, in proportion as they became conversant with reason, they laid aside pride and affectation." Estimating the monks then by this rule of Plutarch, it is clear what a progress they must have made in virtue. Their very manner indeed proclaims it; for, as Malebranche observes, "All the different airs of men of different conditions are only the natural results of the esteem which each person entertains for himself in regard to others. Fierceness and brutality indicate the man who esteems himself greatly and despises others; modesty is the air of a man who esteems himself but little and others more; gravity is that of one who esteems himself very much and who desires to be so esteemed; the simple air is that of one who does not think much either about himself or others."† Their neglected habit, which, according to the rule of St. Francis, should be mended with patches when torn, was no less significative. "One time Walter, the abbot of Villers, received a new habit, and some of his friends remarking that it was very handsome, he threw it into some water, and would not wear it until it had lost all its freshness."‡

This monastic simplicity exercised an influence beyond the cloister, and imparted an air of candor to social intecourse in general, which is now more rare, since men are become political and tortuous, and cunning.§ That simple and open virtue has given place to an obscure and cautious art; so that what Fulbert of Chartres praises with such feeling as "angelic hilarity with monastic simplicity,"‖ would be disdained by our philosophic spies who visit cloisters, as betraying a want of education, or perhaps an inherent vulgarity of mind. Montaigne, speaking of the simplicity of Socrates, makes a remark that would be still more true at present. "If," he says, "any thing like this were to rise up now, there are but few men who would know how to appreciate it! we can discern only the graces that are pointed, exaggerated, and stuffed-out artificially; those which flow under

* Apol. 23.

† Recherche de la Verité, Lib. ii. c. 6.

‡ Hist. Mon. Vill. 5. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii. § Drexel. de Univers. Vitiis Linguæ, 2.

‖ Epist. lxvi.

artlessness and simplicity easily escape a rude sense like ours; these have a delicate and secret beauty; and the sight must be clear and piercing to discover its gentle light."* Again, cheerfulness and good-humor were prominent features of the monastic character. "Qui inveniunt pacis consilia, sequitur eos gaudium," saith the divine text; and the monks as truly pacific verified it. They were gracefully-minded men. Their words, their looks, bespoke content, and hope, and gladness. Thus a modern traveller, speaking of his visit to the Grande Chartreuse, says, "You would have been both charmed and surprised with the cheerful resignation that appeared in their countenances, and with the easy turn of their conversation:"† a grace which monks of the middle ages could recognize, as where Trithemius praises the charming and polished diction of the holy man Berthold of St. Blase in the Black Forest. Michelet is of opinion that the refinement of French breeding before the revolution may partly have arisen from the monastic influence. The flower of delicacy, the exquisite politeness which were found in the parlors of the convents, contributed, he thinks, not a little to forming the tone of manners in society. The Abbot Gasper Jongelinus, the historian of the Cistercian order, expressly claims to himself, as observant of the rule of ancient manners, the permission to indulge in words of gaiety—

"Innocuos censura potest permittere lusus."‡

St. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, says, "That with St. Bernard he can joke, but that he might fear to jest with others lest he should seem to them to depart from gravity and incur vanity; but with St. Bernard he fears no such charges. Therefore, united in charity, he finds it delightful always to converse with him, enjoying and preserving the sweetness of affection with playful words."§

Kindness and the most benign gentleness towards all men formed another characteristic of the cloistral school, recognized even by writers who seldom favor it; as where Michelet says that the chief features of monastic life, from the sixth to the eighteenth century, were sweetness, innocence, and rectitude of intention. But it will be asked, How should the love of men be a particular characteristic of monks? Are not persons in the world similarly benevolent? Those who know them well, we may reply, seem to doubt it. Boyle says, that, "if all men, at all times, spoke their minds freely, and did not soften one another by concealing their mutual dislikes and dissents by certain outward expressions of kindness or respect, made by compliments and gestures, men have so many imperfections, and withal so much self-love, that scarce any two of them would endure one another."‖ Now, the monks required men to conceal nothing; and yet they esteemed them still: for in all, whatever might be their faults, they could discern some root of goodness, some ground for palliation, and much to love. But were not the secular clergy also beinign Truly they were: still there was something undefinable in

* Essais, iii. 12. † Beckford. ‡ Notit. Abb. Ord. Cist. Lib. iii. 68. § S. Bern. Epist. 239.
‖ Reflections.

the monastic manner more expressive than theirs,—Something which rendered it impossible for any one while observing it to repeat, with a shadow of pretext, the exclamation of Dryden, "How are things ordered, that the wicked should appear more kind and gentle than the good!" The type of monks, with all our old English writers, not excluding even the dramatists of the Elizabethan age,—as Massinger, Ford, and, above all, Shakspeare,—is that of universal, adorable benevolence. "Sweetness, peace, charity, liberality to the poor, and, above all, piety towards our Lord Jesus Christ, are arms which every brother must assume," says St. Anthony, in his first discourse to the monks. "Gravity, sweetness, and humility," says St. Bonaventura, "constitute the grace of monastic manners: gravity renders religious men venerable, and worthy of respect; sweetness, amiable and deserving of love; humility, exemplary, objects of imitation."* "There are some men," he says elsewhere, "who never feel moved with affection for strangers, reserving, such sentiments only for those with whom they are acquainted by daily intercourse,—whom they love, not because they are men, but because they are known to them; but such piety is not the gift of the Holy Ghost."† This love of men as men,—the constant desire like that which St. Clement of Alexandria says is the wish of highest God, "to save the whole human race,"‡ the hatred of the perfect, as when David says, "Perfecto odio oderam illos;" which, as Peter of Blois says, "consisting in loving the sinner, as the image of God, while hating the sin,"§—such were the fruits of the cloistral discipline: and hence the monk was always affectionate in look and tender in address, as well became a messenger of grace to sinful men. This explains that passage of an English writer, where, speaking of the accumulation of lands in churchman's, hands, he says, "the nation apprehended that the engaging behavior of the mendicants would still add to the inconvenience."‖ Alas! it is not exactly in the engaging manners of the proprietors who drove them out that the same nation now finds grounds of complaint. But the danger then might be imagined; for engaging truly were monastic manners; so that monks were dear, not alone to the aged and experienced, but even to children—

> "——and children know,
> Instinctive taught, the friend and foe."

How loving and warm-hearted were these holy men! "Strangers and foes do sunder and not kiss," would be their salutation: "for why," they would add playfully, "should a man whose blood is warm within sit like his grandsire cut in alabaster?" Never any thing can be amiss when simpleness and duty tender it. The monks loved those who came across their path, with that excellence that angels love good men with. They loved their beauty; as when Dionysius

* De. Reformat. Hom. Exter. c. xvi † De Septem Don. Spirit. i. ‡ Protrepticus, x.
§ De Charitate Dei et Prox. 38 ‖ Dodd.

the Carthusian, after observing generally, that "in this life we see the beauty of God in all creatures, in roses and lilies and other flowers; in herbs, in the shade of groves, in the elegance of trees, in the amenity of fields, in the height of mountains, in fountains, lakes, rivers, and streams, in the beauty of animals, and, above all, in that of men," adds "if God has chosen to place such beauty in some countenances, that we seek with great desire to behold them, and gaze upon them with such delight that we can hardly be satiated or fatigued, or perceive the flight of time, how beautiful is God!"* Back from their presence the cold and formal! Was there mention made of some fancy of an unfledged comrade? They were the first to cry,—

> "Hold it a fashion and a toy in blood,
> A violet in the youth of primy nature,
> Forward, not permanent;
> The perfume and suppliance of a minute.—
> No more———."

Hugo of St. Victor distinguishes expressly "the play of boyhood, of simplicity and innocence, from an illusion of mind, from persecution and death."† The monks knew what became their order, and also what became others who had duties to fulfil in social life. They would have man simple, affectionate, magnanimous. All their praises were reserved for him when he appeared "natural, vigorous, and elastic; such as Poetry saw him first, such as Poetry would ever see him."‡ Within the cloister too, all shrouded as he stands in robe majestic, we have him before us in his own features, in his own dimensions; neither cramped by systems, nor jaundiced by schools. "It is a great gift of God to have a magnanimous heart," says Antonio de Guevara, speaking not as conscious of having in his veins the most noble blood of all Castile; but as a friar of St. Francis.

The moderns, when it is a question of observing monks, have the defective vision which distinguishes some nations generally, to whom the power of correctly drawing the human figure is denied. A cowl or cord of holy Francis seems to have the power of distorting the conjoined image on their retina; so that many, misled by their report, will be suprised to hear that monasteries contained men whose countenance and form corresponded to this nobleness of the heart within. Yet such was the fact. The monk was often like the Homeric hero,—

> ——— ὃς ἄριστος ἔην εἶδός τε δέμας τε
> τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν———.§

"If I were to desire to praise the beauty of his person and countenance from his boyhood," says Paschasius of St. Adalhard, "I could not do it justice; but doubtless all flesh is as grass, and all its glory like the flower of grass; but the virtue of Christ, which always flourished in him, remains for ever." Peter

* De Venustate Mundi, 22. † De Claustro Animæ, v. 18. ‡ Landor. § xxiv. 17.

abbot of Mount-Cassino, a monk from a child, and of the most holy manners, was of such an angelic countenance and majestic air, that when the Emperor Henry came to that house he was so struck that the chronicler of the abbey thought it proper to record it.* In ascribing this sweet and tender disposition to the monks as fulfilling the type of their institution, we have not been separating ideas from facts, indulging in empty speculations and a disregard of truth. Let the following illustrations serve to convince the reader. Of Notker Balbulus we read expressly, that "he desired to lead a life of celibacy on earth, and preserve fraternal love for all men; rather than, with an eye of suspicion, to cherish partialities and hatred."† To Notker Labeo we find this testimony: "Nostræ memoriæ hominum doctissimus et benignissimus."‡ Bertram, abbot of St. Godehard, in Hildesheim, was never approached by any one, says a monastic historian, though it was only a poor boy or a rustic, but he stretched out his right hand to take his.§ Of blessed Berthold, the first abbot of Garsten, an old writer says, "he was of such simplicity, that he used to speak to little boys as if they were old men, and used to win them so."‖ Benignity is the prominent feature in the character of Erluin, abbot of Gemblou, in the time of King Otho, as described in verse:

"Sincero Dominum corde sequi studuit.
Quam patiens, et quam dulcis, quantumque benignus
Alloquio blandus, mira gravitate modestus:
Mitis erat cunctis, suavis, pius,——
Quem mœstum vidit, quem tristem, quemque dolentem
Affatu dulci mœrentia pectora mulcens:"¶

as also in that of Halynardus, abbot of St. Benign, in the tenth century, who "discharged every office with zeal and gentleness, giving no offences to any one, that his ministry should not be blamed."** If St. Bonaventura ever saw any one sad, he could never rest till he had consoled him, and made him joyous.††

"He knew his soothing words to weave with skill;
Of all my madness told;
Then slowly from my brain the darkness roll'd,
My thoughts their due array did re-assume,
Thro' the enchantments of that hermit old;
——Now cheeringly,
Though he said little, did he speak to me,—
'It is a friend beside thee,—take good cheer;
Poor victim, thou art now at liberty!'"

* Lib. ii. chap. xcii.
† Eckehard, Min. de Vit. Notk. Balb.
‡ Chron. Hepidanni ad an. 1022.
§ Bodonis Cron. ap. Leibnitz, ii.
‖ Vita ejus ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
¶ Libel. de Gestis Abbat. Gemblacensium, ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vi.
** Chron. S. Ben. ap. Dacher. s. i.
†† Wadding, iii.

Thus did the monk practice the precept of St. Columban, "Pro misero miserans lacrymas effunde sodali." *

Let us hear the friar speak, in his sweet simple way. "St. John slept on the bosom of Jesus before he wrote his Gospel," says the Franciscan, Antonio de Guevara, "whence we may collect that we shall learn more secrets sleeping near our Lord, than studying in all the schools of the world. The science we learn depends on the school where we study. I say this from experience; for in the school of the world I only learned to play the fool; in that of Satan I only learned malevolence; in that of the flesh I only learned to sin; in that of men I only learned to hate; but in thine, O my God! I have only learned to love. In this wretched world the moment that a poor sinner falls, he is detested and shunned by all, as if no one else was accustomed to sin; but I assure you, if all those who have sinned, and who glory in having sinned, were dead, there would be no occasion to build many houses, nor to sow much corn. But it is not so in the house of God; for what was snuffed used to be placed in basins of gold, to show that we ought not immediately to defame the sinner; for if God, who is the most injured, pardons, it is not reasonable that another great sinner should condemn his brother. This is the difference between serving God and the world; that in the house of the world many services are forgotten for one offence, and that in the house of God many offences are pardoned for one service."† Then preaching before the emperor, Charles V., in Lent, on the conversion of the good thief, after remarking that he remained three hours on the cross, and Judas three years in the apostleship, he exclaims, "O secret judgments of God! that, after thirty years spent wickedly in the world, this thief should satisfy God in the three hours that he was good upon the cross, and that these three hours should serve him more instead than three years of apostleship served Judas. Truly in the house of God good thieves receive more honor than bad emperors. What faith was here! Faith had Abraham, but it was when God spoke to him from heaven: faith had Isaac, but it was from having seen God in his majesty: faith had Moses, but it was from the vision of the burning bush: faith had Ezechiel, but it was from having seen God surrounded with seraphim; whereas this good thief saw no miracles, and yet believed, calling him Lord whom he saw upon the cross: and how wondrous was his reward! for we daily see men rob in childhood, in youth, in old age, and even to the gibbet; but only of this thief do we read that he robbed on the gibbet, and what he took was the kingdom of heaven. O good Jesus, O love of my soul, if you permit me with such a thief to be a thief, I promise and swear to steal not an apple like Adam, nor idols like Rachel, nor a flask like David, nor a golden rod like Achior, nor grapes like the men of Moses, but thyself, Lord; for having found such a booty, was this thief made for ever happy. Cain offered to God fruits, Abel lambs, Noah sheep, Abr ham pigeons, Moses

* S. Columbani Carmen Monostichon, ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. i. † Lib. ii.

incense, David gold, Jephtha his daughter, and Aaron his son, but the good thief offered his own heart; so that no one should marvel that I magnify him thus. For if I am asked what did he offer, I will demand in my turn what did he reserve? He that was of old called the God of vengeance, is now named the Father of Mercies, and indeed justly; since he pardoned St. Matthew his publican manners, the Magdalen her vanities, the Samaritan her adulteries, the thief his robberies, St. Peter his denials and the Jews his death. O good Jesus, O love of my soul, let me ever remember that thy Father is no longer called the God of vengeance, but that Father of mercies is now, and ever shall be henceforward his name."

All persons conversant with the monastic character will admit that one can recognize it in every line of this passage. Had I not reason then to say that monks were skilled to cherish the love of men, whatever might be their faults? In regard to persons who were obnoxious to censure, it was expressly prescribed to them to show indulgence and liberality.

"When the brethren go forth, two by two, from the convent," says the rule of the Minims, "and see men clothed in soft raiment, and feasting delicately, they must not despise nor judge them, but let each one judge himself."*

A minor friar, who used to commend himself to the prayers of every one, met a woman, who was a sinner, at the city gate, and asked her to pray for him. "Father," she said," how can the prayers of such a woman as myself profit you?" "Nevertheless," he replied, "pray for me, such as you are, and perchance your prayer will profit both you and me." She was converted by these words; she rose up contrite, confessed her sins, and led a holy life ever afterwards.† "Let us attend to the judgment of the love and promise of God,"said that friar with St. Augustin; "What is the earnest we have received? We hold the death of Christ: we hold the blood of Christ. For whom is he dead? For the good, for the just? Nay, Christ died for sinners. Let human fragility take courage then: let it not despair."‡ Every fibre of spiritual pride was eradicated from the heart of monks. The personal humility which breathes in their looks breaks out where one might least look for it, as may be witnessed in the prologue to the chronicle of Bohemia by Neplacho, abbot of Opatovic, which is most affecting from the earnestness with which he prays for spiritual illumination.§ How well the cloister was guarded from this insidious enemy may be learned from the work of St. John of the Cross, on the obscure night of the soul; in which he alludes to "those novices who receive impressions of a secret pride from things holy and divine; judging others in their heart; being animated by a malignant spirit to good actions, in order to become more proud, eager to meet with persons who will praise them, and abhorring like death all who seem to regard them with indifference.‖

* Regula Min. xi. † Wadding, tom. viii. ‡ In Ps. 148. § Ap. Pez. Rer. Aust. Script. 11. ‖ Lib. i. c. 2.

St. Bonaventura shows that when monks hear other persons calumniated, they are to speak in their defence, and never to sanction such conversation.* "It is a thing full of peril," they say, with Peter of Blois, "to entertain any sinister suspicion against a man; therefore, the apostle to the Romans says, 'Infirmum in fide assumite, non in disceptationibus cogitationum.' "† A certain Spanish nobleman drew on himself a letter of reproach from the Franciscan, Antonio de Guevara, for having, as the friar says, unbaptized a recent convert, pretending that he was a counterfeit. "Certes, seignior, you acted neither as a knight, nor a courtier, nor a Christian, in styling the other day Cidy Abdicarin 'moor and miscreant.' What, are you the God of whom the prophet says, 'Scrutans corda et renes?' to discover that this convert is not a true Christian? In all things external he appears as good a Christian as yourself; and be assured that God alone can determine who will be saved and who lost." This was enforcing the lesson taught by St. Jerome, who, when certain objectors were for fastening a sense to his words, which he disavowed, replied that he preferred the negligence of the old Christians to the obscure diligence of such censors.‡ The pacific atmosphere of monasteries was not favorable to the latter, as Abeillard found, happily for himself, when he was sent to make a retreat in the abbey of St. Medard, where the monks evinced such displeasure at the narrow jealousies of the half-learned, who were for detecting error in all his words; and at the present day one finds no where men more truly liberal and delicate in their judgment than in monasteries, where the desire ever is to give to all men honor, and to genius and merit of any kind, though in avowed adversaries, whatever praise may be its due. The monastic writings abound with instances of this liberality; but I shall only cite the single example of Sigebert of Metz, who in the tenth century was a light not only to monks but to all the clergy, who flocked to him from every side. "His memory is still sweet," says an historian, "to many who remember his wisdom. He was most dear, not only to the Christians but also to the Jews of that city, because he was able to distinguish the Hebraic truth from other additions: and to what they said according to the Hebraic truth he would always assent. Upon coming to Gemblou he freely instructed many, who came to him, of his elders and superiors in dignity. This prudent man, while of much gravity, was not of indiscreet austerity, but was to all, as things demanded, of discreet moderation; for the reading and meditation of the divine Scripture greatly occupied him; and yet the daily celebration of mass and devout prayer to God were his first concern."§

The monks were accustomed to the hand, in the sense ascribed to the word mansuetus by St. Bernardine of Sienna; "accustomed to suffer, not rendering evil for evil." They had that mildness of heart in which he makes beatitude to con-

* Speculum Novitiorum, 32. † Epist. xlv. ‡ Apol. Epist. xxx.
§ De Gestis Abbat. Gembl. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vi.

sist, their maxim being always that of St. Augustin, "Melius est dubitare de occultis, quam litigare de incertis." St. Thomas says this meekness prepares man for the knowledge of God, and, as Touron observes, "when he wrote those words he had had a long experience of their truth." Hear how the monk of St. Gall, Notker Balbulus, is described: "The meekness of men, in gentleness of spirit, and in peace of heart always walking."* One of the three Notkers of St. Gall being deficient in regard to this monastic feature, though one of the greatest men of his age, has nevertheless, in consequence, come down to us stigmatized with a reproachful epithet.† He had been seen angry. It is almost needless to add that the monastic meekness has always struck observers when they visited a convent. The same traveller I lately cited remarks, that in the manners of the monks of the Grande Chartreuse there was a mixture of dignity and humility which could not fail to interest. Mabillon says that he published the account of his travels in Germany, "non sine aliquo pudore;" adding, "Neque enim ii sumus, quorum facta vel itinera reipublicæ litterariæ scire intersit;"‡ and Trithemius apologizes for writing his own life by saying, that "there are many things he has suffered, of which the memory can produce a contempt for the world and a desire of dissolution from this prison of the body."§ In the monastic humility there was something mysterious, and no one could deceive or imitate it without possessing it. One evening St. Benedict was taking his repast, and a certain noble youth stood holding a candle before him. The saint knew that this youth secretly murmured, as if disdainful of such service; so he said to him, "Signa cor tuum frater, signa cor tuum:" then he ordered the light to be taken out of his hand, and desired him to sit down in peace.‖ In general their whole style savors of men who, at the elevation, kiss the pavement of the church.

But it will be said perhaps, the monk after all, generally speaking, is not a learned man of letters: he is not distinguished as an author or an orator. Probably not. But, without alluding here to the facts which demonstrate that the contrary was often true, let us take occasion to show how this very observation, which may seem to furnish ground for disdaining monks, ought to be turned to their praise. For, supposing that the type in general was that expressed by Villani, the historian, where he says "he was a man of good life and little knowledge," whether, because he receives no consolation of science but from God, will he remain without consolation and inglorious? Is it a small glory that he has the knowledge of truth and love, and the will to die for them?¶ You say he is ignorant of literature. Louis of Blois would not abandon his defence on that ground, but would reply, "Utilis satis est simplicitas, per quam melius conservatur humilitas." "It may be often doubted," says Cardan, "whether erudition conduces to happiness;"** and as often whether it tends to promote wisdom or goodness. It

* Eckehard, Prol. in Vit. ejus. † Piperis-Granum. ‡ Vet. Analect. iv.
§ Trithem. Nepiachus, ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, 11. ‖ Chron. Casinens.
¶ Nieremberg. Doct. Ascet. iv. 7. ** De Sapientia, Lib. ii.

is not knowledge that makes men happy; it is the quality, the subjective state or knowledge. "Knowledge and wisdom," says the poet, "far from being one, have ofttimes no connection;" and it was an observation of the ancien that man might be φιλόβιβλος μαλλον ἢ φιλόσοφος.*

"A multifarious reading, tasted at the edge of the lips," says Wibald, abbot of Corby, "pleases, but does not feed the mind. There is a certain avarice in science by which also our first parents were tempted. 'Eritis sicut dii, scientes bonum et malum.' Many things are learned, not that we may become better, but prouder."† "For the sake of guarding humility," says Eckehard Minimus, dean of St. Gaul, speaking of the monk of that abbey, Notker Balbulus, "though he was most learned and profound in science, he always applied more to the Psalter than to other books." Many instances can show how well the monks were read to reason against reading. "The highest wisdom," says Peter of Blois, "is not to read Plato, nor to disengage the subtleties of Aristotle, but to love Christ, to serve Christ, and in this most grateful and fruitful service willingly, efficaciously, faithfully, and finally, to remain. Thus did and taught Paul; thus did and taught Bernard; of whose science you must be imitators, if you would share in the beatitude."§ The Master of the Sentences speaks to the same effect, saying, "There are some things of which the knowledge does not bring, nor the ignorance prevent salvation; and perhaps ignorance of such things is no defect."‖

There is a peace resulting from science, a false peace, which the discipline of true peace would discountenance; such is the calm and self-content of those engaged in mere human sciences, without a divine direction; as when Ulysses came to the Syrens, who promised knowledge. Homer says that immediately the winds ceased, and that there was a great calm, and that the demon pacified the waves.¶ Thus does he appease the workings of the troubled mind, by promising natural truth. But the monks knew that the true peace could only be found in that wisdom which is sanctification and redemption; following St. Paul, who knew nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified; for all other wisdom without that they knew to be "inflation and perdition, a school of which they could not be disciples."**

Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, gives a letter to a monk who was about to travel, in order that he may present it to those who might require his testimonials; in which, after begging that favor may be shown him, he adds this testimony "For though he is ignorant of letters, the commandments of God, which he does not read in a book, he shows in his words, so as to merit from all with whom he converses not alone love but veneration."††

Now this is the type of the monastic character, when void of learning. Let us beg to be presented to some who realize it. "Here is our Gerard, then," says

* Strabo, Lib. xiii. † Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ii.
‡ Lib. de Vit. B. Notkeri, 25. ap. Goldast. i. 11. § Sermo. liii. ‖ Lib. iii. Dist. 15.
¶ xii. 167. ** Pet. Bles. Serm. liii. †† Lupi Epist. 107.

a monk of Cluny, "born, indeed, not of the most noble parents, and not in imbued with letters, but that there are many more learned than he; but I know no man of such faith. It is now thirty years since he built a small monastery in his native viliage and dedicated it to St. Mary of Charity, being on the public way, no mortal passes by who, however he may dissemble, does not experience that Gregorian precept,* 'Quod hospites non solum sunt invitandi sed etiam trahendi,'"† "Lately," says Peter of Blois, "I saw a brother of the Carthusian order, Gerard by name, who above all things had desired to die for the last seven years, saying always with the prophet, 'Educ, Domine, de carcere animam meam.' His wish was to be dissolved and be with Christ. While he used to sleep, he passed the night in prayer and weeping, longing after eternal things; and though a laic and illiterate, he had written in his heart by the finger of God the science of life. He would answer concerning the articles of the Christian faith no less circumspectly than if he had spent a great part of his life in the schools of Paris. He was of a truth a condisciple of the Apostles, and of him who said, 'De excelso misit Dominus ignem in ossibus meis, et erudivit me.' Ah! how truly learned and wise was he! What did the windy loquacity of worldly philosophy profit Aristotle and his followers? Inflated with secular science, they knew not the God of Sabaoth. Let my wisdom and philosophy therefore be the philosophy of brother Gerard, who had nothing in his mouth and in his heart but Christ Jesus. Let my philosophy be the philosophy of Paul, who affirmed that he knew nothing but Jesus Christ, and Him crucified."‡ Speaking of Father Euthyme, the abbot of La Trappe says, Although he had never studied nor received any tincture of letters, yet he had so solid a judgment and so quick a discernment, and God had given him so much grace and light, that he knew perfectly the whole depth and extent of his profession; and as he had a right heart and a right will, and as he loved Jesus Christ with an ardent love, so did he serve him for a guide. 'Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum.'"§

Neither the wisdom, then, nor the goodness of monks were compromised by such deficiency. Goldast, in the dedication of his collection of old German historians, written by the monks of St. Gaul, uses these remarkable words, "The materials are good, if the workmen should not be great artists, yet are they, I believe, excellent in piety, if less so in regard to letters; nor do I think that nay one can be found so ignorant of all things, who would not study to be rather better than more learned from these books, to acquire good morals rather than elegance of diction, to correct vices rather than expressions. Truly we might desire in the words of Plautus a return of their ancient manners; but some one perhaps will exclaim, 'What manners? Do you desire monastic manners, which all these writers instil, who cannot even teach us to approximate to prudence? The gods

* Greg. Hom. 23. in Ev.
† Antiq. Consuet. Clun. Epist. Nuncupat.
‡ Compend. in Job. c. v.
§ Relations de la Mort de quelques Rel. ii. 152.

avert such madness!' If prudence be the ability which can by reason distinguish good from evil, truly such objectors, if they choose, may take examples from these writers. 'But they were abbots!' What then, has it escaped their observation, that in the whole action and administration of empire abbots flourished among the princes of the same empire?"*

Carden himself, we may infer, would give the palm to monks rather than to the philosophers; for he says, "No one of these made men perfectly good, but the law of Christ alone makes them good."† And that, too, without other learning; when they were ready to say, "Let us be ignorant, and in nothing good, but graciously to know we are no better." "A pacific man," says the sage of cloisters, "is more useful than a learned man." And the same observation was made by the father of the scholastic philosophy, St. Anselm, who says that "God often works more by the life of the illiterate seeking the things which are God's, than by the ability of the learned seeking the things which are their own."‡ On the other hand, we must not suffer the simplicity and humility of the religious to lead us into error, as to the extent of their attainments. We must remember that theirs was what Horace calls "the secret tracks of the deceiving life."

"Secretum iter et fallentis semita vitæ."

The poet calls "deceiving the world," the wise and happy life of those who live and die so obscurely that the world takes no notice of them. "Bene qui latuit bene vixit." But it does not follow that their secrecy was uninformed. Each monastery, like Rome at the present day, had its mute sages; for the maxim of the monks was, that "wisdom is of use to him who possesses it, even if it be hidden from others."§ Carden surrounded with monks, found that the name of philosophy was sacred; but they had taught him this lesson, that "the thing necessary was not publicly to profess, but to show one's self wise, and not so much in studies as in actions; not to wish to overturn laws, to seduce the people, to contend with the ignorant, to take glory by teaching, but to be wise in secret, to lie hidden, and to trust in just deeds."‖ Monks, when obliged by charity to express their sense, spoke not that their hearer should bear a good opinion of their knowledge, neithter did they labor for a greater esteem than might in some measure draw a belief from him to do himself good, and not to grace them. Petrus Sutorus shows that the Carthusians do not even desire canonization, all their labor and intention being to become holy in the sight of God.¶ Wadding observes that the seniors of the Franciscan family cared for nothing less than for gaining renown by the deeds of their predecessors:** and Touron complains of the extreme negligence in all ages of the Dominicans to collect and transmit to posterity

* Alemannic. Rer. Script Ded. † De Utilitate ex Advers. Lib. ii. c. 14. ‡ Epist Lib. ii. 84.
§ Pet. Sutorus, De Vita Carthusiana, ii. 11. 4. ‖ De Utilitate ex. Advers. Cap. Lib. ii. c. 14.
¶ De Vita Carthus. ii. i. iii. 6. ** Epist. ad Lector.

what would have conferred honor on their order.* See how careless monks were of fame. In the eighth century, in France, Prince Charles, surnamed Tudides, had for his confessor a monk of Corby, named Martin, who encouraged him to make a holy death. Mabillon complains that in the annals of the Francs he is only designated by these words, "Anno DCCXXVI. Martinus mortuus est;" and Adrian Valesius condemns this negligence andobscurityof the Benedictine annalists, who seem to have supposed that posterity could divine what they meant. Mabillon, in the course of his elaborate researches, made the discovery of this Martin from an ancient manuscript in the library of an abbey, in which he read as follows: "Anno DCCXXVI. Martinus mortuus est. Fuit autem Monachus in Corbeïa, vir vitæ continentissimæ et adprimè eruditus, quem Karolus Duxin summa veneratione habuit, et peccata sua ei confitebatur."†

The supposition that men can be philosophers without being authors, seems inadmissible to our men of letters, who, if they had been contemporaries with Pilate, would not have left him the monopoly of writing in the days of the Church's greatest sorrow: but they should recollect that Pythagoras wrote nothing; for it was from memory that Lysis and Archippus composed a sum of his philosophy after his death; that Thales probably wrote nothing, and that Socrates never committed his thoughts to writing: which facts are remarked by St. Augustin, in answer to the pagans, when they objected that Christ had not written. "Authors are defective, like all artists," says Novalis, "and only more stubborn than others. Among authors by profession there are few liberal men, especially when they have no other subsistence but their writing."‡ Cardan, who had deep thoughts, seemed sometimes ashamed of having been an author; for he says, "After supper such a hatred seized me of my own books, as well as of others, that I cannot bear to think of them or to behold them."§ Monks were not always authors; but their intelligence was able to divine and feel the force of the old Spanish maxim, that truths fine-spun, in retailing of which so much of authorship consists are fooleries. They were not always men of genius; but when they were, they knew that the good lives of their less able brethren evinced the best genius. They were not like the sentimentalists, who write so fervently on æsthetics or the poetic beauties of religion, without ever imagining that it should influence their daily actions; for to their genius one might apply the words of St. Gregory, where, speaking of the love of God, he says, "Quanto ea valentius attollitur ad summa, tanto potentius recurrit ad ima." Still less did the monks correspond with the idea of high intellectual merit, when the talent of display before the public is made to be its criterion. St. Jerome defines a philosopher as "an animal that feeds on glory."‖

This was not the type of monks; for an everlasting life rather than an ever-

* Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. D. I. Præf. † Præfat. in III. Sæc. Ben. 8.
‡ Schriften, ii. 222. § De Vita Propria, 52. ‖ Epist. 92.

lasting memory was what they sought, as Sulpicius Severus says, "Non scribendo aut pugnando vel philosophando, sed pie, sancte, religioseque vivendo."* There was much in them, however, that would have pleased the shepherd king, who sent back the messenger to tell his countrymen that Cyrus despised the threats of men who had a public place in their city set apart for the purpose of false swearing and mutual deceit. "The inhabitants of cloisters," says Hugo of St. Victor, "investigate the judgments of the Lord, not secular judgments. They keep the law of the Lord by living, meditating, and loving. In that law there are two witnesses heard, life and conscience, two judges, meditation and science, two counsellors, the love of our neighbor and the love of God."† They had nothing to do therefore with the hustings, or what, in the babble of some now, is called "the platform;" or with the savage buffooneries of men who think that no one can know any thing of philosophy without having dined at a London tavern. "They were to love," as Hugo of St. Victor says, "not the decrees of assemblies, but the secrets of mysteries; to meditate, not the Decretals, but the Psalms; and the monk who spoke much disgraced his sacred habit."‡ If one of the poor monks of England at the time of the dissolution, had been drawn from his cell to appear before a public assembly, he might have apologized in the ironical works of Socrates, begging his countrymen to excuse his utter want of experience and art, saying that he had lived to the age of more than seventy years without having ever appeared there before. "Therefore my manner will be unskillful, and that of a foreigner. So then excuse me as if on the ground of my being a stranger and foreigner, if I speak in the tone and manner to which I have grown familiar."§ We may describe the contrast in this respect between the monks and the sophists of these latter days in the very words of Plato.

"Our hooded men, whose time has been spent in the study of wisdom, when led before public tribunals, are sure, as Socrates says, to excite laughter; while, on the other hand, those who have been occupied from youth in public pleadings and such affairs seem to contract a manner and character most opposite to that of persons who have been bred to philosophy. They have never been accustomed to discourse at leisure or in peace upon any questions. They always speak in a hurry; for they know there are limits in time, which they must not transgress; and they plead before a despotic power, whatever may be its form, and often concerning life and death; so that from all these causes they are vehement and acrimonious, knowing how to flatter and deceive that power, and having narrow and false souls; for servitude deprives them from youth of enlarged views, and straightforward integrity and generosity, compelling them to do many things by crooked ways, involving their tender minds in great dangers and terrors, which being unable to meet with justice and truth, they turn to lying and to retaliating injury

* De Vit. B. Mart. Prol — De Claustro Animæ, Lib. ii. c. 17
‡ De Claust. An. ii. 17. — § Apolog. Socr. 18.

for injury, bending and twisting many things, so that they grow up to manhood, having no soundness in their minds, but being clever and wise, as they suppose. As for the monks, bred to philosophy, all is different. In the first place, from youth they do not know the way to the courts of council or judgment, or to any public assembling place of the city. They neither see nor hear any of the laws or decrees, but as for parties of society of festive meetings, dinners and banquets, with music, they do not know in a dream how such things pass. Whether, also, any one has done any thing well or ill in the city, or whether injury has been done to any one, whether man or woman, by his ancestors, *μᾶλλον αὐτὸν λέληθεν, ἢ οἱ τῆς θαλάττης λεγομενοι χόες*, and of all this they knew nothing; since it is not for the sake of gaining reputation that they are ignorant, but because their minds esteeming all these things little, and as it were as nothing, are borne aloft above the earth and occupied in the contemplation of the universal essence of things, to the utter neglect of such matters. Therefore when forced to appear before a public assembly they appear deficient and absurd; for amidst reproaches they have nothing personal with which to reproach any one, as not being acquainted with evil from never having paid attention to it. Being wanting in this, they will be laughed at; and, moreover, looking upon every thing in another point of view from that which the multitude takes, they cannot fail to be despised. Property, parentage, power, all are estimated by them in relation to the whole of things."* Pardon this abstraction then in the monks, as lovers of wisdom, and be not surprised that they, coming from their cloisters, should be thus diverted by their souls to look and move always upwards. For this was to be expected of them. Do you think it strange if coming from the divine visions to the evils of men they should appear weak and dim of sight before they have become sufficiently familiar with the present darkness, being compelled to contend concerning the shadows of justice or its images, and to discourse of them before men who had never themselves seen justice? Certainly this would not be strange; for the eyes are obscured by two transitions, when they are directed from light to darkness, as well as from darkness to light."† Such was the abstraction of the spiritual ascetic as described by Louis of Blois, who learns to leave all things for the love of God; who possesses nothing with a tenacious affection of heart; who adheres to no visible and perishable thing, to no mortal creature ‡ who may say of himself in the poet's words,

"I have not loved the world, nor the world me;
I have not flatter'd its rank breath, nor bow'd
To its idolatries a patient knee,—
Nor coin'd my cheek to smiles,—nor cried aloud
In worship of an echo; in the crowd
They could not deem me one of such; I stood

* Theætetus. † De Repub. vii. ‡ Instit. Spirit. ii.

Among them, but not of them ; in a shroud
Of thoughts, which were not their thoughts."

Such was the ignorance of public and political affairs of the monks, who were expressly forbidden to crave for news, which became old and then known to them. "Be not curious," says St. Bonaventura, "to hear news of what passes in the world, which may distract your soul, diminish your devotion, and consume your time."* So the monk in Spenser makes this reply—

"Ah, my dear son, how should, alas ! a poor old
Man that lives in hidden cell, bidding his beades
All day for his trespass, tell tydings of war
And worldly trouble."†

"To purity of heart," the monks were told, "conduce solitude, silence, study, prayers, meditation, and the wish to know nothing respecting the state of the world, 'quia sæpe plus nocent mala audita quam bona quæ sunt in libris lecta.'‡ Hence when certain persons came one day to the cell of the Abbot Stephen, and knocked at the door, the old man was unwilling to receive them, and contrived to withdraw into the desert without their seeing him, not returning till he knew that they were gone."§ St. Benedict had charged monks who return from a journey not to bring back with them rumors, which always cause some distraction. In fine, obedience to their rule disqualified them for contending with men. They could not employ ridicule, falsehood, or the zeal of retaliation. They could have no chance, unless under the peculiar circumstances created by divine faith. Hermippus says that Demosthenes, when a youth, used to hear Plato, but that one day as he went to him, seeing a great crowd, he asked what it meant, and was told that it was hastening to hear Callistratus, an orator, and that having turned aside to hear him, he was so pleased, that he ceased to follow Plato, and thenceforth attached himself to the rhetorician.‖ There is therefore nothing wholly new in the choice so often made in later times, when men prefer the sophist to the monk.

From these observations, however, we must not conclude that the type of the monastic character, even when without learning, was deficient on the side of intellectual cultivation. "Sermo datur multis, animi sapientia paucis," said St. Columbkill.¶ This last the mute unlettered monks might claim. When monks were not great readers, they might themselves be read ; and as Fenelon says, it is better to be a good living book than to love good books.** One might study them as an old clasped volume, to imitate their style, and to treasure up their observations; for from their replies on various occasions much true wisdom might be often learned. Thus the historian of the monastery of Villers relates different say-

* De Reformat. Hom. Exter. 26. † i. 1. ‡ Thom. à Kemp. de Disclp. Claust.
§ Sophron. Pratum Spirituale, c. lii. ‖ Aul. Gel. iii. 13.
¶ Carmen Monost. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. i. ** Epit. 23

Such old age, no one can doubt, exercised a great power. Even men of the external world were moved by it. "Its counsels," says a celebrated diplomatist, "do not wound, because it extinguishes rivalities; it shocks no self-love; and the impression which it wears of experience causes in others a diminution of confidence in their own judgment. Let us hope," he continues, "to preserve long the old men whom we still possess where we meet; they belong to times of which nothing else remains: their presence is a continual instruction; they all tell us to take time in all affairs, and to appreciate all things without illusion. In their long career, all the sanctuaries of the human mind have been opened to them, and they have learned the science which estimates at their just value both the resistances of habit and the enterprises of the imagination." "I venture to recommend all younger members," says the learned Oliver, speaking of the society of Jesus, "to revere the hoary head, to court the company of those whose wisdom has been enriched by the experience of multiplied years. If this advice were better attended to, many interesting anecdotes, and points of valuable imformation, which elude the notice of general history, would often be perpetuated by tradition, and transferred to record."* Yes, when men repaired to abbeys in the ages of faith, it was not so much the antiquated slab or mouldering column that they sought out with inquiring eyes, as the hoary head,—the father whose port and mien bore mark of many years, and within whose eyes were legible chronicles of untold ancientness, such as Dante had in view when saying,—

> "I saw an old man standing by my side
> Alone, so worthy of rev'rence in his look,
> That ne'er from son to father more was ow'd."†

"I have seen some monks," says St. John Climachus, "worthy of eternal memory, of an angelic aspect, hoary with venerable age, of profound innocence, and full of the simplicity of wisdom; not insipid or irrational, like the old men of this world, bland, meek, placid, joyful, nothing feigned in them, nothing negligent, nothing adulterated, in words or deeds."‡ Trithemius bears a similar testimony to the innocence and patience of the old learned monks of the Benedictine order.§ It was in monasteries that men found "the heart which had grown old, but had corrupted not." It was there that they found the equal to that great Henry Dandolo, the doge of Venice, in 1201, of whom we read, "Jam senex sed vir magnanimus."‖ John de Monsterolio, secretary to Charles VI., describing his visit to the monastery of Caroliloci, near Senlis, says that the abbot, in the eightieth year of his age and the sixtieth of his profession, was erect and active as a young man, joyous and benign to every one, so that he was loved by all, proving the truth of Cicero's remark, that the vices which belong to many old men are of the men and not of old age; "though exempt from obligation, himself, he

* Collections of the S. J. 154.
† Purg. i.
‡ Scala Paradisi, iii.
§ Chronic. Hirsaug.
‖ Chron. Aud. Dand. in Murat.

says mass every day, sings in the choir, and differs from no one else in the community excepting that what others do from obligation he does through devotion."* Monastic peace not being exposed to perish when monks required power, superiors lived long, as may be witnessed in those of Cluny; of which St. Mayeul bore the abbatial crosier forty, St. Odilon his successor fifty-six, St. Hugo sixty, and Peter the Venerable thirty-five years,—each of whom, in turn, performed great things. What must have been the experience of such men! How much treasured up in their minds! In general, memory, without books, was a fruitful source of wisdom in the cloisters of the middle ages, as was to be expected,—at least according to the opinion of the ancients, who thought that its seat was in the heart, with the affections, which are in fact inseparable from mind; for which reason the Romans said "recordor," and called a wise man "cordatum;" whence also our expression came, "to learn by heart."

The Abbot Ammonius had learned by heart both the Old and the New Testament, as also a great part of the writings of St. Athanasius and St. Basil. Orderic Vitalis says that William, a monk of the abbey of Ouches, had learned by heart the Epistles of St Paul, the Proverbs of Solomon, and many other treatises of holy Scripture, which he employed in his daily discourse, to exhort those with whom he conversed † Pope Paul IV. had learned the whole Bible by heart, as also the works of Galen; and Gregory III. could repeat the Psalter, without missing or misplacing a word.‡ Dominick de Mendoza, brother of Garsias de Loyaso, confessor of Charles V., and also a Dominican, had learned by heart all the Sum of St. Thomas, and had made an abridgment of it in verse to help his memory.§ Stung by hearing of these examples, the profane scholars of the sixteenth century had recourse to strange methods in order to obtain results in the world similar to these in the cloister. Malumbra was said to have anointed himself with a certain ointment, which he thought could impart an artificial memory, but which drove him mad.‖ The memory of monks supplied indeed very different themes from that of such men, and seemed to verify the notion that its seat was in their heart: for they remembered best what most occupied it,—their faults, to lament them; the virtues of others, to extol them; the benefits they had received, to repay them; the divine mercy, to nourish hope; justice, to keep them watchful; and eternity, that they might never attach themselves to what passes away.¶

When Hugo, archbishop of Rouen, wrote his books in praise of memory, of "holy memory," as he styles it, he had in view the power of commemorating the whole scheme of the Catholic religion from the beginning of the world.** Lord William, the eleventh abbot of Villers, was learned, we read, in the divine

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 1390. † Lib. iii. ‡ Drexel. Auri Fodina.
§ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Ill. de l'Ord. S. D. iv. 26. ‖ Annal. Camald. Lib. lxviii.
¶ Drexelius, Auri Fodina, iii. ** Tract. de Memoria, ap. Martene, tom. ix.

law; so that, in the chapter, he would produce before the community things new and old, exciting the hearts of his hearers to a love of the celestial country.*

Halymardus, abbot of St. Benign, made archbishop of Lyons in 1015, used to read the books of the philosophers and those of secular wisdom, and whatever he found useful in them he used to treasure up in memory.† It entered into the monastic character to regard as common to all whatever had been written by any author, and to make use of it without fearing the literary quarrels which have so often embittered the existence of mere secular scholars. Like Aristotle and Pliny, the monks were great makers of extracts from the books they read; a custom, to prove the utility of which, Drexelius devoted an entire volume. Pasquier need not have charged with ingratitude Ives de Chartres, for copying from Burchard without naming him, nor Burchard, for having borrowed from Isidore: for such plagiarism in the cloister was deemed innocent, by men who were dead to egotism. "We are like dwarfs mounted upon giants' shoulders," says Peter of Blois of himself; "by means of whose stature we can see farther than they. The treatises of the ancients we render more elegant, by suppressing what was become obsolete; and we give new life, as it were, to their books which, through the neglect of men, had become as dead."‡

But what, above all, distinguished the men whose disposition was formed by the laws and spirit of the religious orders, was the unity of their character, the consistency of their manners with their doctrine, or, in other words, the fidelity of their lives to the vocation of God. "Magna res est unum hominem agere," says Seneca. Nothing, in fact, as De Maister after citing him observes, is so difficult as to be always only one man,—without inconsistencies, and without self-contradictions. Where can this be found in the world? "The truth is," says a keen observer, who quite looks through the deeds of men, "there is not in the Chamber," meaning the French Parliament, "a single deputy of any opinion who is consistent."§ Perhaps, if this Timon were to travel northwards, he would not have a better account to give of those who compose other assemblies, though guarded by every privilege excepting that of moral dignity. But if he were to pursue similar investigations into the character of men cloistered in a religious house, his testimony would be very different: for the monk was what he desired to find,— a man, consistent, collected, always one, the same unalterable friend and disciple of his divine Master. He looked at each action of his own life as other men regarded the deeds described in books, and applied his religion to daily practice: according to what St. Thomas says, "Conscience is nothing else but an application of knowledge to a certain action."‖ The monk was serious

* Hist. Monast. Villar. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii.

† Chronic. S. Ben. Divionensis, ap. Dacher. Spicil. i.

‡ Epist. 92.

§ Timon, Etudes sur les Orat.

‖ Q. xix. 5.

and in earnest. St. Odon, awakening in the night which followed his ordination, and seeing for the first time the stole suspended to his neck, began to weep.* "Unity is good; plurality, evil," says Cardan: "for if the good be perfect, it leaves nothing without itself: but when there are many things, one is not in another, and therefore goodness cannot be absolute."† The one thing was ever in the mind of monks, and hence the simplicity of their goodness. As is said of St. Hugo, the sixth abbot of Cluny, "On their tongue there was no arrogance, no word of vanity; but all holiness, and all that bespoke the monk."‡ Their conversation, like their books, was perfumed with the fragrance of the desert; for they carried with them that interior solitude of the mind, which the ascetics said was more necessary than that of the body. Hence, too, that tone of Christian dignity, which is so remarkable in the writings of Suger, and of men like him. "I have resolved to take no notice of your insults," writes Antonio de Guevara to an Italian nobleman, "esteeming more my profession than the blood from which I descend; being convinced, that, after my death I shall not be asked whether I have lived as a knight, but whether I have lived as a Christian." And to another correspondent, who inquired respecting certain local antiquities, he replies, "Being a monk, it would be more fitting for me to inquire respecting the time that my order was founded, and the country to which the glorious St. Francis, belonged than to know when the Carthaginians entered Spain, or the Romans took Carthage." This they never forgot themselves. As we read of the blessed Hartmann, "whoever looked on them, as in a mirror might learn easily, by comparing them with other men, what was pleasing and what displeasing to the eternal King."§ Such have I found the meek Italian friar, whose head inclines profoundly each time that the name of St. Francis is pronounced. In his hood he carries devout prints, to distribute as he walks along; he has a picture for one, a smile and some gracious word for another: though in company with the profane, thinking no evil, diffusing charity by his very looks, simple as a child, recollected as an angel: for he does all things in a spirit of prayer. When the pious priest found St. Benedict in his cave at Subiaco, the hermit was surprised to see a man come to him; but, before, he would enter into conversation with him, he desired that they might pray together. They then discoursed for some time on God and heavenly things. Such is the ceremonial still in use in the holy courts of monasteries. What dignified consistency in these sages of the cloister adhering so firmly to God's service, and showing forth Christ in liveliest portraiture! After once seeing them, it is easy to detect the counterfeit who goes forth to preach. "Who is this man," asks Cardan, "that writes words 'De paupertate toleranda?' It is he who, in less than four years of friendship with Nero, has heaped up by usury, through all Italy, and by the testaments of widows seven million five hundred

* S. Od. Vit. Lib. i. n. 37. † Liber. de Uno. ‡ Biblioth. Clun. 415.
§ Ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i

usand gold crowns !"* When monks preached on such subjects, there was no nger of any one being at their side to make computations of this kind. They ught nothing but what they had long practiced, and hence the sound of truth as mighty on their lips; for, as St. Columban said,

" Doctor erit magnus factis qui quod docet implet."

Monks, devoted to religion by their holy profession, are bound, says S. Bonaventura, " to live only of Jesus Christ and for Jesus Christ."†

But how shall we describe what the ascetic terms their " stupendous familiarity with Jesus?" Whenever these true friends spoke of him, their soul seemed to dilate beyond her proper self. We read of St. John of the Cross, that on entering a monastery one day, and passing before a certain picture of Christ, he was moved by it to such a degree, that he seemed in a rapture to those who observed him.‡ " I speak of what I have seen," say a Franciscan, "for there is a good friar, whose memory is greatly honored throughout Italy, who could not say a page of his breviary without being in a ravishment, and I could repeat thousands of similar examples of ecstasy from our chronicles."§ The monk who conducted me through the library of Vallombrosa, could not point to a print of our divine Saviour in the sepulchre, without kissing it, and saying, " It is to Him we owe salvation." His look, while steadfastly he pored upon the view, and withal his tone of voice, which I can never forget, more impressive than a thousand words, formed a fine comment on the line of St. Columban,

" Optimus est animus Christi vestitus amore."

In all these instances, the soul being disengaged through ardor of affection from the body, had no need of a voice loudly speaking to guide her; but as the ancient philosopher says, "the smallest impulse acted upon her, as a great ship is easily turned by the least inclination of a narrow rudder." "I believe," says Peter of Blois, "that the poor in spirit is he who, distrustful of himself, and denying himself for Christ, has nothing in his thoughts or memory, nothing in delectation or desire, but Christ."‖ Then we should have included this history in our first book; for such were the monks. Three old men came to the abbo Stephen to speak about what was useful for the soul; but he was silent. The ask him, "Will you make no reply, father, to us who came here for utility "Pardon me," he replied, "all I have I will show to you. Day and nigh behold nothing but our Lord Jesus Christ hanging from the wood." The man then departed.¶

What St. Dominick recommended most to his friars, was to "speak always God, or of God." They had no need of a long manuscript to aid them i

* Hier. Card. de Util. ex. Advers. Cap. i. 1. † De Script. Grad. Vit. Spirit.
‡ § Le Sacre Mont. d'Olivet. ‖ Serm. xlii. ¶ Sophron. Prat. Spi

pulpit. When brother Thomasuccias, a Franciscan, went from Italy on pilgrimage to St. James of Compostello, he took nothing with him but a staff and seven ears of corn in his hand, to contemplate in them the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost."*

Speaking of brother Euthyme, the Abbot De Rancy says, "he was so familiar with the holy Scriptures, and had made such just and spiritual applications, that every one who approached him was consoled; and nothing has so fully convinced me that the science of the saints, or rather of God is not learned by books, but that it is only God who can infuse it into the heart, as when I saw this poor monk, who had acquired with so little study such pure and exalted wisdom." This holy man says that Dom Bazilo observed with the strictest constancy the precept of the apostle, "If any one speak, let it be as if God was speaking by his mouth." Of Dom Bernard he says, "one never observed in him an action, word, or movement, which had not Jesus Christ for its principle, its rule, and its end;" of another monk, "as for me, I feel bound to declare, as a testimony I owe to truth, that during the five years he has passed with us, I have never seen him commit an action that was not conformable to our holy laws;" and of Dom Ephrem, "I counted him rather an angel than a man."†

"Semper in ore tuo resonent bona verba salutis."

The monks to the letter followed this precept of St. Columban,‡ and what a charm did its fulfilment impart to their sacred character! To use the Platonic language, one might have asked how was it that such simple men, who seemed unable to speak or give an opinion on common subjects, should in an instant become so eloquent and profound, appearing to waken up from sleep, when there was made mention of our Lord? The reason was, because their inspiration and dependence was from Him, in the same manner as Socrates says that the faculty of the poet was from Homer. So when the melody of his sacred name sounded in their ears, immediately they woke up, and their soul danced, and they found the words flowing to them in abundance; for not by art or learning did they deliver what they uttered concerning Christ, but by a divine power enabling them to proclaim his praises: while as for any thing else they paid no regard to it; so when any one mentioned the adorable name, they had no want of words, though they would be at a loss with regard to other subjects. "When once Jesus is named," says Peter of Blois, "all names of antiquity become wearisome to me. Most sweetly sounds the name of Jesus, that new name, the name of Him who said, 'Behold I make all things new.'"§

Thus they made no pretensions to proficiency in any art, though, as the ascetic says, "Magna ars est, scire cum Jesu conversari:" nor was it on learning that they depended. Their mission was to keep alive on earth the sacred fire of divine

* Wadding, An. Min. ix. † Relat. de la Mort de quelques Rel. de La Trappe.
‡ Carm. Monast. ap. Canis. Lect. a. 1. § Serm. vi.

love, and to form some intermediate link in the chain of spirits, not as from a personal choice teaching wisdom, but as godlike men, divine, pouring forth what they received of his free bounty, who had made them apt for ministry so high. Still, to pursue the parallel in Plato, methinks Apollodorus would reserve his ears for them, as he did for his old master. "When I hear others," he would say, "especially your smooth, polite, or money-making men discourse upon such topics, I have compassion on them, because they think they do something when they are doing nothing." His language would be the same still; he would be disposed to criticise himself and every one, but those, who become the true representatives of wisdom.* And indeed, after becoming acquainted with a Bernard or a Francis, or any from the tribe of lowly ones that traced their steps, whose marvellous lives deservedly were sung in heights empyreal, can we wonder at such predilection?

Thomas de Celano concludes his portrait of the seraphic father in these words: "His raiment was rough, his sleep short, his hand liberal. As he was the humblest of men, he was sweetness itself to every one, accommodating himself to the manners of each; amongst the pious, the most pious; among sinners, like one of themselves." What would it have been to have followed this blessed man, or any of those who resembled him through life? To have marked how sung, how combatted these beautiful souls? how wandered upon earth, before mounting to heaven, these noble Christian intelligences? If since the time of the apostles, the Saviour has found any who have followed all the traces of his steps, who have fulfilled all his wishes, and attached themselves to Him with all the force and ardor of their souls, beyond all doubt or question these were the men.

The picture which Pope Clement VIII. gives of religious men when sending Carmelite missionaries to the king of Persia, is a portrait of monks by a master's hand. "Do not be arrested," said the Pontiff, "by their simple and rough habit; because if you consider their life and manners, you will discern that there are under this vile and penitential raiment, certain admirable virtues which are hidden, and certain rare talents which make them agreeable to God and man. Do not attend either to their feet which are defiled with dust and mud, as is inevitable with pilgrims who make long journeys, but consider, the gravity of their discourse, and the sweetness of their conversation, and you will arrive at this conclusion, that they have souls void of the least stains, and that their hearts are purified from the infection of the things of this world. You will in fine admire the internal beauty of those who come to announce to you, with all imaginable blessings, peace."

* Plato, Conviv.

CHAPTER XV.

BUT in what useful employment did the monks engage, and what service did they render to the world? For there are many who will still persevere repeating that the monk was not fit for any thing, as the author of Margites says,

Τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἂρ σκαπτῆρα θεοὶ θέσαν, οὔτ' ἀροτῆρα,
Οὔτ' ἄλλως τι σοφόν.

Not to speak again of their literary labor, so prodigious, that a recent historian observes, "it would put to shame much of our self-complaisance, and that, in point of fact, these calumniated communities did more for literature than any ecclesiastical body of the present day."* Let us observe whether the advocates of monks might not meet their opponents even on their own most favored ground, and demonstrate that by rights the palm belongs to them there also.

"For the friends of this world," says St. Augustin, "there is nothing more laborious than not to labor." Cardan makes the same remark, and says, "They who seem to be the most prudent, find this one rest for evils, namely, the being occupied perpetually with business, so as to leave no time for thought.† Similarly for them nothing is more tumultuous than retirement. "Solitude," says Cowley, "can be well fitted and set right but upon a very few persons." Even Petrarch, writing from the country, remarks that he is not qualified to enjoy its peace. "I have been long free, happy, and master of my time; but I feel at present that liberty and leisure are only for souls of consummate virtue. Alas! that is not my state. Nothing is more dangerous for a heart subject to the passions than to be free, unoccupied, and alone;" and nothing more difficult, he might have added. For see to what interminable labors are the lives of passionate men devoted! what activity in them to the last! Calvin was more ardent in this respect than Voltaire himself. Besides the ten folio volumes that are printed, he left in manuscript wherewithal to form thirty more of the same contents; every page of which breathes restlessness, and impatience, and ardor for change. "They who are carnal men," says Richard of St. Victor, "that is, occupied with the desire of worldly things, have labor; but the good, because they neither love nor desire these things, escape and fly away from these afflictions; for from cupidity,

* Cyclop. iv. 316.

† De Utilit. ex Adver. Lib. i. 4.

which is the root of all evil, that labor arises, but by the renovation of the Holy Spirit the soul acquires wings and liberty."*

Thus when we at once come to the conclusion that what some wished to be the crime of monks is all turned to their praise: since it was a proof of goodness that they could have rest; that they could enjoy solitude; that they could devote themselves to contemplation, and spend their time in the idleness of the wise and virtuous, in sweet and sacred peace. The epithet ἀπραγμονα was used in praise of a person by the Greeks.† What, in fact, becomes of that contemplation of abstract truth, in which they so much delighted, where the whole life is engrossed with business? Pliny quotes the saying of Attilius, "Satius est otiosum esse quam nihil agere;"‡ which the monks might repeat in defence of their leisure when vilified by men of secular action. "We shall speak at leisure to those who are at leisure," says Richard of St. Victor.§ Happy times when great men could say that; but now all must be said and done in haste: for, since monasteries were destroyed, it is impossible to find any one of intellectual worth who has leisure to sit and converse with either young or old; or if such a person should exist, the influence of monasteries having been withdrawn, there are not even men who have time to listen to him. He is left alone, and may sit like a sparrow on the house-top.

Again, when you have abolished monasteries, what becomes of contemplation in a religious sense? of that free perspicacity of mind, as Richard of St. Victor defines it, which is occupied with admiration on the spectacle of wisdom?‖ "Honors," says Cardan, "when we are compelled to give our ears to salutations, steal time, and prevent the study of wisdom, than which nothing more divine can be found in man."¶ How many have been spoiled by the honors paid to them in drawing-rooms, and stript of all the fruits that their first years promised, when they were uncourted by the frivolous and only loved by good men for their "poetic meditations!" "Eternal occupation," as St. Thomas observes, "may hinder the contemplation of wisdom;" and St. Bernard draws the conclusion in reference to the monastic leisure. Now these views are not to be immediately abandoned at the call of manufacturers, and of the writers who extol the consequences of their industry. The new teachers must first disprove the axiom of St. Thomas, "that beatitude consists in the operation more of the speculative than of the practical intelligence."** A great deal of occupation is similarly destructive of prayer, even of that which is mental; for the thoughts of men so engaged have no leisure for any subject but that of their business. Sheer idleness of itself is not more opposed to the object of a spiritual life. The monks, therefore, required leisure, and sought to imitate in that respect the angels, of whom St. Gregory says, "Non sic foris exeunt ut internæ contemplationis gaudiis priventur." But

* In Cantica Cantic. 15. † Thucyd. ii, 40. ‡ Epist. Lib. i. 9.
§ De Contemplatione, i. v. 19. ‖ Allegor. Tabernac. Fœd. ¶ De Vita Propria.
** Quæst. iii. art. v.

like them they did go forth; and St. Augustin thus describes their two-fold operations: "The charity of truth seeks holy leisure, and the necessity of charity accepts just business; but if no one impose that burden on it, they should hold themselves free and at leisure to perceive and behold truth; if it be imposed, it must be accepted for the necessity of charity, yet not so as altogether to desert the sweetness of truth, lest that necessity should become an oppression."* St. Thomas used nearly the same words.† But Richard of St. Victor shows that without retreat not even the active virtues can be brought to perfection. "For he who indiscreetly desires to benefit others, and pours out before the time, remains," he says, "always poor and void of grace, having impeded his own progress and done less good to others. The prudent soul, therefore, does not wish to be called away from the quiet and silence in which it studies justice, because the worship of justice requires silence, until that worship comes to fruit and maturity; whereas others who are imperfect and carnal affect discipline before the time, and are more actuated by passion than by the instinct of utility."

From these few observations it is easy to perceive the fatuity of those who speak evil of the leisure which the monks enjoyed. We read that the sons of Sophocles accused him of neglecting his family affairs when he deserted the care of the house for the sake of writing tragedies; but that the Areopagites absolved him: and assuredly the monks who neglected no duties to enjoy the same facility for intellectual labor must expect a similar sentence wherever wisdom is their judge. Speaking of the designs of God in requiring the service of contemplative souls, St. Gregory says, "That those who have made a great progress in virtue ought not to despise the lives of their superiors when they see them unemployed in external things."§ It does not follow that they are therefore idle men. St. Bernard, to those who affirmed that a life of contemplation was a lazy life, thought it sufficient to reply, "Otiosum non est vacare Deo, sed negotium negotiorum omnium." Admirable sentence! with which the voice even of the ancient philosophy agrees. "The reward of wisdom," says the Pythagorean, "is not to be despised by men; for as the poets sing, that those of justice await men in Hades, so those of the understanding will be obtained in the islands of the happy. It is not grievous therefore if, for the present, wisdom should appear to be useless and good for nothing. For it should be chosen not on account of utility but for its own sake, because it is good. And as we ascend to the top of Olympus merely to enjoy the view from thence, without regard to any thing else, for that spectacle is worth more than great riches, in like manner the contemplation of universal nature is to be preferred to all the things which seem useful."‖ The monks, I am aware, would not have sought to defend themselves by citing such testimony. "I read of the question of Martha," says Hugo of St. Victor, "but I do not

* De Civ. Dei, xix. 19. † ii. 2. Q. 185. ‡ In Cantic. Cantic. § Hom. xv.
‖ Jamblich. Adhortat. ad Phil. cap. 9.

read of Mary's reply. Nevertheless, I read that Christ answered for her: from which answer prelates might learn somewhat."*

But it is not necessary to take such high ground when meeting those who charge the monks with idleness. What land is not full of their labors? What city does not contain some memorial of their activity?

Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?

How often might the traveller, through countries now spiritually desolate, have repeated this exclamation of Æneas on finding wherever he went representations not indeed of battles and heroes, at sight of which the Trojan stood still and wept, but of the peaceful and triumph of religious men? Like that Virgilian wanderer let us feed our mind with an empty picture, and bathe our cheeks with tears, while alluding to the labors which deserved eternal gratitude, the very thought of which renders those who are too blind to pay that debt objects of an immense pity. "The monks were founders of cities, and true fathers of their respective countries. They built beautiful edifices and bridges, hospitals and colleges; they made roads, plantations, drainages, and above all—they made a happy people."† Hear how St. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, in his epistle to Victricius, bishop of Rouen, describes the labors of the Benedictine order in Belgium in that early age: "And now in that land, at the extremity of the world, which the roaring ocean beats with boisterous waves, to the people of these remote nations who were sitting in darkness, on the sandy way of the sea beyond Jordan, has arisen a joyful light from the Lord, and they have laid aside their rough hearts on the entrance of Christ. Where lately barbarous strangers or native robbers frequented deserts of forests and shores equally as dangerous, now venerable and angelic choirs of saints in cities, towns, islands, and woods, celebrate the divine praises in churches and monasteries with a numerous people."‡ In fact, the missionary labors alone of the monks demonstrate that they were not men who sought peace by idleness. In the seventh century the holy children of St. Benedict spread the light of faith through the benighted region of Europe. Andomar, and Amand, and Columban, in Gaul; Augustin, Wilfrid, and Cuthbert, in England; Kilian, Rudpert, and subsequently Boniface, in Germany; Fructuosus and Hildefonso in Spain instituted vast communities of saints. Anschar, the apostle of the north, was a monk of Corby. He, with one companion, went in 826 to the confines of the Danes, where, not content with the success, though so prodigious, which crowned his own labors, he instituted seminaries for future missionaries.§

At the prayer of St. Stephen, king of Hungary, and Bareson, king of Sardinia, Desiderius, abbot of Mount-Cassino, sent monks from that abbey to evangelize

* De Claustro Anim. ii. 21. † Rubichon. ‡ Bolland, Jan. 16.
§ Mab. Præf. in sv. sæc. ii. 5

their respective states.* In the tenth century twelve monks proceeded thence to Poland, where they established themselves in Calvo Monte, in the diocese of Cracow. In the same age Giles of Tusculum went also as a missionary to Poland. Thus, without alluding to the oriental missions undertaken by the Mendicant orders, in later times, here was sufficient proof that monks were not unprofitable laborers. Their journeys, described in great detail in the chronicles of their respective houses, are deeply interesting. When St. Otho with his companions, so late as in 1150, proceeded from Poland to preach the gospel in Pomerania, the difficulties they underwent may give some idea of the labors which then belonged to such an office. Entering the vast and horrible forest which divided these two countries, they had to make there way through pathless wilds and marshes, exposed to danger from serpents and monsters of diverse kinds, while the cranes, which had nests in the trees, harassed them continually by their clamorous cry. After six days they came to the banks of a river which formed the boundary, and there they first saw the pagans. Nut knowing the disposition of their chief, the horror of the solitude, the black density of the forest from which they had immerged, the shades of approaching night, and the cruel aspect of the barbarians, caused them no small dismay.† Of their style of preaching on these occasions we can judge from many curious monuments. The sermon of St. Gall, preached at Constance in 615, conveys in brief space an excellent epitome of the whole history of man, and of the scheme of God in creation. This one short sermon forms an abstract of the whole Bible composed in the very words of the sacred text.‡ Nor are we left in ignorance of the purity of intention which was required in these monastic enterprises. "The brethren who, by Divine inspiration, wish to go to the Sarassins and other infidels," says the rule of the Minors, "must obtain leave from their superiors;" and Louis of Paris supplies this commentary, "They must not go through lightness of mind or cunning to avoid regular discipline, or from a desire to see the world, but they must go, inspired by the Holy Ghost, from a zeal to gain souls, and content to suffer even to the effusion of their blood for the glory of Jesus Christ."§ But the difficulty of my present task is not to point out the labors of the monks, it is only to know how to convey some faint idea of their multiplicity and extent. There is one ministry to which some orders were expressly devoted, of which I must relinquish the attempt to speak in despair. Such was the office of redeeming captives. The pages which describe it in the monastic writings are so delightful that I should fear to trust myself with any citations, lest this chapter might swell into a book. Only let the reader refer to the travels of the monks of the order of the Holy Trinity, whose provinces in our own three kingdoms were once so flourishing as to require a separate history, and he will wonder that such long tract of ages should have constantly seen angels pass.

* Hist. Cassinens. vi. † De S. Ottone Pom. Apostol. Lib. I. ap. Canis. Lect. A[illegible]

‡ Ap. Id. tom. I. § Expos. Lit. de la Règle des FF. Mineurs, [illegible]

There he will find a description of the adventures and sufferings of the captives often deeply affecting, as in the instance of the Countess de Bourk and her daughters; there he will read of the barbarity of the infidels, and the characteristics of their tyranny; of the zealous and devoted exertions of the fathers of the redemption; of their travels and escapes; of their institutions of charity in the Ottoman empire; the history of the monks who served them from their first vocation to the death which closed their heroic self-devotion; of the return of others with the captives whom they had delivered; of their general processions through Spain, and Italy, and France, leading back thus to their respective homes in solemn triumph the Christians whom they had redeemed, some of whom had been slaves from boyhood to a great age. There he will read the long catalogue of these redeemed slaves, the order of their progress, and of the transports and charity of the population through which they passed.*

Another labor of these ministers of love to which I can only allude in passing, was the service which they rendered to the people in times of public calamity. We met with instances in the Seventh Book. They come before us everywhere. What tombs are these in the chapel of St. Lambert on the left bank of Aisne? They cover what was mortal of two monks of St. Leger and a Franciscan friar, who fell victims while serving the sick during the pestilence of Soissons in the reign of Louis XIV.† Observe how the physician Berniers speaks of the Franciscans, and Minims, and Capuchins in Blois, and of their heroic services rendered to the inhabitants during the pestilence of 1631. "Of the latter, father Vincent de Nevers alone escaped the danger: and he performed the office of magistrate, physician, and pastor."‡ The continuator of Nangis, speaking of the plague in 1348, says, "that in many cities and other places the secular priests left the task of assisting the people to some courageous monks and nuns, who, rejecting the fear of death, in their sweetness and humility, used to touch and handle them. Renewed often by death," he adds, "they repose, we believe, in the peace of Christ."§

But these, it is true, were not the universal and constant employment of the monks. Let us then see whether, apart from the particular vocations of some orders and from the services of others, on occasions of a peculiar nature, the monastic life in general can be justly designated as an idle and unprofitable existence. Truly there must be much ignorance or courage in those who bring such an accusation against it. If the term "stationary period," in an evil sense, is to be applied to the middle ages, assuredly the monks were not in fault; for their maxims were those proclaimed by St. Bernard to the abbots assembled at Soissons, when he said, "Non est stare omnino in pendulo fragilis scalæ, neque in incerto

* Les PP. Comelin, De la Motte, et Bernard. Voyage pour la Redemption des Captifs, Paris, 1721. Busnot, Hist. du Règne de Mouley Ismael, roy de Maroc. Rouen, 1731.

† Martin, Hist. de Soissons, ii. 588. ‡ Hist. de Blois, 68. § Contin. G. de Nang. 110.

hujus mortalis vitæ quicquam in eodem statu permanet. Aut ascendas necesse est, aut descendas. Si attentas stare, ruas necesse est."* Was it idleness to pray and devote one's self to God's service; to give the world an example of detachment and of virtue; to cultivate deserts; to till and embellish lands reputed uninhabitable; to create resources for thousands of families; to teach youth gratuitously; to extend all kinds of succor through the country; to undertake and complete immense works; to offer a retreat to repentance, a refuge to misfortune and to innocence, to exercise a sweet and effectionate hospitality; to satisfy the spiritual and temporal wants of an abandoned population? Could a life that implied such labors be deemed idle, though it was stigmatized as something infamous by the preachers of the new religion who desolated Europe in the sixteenth century?† "The monks," says an old historian of Durham who knew them well, "were always virtuously occupied and never idle, but either writing of good and godly works, or studying the holy Scriptures."‡

Dom Bonnet, in order to labor with more assiduity at his great work, the Biblia Maxima Patrum, abdicated the dignity of prior which he held in the abbey of St. Germer de Flei, and retired to that of St. Ouen in Rouen.§ Gillebert of Holland, the abbot who continued the sermons of St. Bernard on the Song of Solomon, expressly commended the labor of those who committed their own thoughts to writing, on the principle that it was good to give motion to the waters.‖

Thomas à Kempis, speaking of the advantages of a monastery, says, "There is permitted to no one to be idle, but to every one is appointed a measure of appropriate work."¶ "Different arts," says Duns Scotus, "are multiplied on account of their limitations in respect to different artists, or diverse agencies in form in respect to diverse effects in species."** The monks seemed to have received as oraculor the line of St. Columbkill.

"Semper amanda quidem est rerum doctrina bonarum."††

"There are so many occupations in the Carthusian life," says its historian, "that even the unlearned can scarcely find time for doing all that is to be done."‡‡ An abbot could hardly be an idle man, when, like St. Peter the Venerable, he had not time for answering the letter of such a correspondent as St. Bernard. "The multiplicity of affairs," says that holy abbot to him, "obliged me to put off writing first for one day, then for several days, then for a month, finally for a whole year; and now at length with great difficulty I find an opportunity for writing."§§

Of Lambert, abbot of Lobes, we read, "Concerning the assiduity and devotion

* Epist. xci. † De Haller, Hist. de Réforme Prot. en Suisse.
‡ The Ancient Rites, &c. of Durham, 137. § Biblioth. Hist de la Cong. de S. Maur, 41.
‖ Mabil. Tract. de Studiis Monasticis, i. cap. x. ¶ Sermonum, p. 1, 2.
** De Rerum Principio, i. 1. †† Carm. Monast. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. i.
‡‡ Pet. Sutorus de Vita Carthus. Lib. ii. tit. ii. c. 4. §§ S. Bernard, Epist. 239.

of his prayers, the grace of compunction which he evinced, the constancy of his reading to which he applied himself not only at home, but even when travelling on horseback, or lodging on the road, the sparingness of his food and clothing, the love which he cherished for the word of God and for the science of the Scriptures, to the study and collation of which he applied himself whenever he had an opportunity, the fervor of his love for God and his neighbor, which he exercised in worthy works, it would be difficult to treat sufficiently. At his death the image of our Lord's cross was before his eyes, for in that he placed all his hope of redemption. His constant words, even in his agony, were, 'Multa flagella peccatoribus; sperantem autem in Domino misericordia circumdabit.'"* "Halynardus, abbot of St. Benign, at Dijon, in the tenth century, was so diligent, that he used to carry a book in his hand even on a journey."†

Thus was verified in monasteries the remark of Cowley, that "the first minister of the state has not so much business in public as a wise man has in private: and that if the one has little leisure to be alone, the other has still less to be in company." Hear how conscious of this fact were the men who founded and inhabited them. Saba the monk, and as he styles himself, the unworthy abbot of St. Salvator de Scholari, speaks as follows in his testament. "Being a scholastic, I considered these things deeply, and because I, an humble sinner, am created out of nothing by God, and decorated with his image, and because Jesus Christ delivered himself up for us, I, inflamed with divine zeal, and neglecting all earthly things, have chosen the monastic life, and offered myself to Jesus Christ, for I knew that I could not otherwise pay Him unless I committed the remainder of my life to Him, and served Him: therefore, going from the city to a certain place of my possessions near the river, called Bordonari, like another Abraham, I made my dwelling there, leaving the world, my neighbors, and friends. Wishing also to divide my substance fraternally among my children, I did so by God's help; for having assembled them all, I judged that the eldest should have his part, and the others the rest of what I possessed in Sicily and Calabria, whether fields, vineyards, gardens, mills, houses, vassals, and mountains in the territory of Messana and Palermo, and besides horses and mares, cows and oxen, sheep, asses, menservants and maid-servants, with their sons and daughters. All these I divided amongst my sons justly. Therefore, in the name of Jesus Christ our Saviour I built a beautiful church, in which I placed all my legitimate property, moveable and immoveable, with 300 beautiful manuscripts; and I walled the place round, and built cells, and ornamented it as much as I could; in which house I cut off my hair, and put on the habit of monastic life, and I am called Saba, and I live with other monks in the usual manner of monks, praying and seeking alms from God, not idling, nor fearing labors nor death, since it is not corruption of life,

* Fulcuinus de Gest. Abb. Lobiens. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vi.

† Chronic. S. Ben. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. i.

but a change to another greater and eternal life; for precious in the sight of God is the death of his saints."*

The Benedictine monks penetrated into the vast deserts of Germany, which are designated as the Black Forest. There they built monasteries, cut down trees, and renewed the face of the ground, breaking down rocks, and cultivating the land, so that by degrees this holy colony in the woods gave birth to noble towns and great cities. Walafrid Strabo says, that St. Gall "found the place on his arrival subject to frequent inundations, terrible through its asperity, and nourishing amidst precipitous mountains and winding valleys many wild and raging beasts; for besides stags and herds of harmless animals, there were many bears, and innumerable boars and wolves of singular ferocity."†

"In the fifth and sixth centuries," as Staudenmaier observes, "the monks who were not employed in preaching tilled the ground, and converted deserts into fruitful fields. Where there had been only wastes and barbarous pagans, men saw gardens, meadows, and corn lands, as if a new created world, and also great towns. Posterity," he adds, "has ungratefully repaid them, having no eyes for that which can be accomplished by a life that is spent in prayer, labor, and contemplation."‡

In the tenth century, Aligernus, abbot of Mount-Cassino, built the towns of Janula, St. Angelo, Terrucculus, Cervarius, Vandra, and others, which he fortified with walls, besides erecting several detached towers and castles for the defence of the country.§

Down to late times the Benedictines of the abbey of Badia, near Florence, which was founded in the tenth century by Count Hugo, marquis of Tuscany, son of the Countess Villa, and Albert, marquis of Spoleto, have rendered important service to the country by the encouragement which they have given to the cultivation of the Appennines. In general, of all the great works of the middle ages that would now be termed national, the monks were the agents; and hence many abbots, like Bernard Inveges, of the monastery of St. Martin de Scalis, at Palermo, have won from the people the title of fathers of their country.‖ It appears that the abbots of Croyland had been so long accustomed to undertake and preserve the embankments in the fens, to prevent inundations, that on a certain occasion, in the reign of Henry VI., when the floods bore them down, and, aided by a strong north wind, laid the whole parish of Whapplode under water, some chief men of the fens, thinking that the abbot had perhaps neglected the necessary precautions, instituted a process against him, as if he had been bound by law to secure the banks. The result of the trial in the king's courts was the dismissal of the charge, on the ground as the judges declared, of there being no legal obligation to oblige him,

* Ap. Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1004.
† Gerbert, Hist. Nigræ Silvæ, tom. I. 44.
‡ Johan Scotus und die Wissenschaft Seiner Zeit. i. 73.
§ Hist. Cassinens. sæc. v.
‖ Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1080.

hough the abbots had always been in habits of repairing and making embankents, solely through charity, for the safety of the country and the benefit of the eople of our lord the king."*

Egelricus, of the monastery of Durham, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, t a great expense, made a solid road of wood and sand pressed down through the middle of that vast forest and profound marsh of Depyng as far as Spaldyng; a prodigious work, says the old historian, called from him Elricherode, and for which all the English midlanders and Saxons blessed his name.†

A vast number of the parish churches in the country of Somerset were rebuilt or repaired by Richard Beere, abbot of Glastonbury, in the fifteenth century, the initials of whose name may be discovered on the walls. It was a poor monk of Einsiedelin at the suggestion of his Abbot Geron, in the twelfth century, who threw that daring bridge over the river Sylle, to which the name of the Devil's Bridge has been given, to indicate the difficulty of its construction.‡ In all curious and useful works monks took the lead every where. Those of the abbey of Cork were the first to erect a salmon weir in that country. In the fourteenth century the abbot and monks of Hauterive contributed so much to the great work of surrounding the city of Freybourg with walls, that the magistrates returned them solemn thanks, with a declaration that they had followed solely their own free will through zealous love. Such were the fruits of the monastic industry on great occasions; and its usual direction day by day was no less profitable, as will appear from observing the services rendered by the monks in their capacity of rural proprietors. Monks are continually styled agriculturists in the old chronicles. William of Jumiège uses the terms as synonymous.§

"We cannot shut our eyes to the fact," says a recent historian, "that for improvement in agriculture the Germanic empire was indebted to the monks. In whatever place these extraordinary men were located they soon showed what could be effected by willing minds, still further influenced by the sacred obligations of duty. From incontestable evidence we know that luxuriant meadows were soon made to start up from the fens, and ample harvests to wave on the sandy plain or the black mountain."‖

The monk might make the innocent boast of one of Virgil's farmers, and say,

> "Possum multa tibi veterum præcepta referre;
> Ni refugis, tenuesque piget cognoscere curas."¶

It is recorded of St. Ansegisus, abbot of Fontanelle, in the ninth century, that "he was most sagacious in the precepts of agricultural matters; so that there never was wanting to him an abundant supply of the various fruits of the earth, which he always gave with a liberal hand to all who were in want."** Similarly

* Hist. Croylandensis. Rer. Ang. Script. i. † Id. ‡ Chronique d'Einsid. 27.
§ vii. 23. ‖ Dunham. Hist. of German Empire, ii. 78. ¶ Georg. i. 167
** Mab. Acta S. Ord. Ben. sæc. iv. p. I.

we read in the old life of blessed Stephen, abbot of Obazine, in the country of Limoges, that "nothing of rural exercise was unknown to him, and that there was no agricultural or rustic art which he was not qualified to teach and exercise better than other men."* At Pierri, a village near Epernay, there was a Benedictine monastery, in which Dom Périgoon made some celebrated experiments, which proved successful in bringing the art of making wine to perfection.† It is a remark by Le Grand d'Aussy, that in later times proprietors of vines, through greediness of gain, have neglected the cultivation of the best for others that bring more, but a worse produce. The monks attended to this work themselves, and did not leave it to ignorant cultivators.

In the time of St. Filibert there were rich vineyards on the territories of the abbey of Jumièges, where now there are none. In the time of Duke Richard II. the monastery of Fécamp had vines; and in the beginning of the thirteenth century some of the wine of the abbey of Bec used to be sent to Philip Augustus; and Corby had also its vineyards: none of which places now produce wine.‡ Ildefons von Arx, in his history of the abbey of St. Gall, remarks in like manner, that, since the days of the monks, the avarice of the proprietors of vineyards has caused a deterioration in the quality of wine.§

The idea of cloistral Bucolics conveying rural observations in verse was not unknown to the monks. Perhaps we might gather much from the Hortulus of Walafrid Strabo and the peaceful eclogues of the monk Metellus, who, in the twelfth century, wrote them in his monastery of Tegernsee,‖ which is a house embosomed in the Alps in Upper Bavaria. The subjects of his ten eclogues, in imitation of Virgil, are the cattle and pastures of the monastery. The piety and simplicity of these productions would at least charm those who love to repeat the religious maxim of Virgil's goatherds,

> "Ab Jove principium, musæ; Jovis omnia plena:
> Ille colit terras; illi mea carmina curæ."

In the monastic Georgics might be found many curious rules for conjecturing the weather from the flight of birds, the habits of animals, and the aspect of the heavens. The monastic shepherd tells us that in every flock there should be one sheep wearing bells, which, if the weather is to be fine, will be the first to leave the fold, and if the contrary, the last; that if the starlings fly from a tree all together, there will be cold weather; if one by one, rain; and that as a general rule we may remember this line,

> "Rouge vespre et blanc matin font esjouyr le pelerin."

"The meteorological observations of the monks," says one who is not their friend, "are interesting to determine the maxima and minima of temperature, and to

* Ap. Baluze, Miscell. l. † Monteil, Hist. des Français, iv. 469. ‡ Id. tom. iii. 32.
§ ii. 630. ‖ Ecloga Quirinalium, ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. iii.

attest the periodical return of certain phenomena. Making the necessary corrections in the calendar, we find from them at certain epochs that storms occur."* What curious notes of this kind were written by Angelus de Nuce, the 136th abbot of Mount-Cassino, to illustrate the chronicle of that house by Leo of Ostia and Peter the deacon. In the Chronicon Lamberti parvi a Reinero Monacho continuatum we find a complete journal of the seasons.† In the annals of Corby in Saxony peculiarities in the habits of storks and wild geese are incidently noted; for after relating that in 974 a fire began in the stable, the monk adds that it was soon extinguished, the storks giving notice of it in the middle of the night, by their glotterating much. Again, in 1141, he mentions that some wild geese on their passage sat on the roof of the church and fought together.‡ In another history we read, that, on the thirteenth of August, 1620, a vast flock of no fewer than fifty storks were seen from the monastery of Plass in Bohemia, near which they rested all night.§ The monks were fond of making observations of this kind, which must have rendered them in one respect at least well qualified to compose Georgics. During a short walk round their monastery, they could point out some things that are now perhaps known but to a few; for they had many latent Watertons and Audubons amongst them, at whose predominant propensity the good fathers smiled. But we must not loiter here with them, watching the birds and the sky. The words of Petrarch will direct us to survey other fruits of the monastic industry; for, after exclaiming, "Oh, peaceful and celestial life, O life better than all lives, life susceptive only of good, where salvation is expected, and the sweet yoke of the Lord borne in silence and rest; life that repairs the soul, repairs the affections, reconciles men to God, and that saves innumerable men from ruin," he adds, "life favorable to genius, disdainful of the body, the mother of nobility, the nurse of virtue, the mountain of contemplation.—and what shall I say, unless that thou art all things together—a life most happy and proper for every good work; a life for philosophers, for poets, for saints, for prophets."‖

Such was the conviction of men in ages of faith, which every observation of the fruits of monastic life justified; for monks were poets, painters, and musicians of excellence, so great as not to let the tongues even of their foes be idle in their praise. In entering under the sweet shade of the cloister the Christian offered to God whatever peculiar talent he had received from Him. Before the altar all the brethren resembled each other by prayer, but on returning to their cells the prism was decomposed, and each expressed after his own manner a ray of the divine beauty.¶

After our late walk then in the fields with our hooded guide, let us follow him from cell to cell, to visit brethren who delight in labors of this latter kind. We

* Libri Hist. des Sciences Mathem. en Italie, ii. 235. † Ap. Martene. Vet. Script. v.
‡ Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. iii. § Gasp. Jongel. Notit. Abb. Ord. Cister. v. 8.
‖ Lib. ii. De Vita Solitaria, Tractat. ii. cap. ix.
¶ Lacordaire sur l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs.

have seen practical men, busy men, ardent to conceive great works, indefatigable to perform them ; let us pass to the contemplatists, and we shall find that neither were they idle or inactive in their sphere of usefulness ; for poetry, painting, and music are useful as well as delightful labors to men of good will.

"In 999, say the annals of Corby, in Saxony, Meynholt shone in various literature ; for he was a theologian, a philosopher, a musician, a poet, a good master of the school, an eloquent orator, and a devout monk, quam pulcrum hoc septenarium !" After this they have only two words for their domestic calamity, adding, "Corby is burnt."* It would be long to tell how many poets wore the cowl. In the abbey of Reichenau we find Walafrid Strabo celebrated for his poems on the life of the monks Mamma and Blaitnaic, on the visions of Wetten, and also for his Georgics and Epistles. In the abbey of St. Victor ; in Paris, we find Leoninus, from whom the the Leonine verses derived their name ; who composed a poem in twelve books upon the Bible, and whose Epistles to the Popes Adrian IV. and Alexander are versified. In the monastery of Cluny we find another poet, who thus sings of himself,

" Hugues de Bercy qui tant a
Cherché le siècle ça et lá,
Qu'il a veu que tout ne vaut rien,
Presche ore de faire bien."†

Dom Morillon, who acquired great reputation for his French poems, wore the Benedictine cowl in an abbey of the congregation of St. Maur. In the monastery of St. Gall were many poets. Konrad the Abbot is cited, with counts Kraft of Toggenburg, and Werner of Homburg, even among the Minnesingers.

Rapertus, in a solemn poem, described the life and manners of St. Magnus, as evincing the graces of the eight beatitudes. He also composed many songs and hymns ; and, for the use of the people, a canticle on St. Gall, in German. This was the author of that curious history of the abbey, carried on after his death in 897 by others, which is one of the most important books for the study of the middle ages. Tutilo, his companion and devoted friend, who could preach in both Greek and Latin fluently, was also a poet, some of whose hymns and songs are extant. Waltram, the librarian of the abbey, and confessor of the blessed Wiborad, wrote also many hymns and elegies ; as did Notker Balbulus, that meek and holy monk of the race of Charlemagne, whose proses and melodies were so celebrated. Hirmann, son of the count of Veringen, surnamed " Contractus," from a weakness in his limbs, who is said to have prayed that he might have science of the Scriptures rather than soundness of body, was another monk of this abbey celebrated for his poetic genius. He it was, as Trithemius says, who composed the " Salve Regina."

* Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. iii.

† Pasquier, Recherches de la France. vii. 8.

In English cloisters many poets wore the cowl. In the abbey of Dunstable we find the monk and poet, Robert; in that of St. Alban, Hanwill; and another hooded man, whose name is unknown; in that of Circenster, Neckham, who was abbot there; in that of Bury, Lydgate; in that of Whitby, the elder Caedmon, a cowled poet, of whom Bede makes mention thus: "In this monastery," saith he, "there was a certain monk remakable for the divine grace which enabled him to compose songs to the encouragement of devotion; so whatever he learned he could turn into poetic words and metre of exceeding sweetness, in his native tongue, —the English. By his songs the minds of many have learned to despise the world, and to glow with the love of heavenly things. None were able to contend with him in making verses; for he learned his art, not from men, nor by men, but received it as a gift from above. While in his secular habit, until of mature age, he learned nothing of the art. Indeed he had no taste for it: for sometimes, at a festive entertainment, where for the sake of hilarity the harp was brought in, and all were required to sing in their turn, he used to rise up, leave the table, and return home, withdrawing from the hall of feasting to look after the cattle in the stable. It was one night, in a dream, after retiring in this manner, that a man appeared to him, and enjoined him to sing on the creation; and, having received this command, he began immediately to sing verses in praise of God the Creator which he had never heard before."

Bede then gives the sense; adding, however, that it is not possible to translate his songs into Latin, or any other language, without injuring their elegance or majesty. "The next morning he proceeded to the sheriff of the place, related the gift which he had received; and all persons who heard his songs and verses agreed that it was a gift from heaven. The abbess, therefore, admiring the grace of God within him, persuaded him to exchange the secular for the monastic habit, and ordered that he should be instructed in holy Scripture. He sung on the creation of the world; on the departure of Israel from Egypt; on the incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord; the descent of the Holy Ghost; the preaching of the apostles; and many were his songs of the terrible judgment to come, on the horrible pains of hell, and on the pleasures of the celestial kingdom. To these he added many other strains on the divine mercy and judgment; in all of which he endeavored to withdraw men from the power of evil, and to allure them to the love and practice of good deeds: for he was a man truly religious, humbly observing the regular discipline, and filled with a holy zeal against those whom he saw remiss; wherefore a suitable end crowned his life."*

In the Italian monasteries perhaps still more frequently the hooded poets sung. Thus, at Mantua, in the Carmelite convent, we find Baptist; and in Camaldoli, Ugolino Verino, whose poem, in three parts, on hell, purgatory, and par-

* Bede, Hist. Lib. iv. c. 24.

adise, was praised by Petrus Delphinus, prior-general of the order.* But, above all, in the Franciscan convents were men who held the muses dear; and who, even when they had them not on their lips, held them in their minds. Brother Pacific, whose conversion was ascribed to his having beheld the seraphic father in a miraculous vision in the town of St. Severin, in the marshes of Ancona, which caused him immediately to renounce the world, was a most celebrated poet, who had been a courtier of the Emperor Frederic II., who, with his own hand, had given him a laurel-crown, entitling him the "Prince of Poets." The poetic genius of Jacoponus, and of St. Francis himself, we have before had occasion to remark. I shall only observe here, in conclusion, that the seraphic love which breathes through their compositions is expressed in the most noble and harmonious words. In the convent of Celano, lived Brother Thomas de Celano, who wrote the life of the Seraphic Father, and the Prose of the Dead,† compositions which might justify our assertion that the monasteries of the middle ages contained men who—if their genius had been so directed—might each have held the tragic throne, like another Æschylus. They have a great majesty of ancient language, says Geoffroy Tory, in his book, "Du Champ Flori;" and although Jean le Maire makes no mention of them, he nevertheless borrowed from them the greatest part of his treasures: "not a little praise, adds Stephen Pasquier; for Jean le Maire, in his illustrations of Gaul, has adorned our language with many fine traits; and if he borrowed these from them, trust me they were not bad masters in their art."‡

In many of these monastic poems are fine ancient words, of which some have been lost through negligence, and others changed to worse by our ignorance. Their conceptions of the art, too, as we before remarked of Catholic poets generally, were just and noble. Their muse was not a howling spectre which shakes its bones against the crannies of the tomb; but a smiling angel, pointing to the skies. Above all, their deep religious spirit sheds a delicious peace around them. Canisius quotes Marcus Velserus, who says that the ancient poems of the holy monks of St. Gall can draw tears, when we compare that ancient piety with the spirit of our times,§ to whose admired poets one may apply the words of one who saw their fathers,—

> "'Tis hard to say, whether for sacrilege
> The rhyming fiend is sent into these men;
> But they are almost visibly possess'd."

The monks were sufficiently quick to take alarm when poets, even in the world, assumed a less religious style.

John, of the monastery of St. Mary of the Angels, at Florence, wrote to Angelo Corbinello, to recall him from reading the Gentile poets; but the reply which

* Annal. Cam. Lib. lxviii.
† Annal. Min. ix.
‡ Recherches de France, vii. 3.
§ Lect. Antiq. ii.

was addressed to him by Colucio Salutati expressed views which had been long adopted and sanctioned by religious men. "Venerable brother in Christ," said this poet, who deserved to be extolled as a just man by St. Antoninus, "do not so austerely recall me from honest studies. Think not that when truth is sought in poets, or in other books of the Gentiles, one cannot walk in the way of the Lord: for all truth is from God, or rather is of God. He is truth, as he witnesseth by his son, the Mediator of God and Man; and not merely truth, but all truth. Whatever is sought elsewhere but in Him is vain and foolish. There can be no truth out of God; so that he who seeks truth of any kind seeks God, who is its plenitude. Do not then reprove your brother because he seeks truth among poems: for no kind of speech has more affinity to the Divine words, and more connection with the Deity, than the language of poets, as may be witnessed in David, Job, and Jeremiah. Do not object to me the reproof given to St. Jerome, for he was especially ordained to the work of translating the Scriptures; and that reproof was not given to Augustin, nor to any one else before or since Jerome. Be assured that while I read those fabulous things, and admire the beauty of the language, I distinguish the falsehood from truth, and always return thanks to God. Farewell, and pray for me."* In fact, at this very time, Colucio Salutati was corresponding in poetical epistles with another monk of the same monastery,—Zenobio of Tantino; who, in many sonnets, contended with him in teaching the way of heavenly life.†

The monks, indeed, as the sons of peace, could not but favor an art which was so calculated to soothe and tranquillize the human mind under all its vicissitudes. "It is good," says a great living observer of society in France, "that there should be some voices of poets, to rise between the furious parties which tear each other to pieces; to inspire some compassion, if not remorse, in the soul of these pitiless oppressors." Such too doubtless was the conviction of St. Columbkill, when he interfered in behalf of the threatened bards of Ireland, who were then about to be suppressed; on which occasion he prevailed so far as to obtain permission for them to continue to exercise their art, under certain limitations. Truly it was in the interest of peace, and of all who loved it, that there should be some who would have no other ambition but to excel in song,—who, in their capacity of poets at least, could consort with poverty and retain contentment; whose desires and wants would interfere with no passions of other men; who would demand no other possessions but the spectacle of the universe; who would turn their fellow-countrymen from loving wars and wrangling, to the innocent delight inspired by the aspect of the meadows and the fountains and the groves,—to that true philosophy, in short, which so few attain, but to which all men should aspire.

From the monastic poets let us turn to the musicians in the cloister: and these were many, as old chronicals attest. Indeed here their science took its rise; for

* Annal. Cam. Lib. lvii. † Id. Lib. lvi.

the first trace of the use of musical notes is found in the abbey of Corby, in Saxony, in the year 945.* Alfanus, a monk of Mount-Cassino, is mentioned as having been eminent in this noble art, which was esteemed in close alliance with philosophy.† In the abbey of St. Gall, Notker, Ratpert, and Tutilo, who were of one heart and one soul, though of most dissimilar natures, were all three musicians, most learned and holy men. Notker, in body, not mind, was weak; in voice, not spirit, defective; in divine things, elevated; in adversity, patient; to all, mild, timid; in prayer, reading, and dictating, most eminent; and, to sum up all in one word, a vessel of the Holy Ghost. Tutilo was a strong, active, athletic man, fit for every kind of work: he had a clear voice, and an elegant form: he was an admirable painter; and, besides other instruments, most skilled in playing on flutes and pipes, so that he used to teach the sons of nobles how to play upon the flute. A great builder was he, as well as a famous preacher in both tongues: alike good for hours of mirth and seriousness; so that king Conrad used to swear in jest at him, for having made a man of such a nature a monk. Besides all this, he was strenuous in choir; full of tears in secret; expert at composing verses and melodies; and chaste as a disciple of Marcellus. Ratpertus held a middle place between both. He was a master of the school from youth; a clear and benevolent teacher, rarely putting his foot out of the cloister; a strict disciplinarian, calling death an excursion, and Tutilo, a wanderer, to admonish him to be sedulous in the school.‡

In the ninth and tenth centuries the monks of St. Gall generally were great musicians, whose compositions were celebrated far and near. No musical piece at the present day, of the most eminent composer, is heard with greater ecstasy than was inspired by a composition sung at Mayence on Easter-day, in presence of King Conrad I. and all his court, by a monk of St. Gall, who was a professor there, and by two bishops who had been his pupils. The king, the queen, and the king's sisters, called him to them, took off their rings, and put them on his finger, to signify an admiration which they could not express by words. Musical science had been first brought to St. Gall from Rome, by a Roman musician, singer of the pope, who instructed the monks through gratitude for their gracious and hospitable treatment during a sickness which he had caught on his journey to Germany, having been brought by Charlemagne to Metz from Rome, to found his musical school there.§

Some of the musical manuscripts, of St. Gall are still extant. In that abbey every monk seems to have been inspired with the same taste; so that we find even Notker the Physician, maternal uncle to the Abbot Notker, cited as being admirably skilled in music. Down to late times music continued to be cultivated in the religious houses, and in a spirit comformable to that of the modern musi-

* Hock. Gerbert und sein Jahrhundert. † Chron. S. Monast. Casinens. Lib. iii. 7.

‡ Eckehard de Casibus S. Galli, c. 3.

§ Eckehard in Cas. 4. Id. Minimus, in Vit. S. Notkeri, Monach. Sangall. de Gest. C. M.

Zingarelli, who, whenever he was about to compose, used, as a preparation, to some treatise by one of the holy fathers.

heophilus Macchetto, a Venetian monk of Camaldoli, in the abbey of St. hael of Pisa, was celebrated no less as a musician than a mathematician and torian. He had learned music from Horatio Tardito, a famous master in the bey of Classe at Ravenna. After consulting all the musical works in the atican and other great libraries, he studied attentively the manuscript on music f Franc of Cologne, and then published his Curiositates Musicales.

Painting was another art in which many monks were sedulously employed; and the beneficial influence of the cloister appears very manifest in the peculiar graces of the school which they formed within it. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the monks of St. Gall were not less eminent as painters than as poets and musicians. Tutilo not only painted well, but he also was skilled in forming great metal vases, which he used to adorn with images and verses and epigrams. As an artist he was renowned all over Germany, as far as Metz. There are extant still the carved cover of a book of the Gospels, and images of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Gall, wrought by his hand.† Many other monks of this abbey were celebrated sculptors and painters in miniature. Notker the Physician painted admirably, and adorned many books, and also the church of the abbey. John was drawn from St. Gall to Aix-la-Chapelle by the Emperor Otho III., in order to paint an oratory there. In the abbey of Tagernsee, also, in Bavaria, about the time of the crusades, there was a school of painting, as well as of learning, and of all the arts that belonged to an asylum of peace.

In the eleventh century Heldric, abbot of St. Germain of Auxerre, and Adelard, abbot of St. Tron, were celebrated as painters in miniature. The monk Thiemon, after painting in many convents, became archbishop of Salzbourg. About the year 985, in the abbey of St. Florent of Saumur, the monks used to manufacture tapestry, adorned with flowers and animals. The Camaldules of the monastery of St. Mary of the angels in Florence had been celebrated from the first for their admirable skill as artists. Here also the monks manufactured embroidery in cloth of gold and silk. The most renowned painters of this monastery were Dom Sylvester and Dom James the Florentine, who endowed their convent with the most magnificent choral books ever seen. The right hand of the latter was preserved with veneration in the monastery as a holy relic. Dom Lorenzo and Dom Bartholomew in a later age continued to render this house illustrious for the art of miniature painting, which did not degenerate till 1470, when the discipline became relaxed.‡

Fra Bartholomew was a friar at first in a convent of Prato, to which he had retired after the death of Savonarola, and afterwards in that of St. Mark at Florence. His skill as a painter delighted the Florentines as much as his piety

* Annal. Camald. Lib. lxxix. † Ildefons von Arv. i. 100. ‡ Annal. Camald. Lib. xlviii.

edified them. His first picture, after spending four years in contemplation without taking up his pencil, was that in a chapel of the abbey, representing St. Bernard in an ecstasy.

The Blessed Angelico of Fiesoli, a Dominican friar, was a painter of such celebrity, that the pope drew him from his convent to Rome to complete some works he had commenced there; and it was his conversation while painting with the pontiff which caused St. Antoninus, whom he pointed out as a proper person when the pope expressed his disquietude on not being able to make a choice, to be raised to the archiepiscopal see of Florence.* It was the disciple of this blessed friar, Benozzo Gozzoli, who painted the history of the Old Testament from Noah to Solomon in the Campo Santo at Pisa, where he spent the ten last years of his life, in the practice of his art and of all Christian virtues. In later times the same track was followed by Benedict de Matera, a monk of Mount-Cassino, and Gabriel Mattei, a monk of the order of Servitans, of Sienna, who decorated the choral books of the cathedral. Before the Introit of each Sunday and festival they placed a picture analogous to the commemoration of the day, and "I doubt," says a modern author,† "whether it be possible to find a collection of paintings which could leave a more delicious and durable impression on the Christian soul." At Ferrara also flourished a series of similar artists in the cloisters, from the Benedictine monk Serrati, who painted the choral books in 1240, to brother Jerome Fiorini of the monastery of St. Bartholomew, in the fifteenth century. Michael Savonarola, in his book in praise of Padua, speaks of his school of painting, as being concerned with a part of philosophy.‡ The monks held the same opinion, and extended the connection to religion. "I think," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "that sculptors and painters of sacred subjects will have a great reward when devotion and not avarice is their motive. There was a certain monk of a black order in the diocese of Mayence, lately deceased, who was a good painter, and so devout to our order, that, gratis, having only his expenses paid, he used to paint crucifixions of great beauty over different altars; for he made nearly all the crucifixes that we possess, asking no expenditure from us. The supreme Crucifix, in whose image we are all made, wishing to show to his painter how much that most holy labor pleased Him, on Good-Friday, when His Passion is especially represented,d eigned to take him from the world, not without the admiration of many. As if the Lord had said, 'Because you always labored devoutly in mind and body concerning my Passion, thinking upon it, and exhibiting it by pictures to others, so on this very day of my Passion, I will take you from labor to rest, in which, not mentally or by pictures figuratively, but in presence, that is, face to face, you shall contemplate me.' "§

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iv.

† Rio.

‡ Comment. de Laudibus Pat. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xxxiv.

§ Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. Lib. viii. 24.

In fact, closely connected with the devotion of the cloister was the old Christian school of painting; and even when artists did not wear the cowl, they sought its influence, as may be witnessed in those of Umbria, who with Perugino and his disciple Raphael, at first a pupil of Fra Bartolomeo, drew their conceptions under the influence of the seraphic father and his holy order,—as also in the Venetian painters, who remained in communication with the pure monastic school, in the mountains of Umbria down to the end of the fifteenth century. When artists, forsaking the mystic school of painting of the ages of faith, yielded to the influence of the heathen delusions that were revived in the fifteenth century, that school still found an asylum in religious houses, where the monks retained a style pure from all profane innovations, forming it from the models in the miniatures of the old choral books; while in the cities where universities were established, as in Pisa, Pavia, and Padua, there was hardly any mystic painter, Bologna itself becoming sterile during the interval between Francia and the Carachis, in consequence of the classical mania reigning in them, which was incompatible with these religious inspirations of art.*

It is gratifying to find in conclusion, that the monastic labors in relation to the arts, which require for their perfection a lofty and spiritualized imagination, are appreciated according to their true value, by one of those philosophers who have the best right to complain of the misdirection and deficiency of their works in regard to scientific subjects. "It may perhaps be a necessary condition in the progress of man," says Whewell, "that the arts which aim at beauty reach their excellence before the sciences, which seek speculative truth; and if this be so, we inherit, from the middle ages, treasures which may well reconcile us to the delay which took place in their cultivation of experimental science."†

Thus, having followed the monks through the circle of their various occupations, without and within the cloister, methinks the charge of idleness adduced against them has been sufficiently refuted. Casting a look back upon the prodigies accomplished by their industry, how strange and unjust must seem that accusation now! What immense results were obtained in the beginning by the Benedictine order, from the fifth to the twelve century, as detailed in the thirteen volumes of of Mabillon! Such was the first stage of monachism. Then with the order of preachers came that of St. Francis, perhaps more speculative, more tender, more replete with every fruit of noble genius than the Benedictine family. Fresh obstacles intervene; but the activity of charity is not to be extinguished. Whatever weight the world puts down, the flame breaks out elsewhere and mounts. The third stage commenced with the heresy of the sixteeth century: a different order was required to meet this new disaster; therefore then arose the Jesuits, more adapted than the others to combat it, including instructions, preaching and confessing, or the art of conducting minds. "One can never sufficiently praise,"

* Rio, De l'Art Chrétien. † The Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences, vol. ii. 339.

says Michelet, "their devotion in the missions. China would now possess the plenitude of Christian felicity if their work had not been destroyed. Such," he adds, "is the threefold stage of the monastic history,—the Benedictine, or work; the Franciscan, or love,—the Ignatian, or action, social action. What astonishing fecundity," he then exclaims, "what an exhaustless sap in the Christian religion!" But let us return to the cell of the contemplatist, that we may admire the sublime elevations of ascetic wisdom, to which so many monks attained in the cloisters of the middle ages.

CHAPTER XVI.

LOOK you, who comes here? a young man and an old, in solemn talk. This is what the cloister daily witnesseth; for here was practiced the prophetic precept, "Interroga patrem tuum, et annunciabit tibi: seniores tuos, et dicent tibi." These old monks had useful words for every one, according to his peculiar necessity. Sometimes they were familiar instructions. Thus, to the encouragement and assistance given him when a boy of twelve years of age, by Dom Berthereau, a Benedictine of St. Germain-des-Près, who noticed him taking his daily recreation at the same hour as he did himself, in the gardens of that abbey, Sylvester de Sacy used to ascribe the direction of his mind to the study of the Semitic languages, which so gloriously occupied the remainder of his life. At other times they assumed the form and tone of solemn spiritual authority. But who can describe the affecting conversations, the sublime dialogues that were held under the dim arched cloisters, or in the beautiful garden of the monastery, or in each cell, when young men thus interrogated the fathers, and the seniors spoke to them of God and of the soul, of the world's mutability, of time and chance, and the eternal years? "Quam pulchrum illud, quam dulce secretum," to use the words of a Roman, alluding to the walk of Spurinna with his friends. "Quantum ibi antiquitatis! quæ facta, quos viros audias! quibus præceptis imbuare!"* Those who heard the artless eloquence of the monk, discovered that the greatest happiness on earth is to meet, if it were only for 's life, a true man of God. Some conception of these

* Plinii Epist. iii. 1

aversations may perhaps be formed from the dialogues of Sulpicius Severus, or om observing the conferences between St. Francis and his humble followers, or om what is recorded of the evening to which the Church alludes in that Benedic- ne hymn of St. Scholastica at Lauds.

"Quam tenet dulcis mora colloquentes!
Ore concordes animoque versant
Lucidum cœli decus, et beatæ.
Gaudia vitæ."

But no written records can ever convey an adequate idea of what on these occasions passed. Those who heard the monks' conversation were not likely to be verbose or circumstantial in its praise. "The greatest praise after hearing a philosopher is silence," said Musonius,—therefore the wisest poet, describing the hearers of Ulysses, says, that when he ceased speaking, they all began not to cry out and vociferate, but to consult together.*

"The flight of the woman into the desert," is interpreted by Richard of St. Victor, the secrets of the spiritual life.† What were these secrets? In the first place, they were the mysteries of faith, imparted to all the faithful; but moreover they implied the application of these mysteries and the philosophical consideration of their results, and it was in this exercise that the wisdom of the monks was principally employed. Speaking of the writings which transmit it, a modern historian makes this just observation, "Moral truth is eternal; though the forms of communicating it may vary, it remains unchanged. That it constitutes the most valuable portion of our knowledge, no one but a utilitarian, who has neither intellect to apprehend nor taste to feel whatever transcends his material circle, will deny." Cowper has the same conviction. "Pardon me," he says, "ye that give the midnight oil to learned cares or scientific research, though I revere your honorable names, and hold the world indebted to your discoveries, yet let me stand excused if I esteem a mind employed upon eternal things as far more intelligent and better taught the use of profitable thought than ye, when highest in renown."

This is the oldest philosophy; to this the human mind would in all ages have assented: so that were Plato to come back to the world, without doubt he would say, that the greatest and wisest man was he who led the most Christian life; and in face of the Institute itself, that the monk was, after all, the true philosopher. The pedants who eulogise Socrates and Cicero in order to cast into a deeper shade of ignominy the monastic orders, only prove themselves unworthy scholars to second such great men. It is one thing to have read their books as grammarians; it is another to have caught their spirit, as possessing minds large enough to take it in. Socrates would have deemed the Imitation as the most sublime of all human books; and Plato and Aristotle, whether they might be agreed on other

* Aul. Gel. v. 1

† Super Apocalyps. Lib. iv. 8.

points or not, would have subscribed to the sentence of a modern author, "that all definitions which have been given of philosophy at any period of its duration, the most extensive as the most profound apply to the scholastic."* This was an induction to which the Italian scholars, who are supposed to have revived the ancient learning, could come without assistance. "Were not Albertus Magnus," asks one of them, "Thomas, Ægidius, and Scot equal to Pythagoras, Zeno, Chrysippus, and Aristotle, in philosophy?"† We have before remarked, that the monks were not unconscious of the family likeness which could be traced in them to men of ancient times, and that they even accepted their titles; as when the monk Otherich, scholastic of the monastery of Magdeburg in the tenth century, whom the chronicle of that city terms an incomparable master of wisdom and eloquence and of the liberal arts, is styled by Cosmas of Prague "Philosophus." Theirs was an infinite love of infinite wisdom, which might be truly termed an angelic philosophy, differing essentially from all schemes of personal mysticism, as the old writers show from its genuine Catholic character. The catechumens, they observe, are led into the church by the eastern door, to indicate that the wisdom of God from the east, or revelation hath illumined them.‡ So the monk avowed that he had nothing but what he received. To conceive the possibility of acquiring or retaining this true philosophy of the highest order, we must observe the assiduity of the monks in the school where it was taught, which was the altar; for in a strictly philosophic sense their Doctor was God. Yes, He who taught their hearts had His chair in heaven; and so St. Thomas, writing to a friend who had asked him the best way of acquiring the treasure of wisdom, among other counsels, tells him to have purity of conscience.§

Now the mode of recovering this purity was analogous to that of its first corruption, as the most ancient fathers of the Church observe, alluding to what they term the counter-poison—or to the Body of Him who is the Master of death and the source of our life.‖ "The practice of frequent communion, sensible in all ages of the Church, shows itself," as Gerbert remarks, "with a more striking character during the middle ages. In the midst of the gross manners of barbarous nations, it appeared in the interior of monasteries like a vision of the life of angels. The religious orders which have cultivated the soil of Europe have done much more—they have cultivated the waste lands of the human soul.

The rule obliged the monks to approach often to the holy table; and the divine word, which alone was heard in the depth of their retreats, reminded them every day of the perfection which was required for this familiarity with the Saint of saints. This thought, perpetually present with them, excited them without ceasing to acquire the science of their own heart. They cultivated it with

* Ozanam, Essai sur la Philosophie de Dante.

† Poggii Bracciol. Præfat. in Hist. Florent. ap. Id. tom. xx.

‡ Landulph. Mediolanens. Hist. 1. 12. § Ap. Martene. Vet. Script. i. p. 1852.

‖ S. Greg. Nyss. Catechet.

infinite pains, in order that they might be able to bring the most august as well as to the most sweet of mysteries, the purest flower of human affections. The ascetical books of this period present an exquisite delicacy of sentiment, which, from the bosom of cloisters, spread itself by degrees into the world, and became applied to other objects, producing that mysticism of love and honor which has exercised such an influence upon the manners and the literature of Christian people. The asceticism of the middle ages has left an inimitable monument in the four books of the Imitation of Christ. From what source did the poor solitary religious man who composed them, derive this unfailing love; for he has written so well only because he has loved much? He tells us himself, in each line of his chapters upon the Eucharist: it was from the communion of the altar."

Love, thankfulness—this is the cloister's soul, as that of the world is ingratitude. Louis of Blois speaks of a monk who, on his conversion, was less afflicted at the thought of having exposed himself to suffer eternal punishment than at that of having been ungrateful to God his Creator. "There is a twofold knowledge of truth," says the angelic doctor, "that by grace and that by nature; and that which is by grace is twofold—speculative only, and affective, producing the love of God."* Now this latter constituted the monastic wisdom; and not only the monks, but all who consorted with them, knew that this alone was wisdom. "No affection, even pious," says Peter of Blois, "is meritorious to salvation, unless it proceeds from the love of Christ. When you hear something read concerning our Lord, you may be moved to tears, in the same manner as you weep when you hear certain fabulous histories, as those concerning Arthur, and Ganganus, and Tristan; you may pity our Lord as you pity Arthur, but both tears are lost alike if you do not love God, if your tears do not flow from the fountains of the Saviour, from faith, hope, and charity."† "In order that we may truly philosophize," says Petrarch writing to John Colonna, "we must first love and worship Christ. Let us be all things, but so as to be Christians before all things. 'Sic philosophica, sic poetica, sic historias legamus ut semper ad aurem cordis evangelium Christi sonet."‡ One discerns in these words the brother of the Carthusian as, in those of Peter of Blois, the devoted companion of the monks. An intimate union with Christ was thus the chief characteristic of the monastic wisdom. While men of the world fled from him, and many, even faithful Christians, waited for him, the monks, according to the distinction of St. Avitus, may be said to have gone to meet him. All their science was directed to him. "Philosophy," says St. Bonaventura, is the medium by which the theologian fabricates for himself a mirror from creature, by which, as if by a ladder, he ascends to heaven."§ "We may distinguish six lights," he says again; "exterior, or that of mechanical art; inferior, or that of sensitive knowledge; interior or that of philosophic knowledge (which is threefold, rational, comprising grammar and logic, natural, or physics, and moral); and superior, which

* 9. lxiv. a. i. † De Confessione. ‡ Epist. Lib. vi. 2. § Breviloquium.

is the light of grace and of the holy Scripture: but these lights have all their vesper hour; for all this science will be destroyed. Therefore, succeeds to them the day which has no vesper hour, namely, the illumination of glory. Now these six illuminations can be reduced to the days of creation, all having their origin in one light, and therefore, all are ordained to the holy Scripture, for the multiform wisdom of God, which is delivered clearly in Scripture, is contained in a hidden manner in all knowledge and in all nature, so that all knowledge serves theology."* The study of the holy Scriptures was incessantly pursued in the cloisters of the middle ages with a deep philosophic spirit. What profound and interesting questions, suggested by the book of Genesis and other parts of the sacred Writ, were proposed and solved by monks at the instigation of Charlemagne! † But at present we are in the cell, not the school. Let us attend therefore to the ascetic side of the monastic wisdom.

"———Cur sapientes
Dum terris vivunt, spernunt terrena, nec aurum,
Regna, voluptates quærunt, quæ sola videntur splendida?"‡

You perceive by this question of the ancient poet, that it is not babbling against monastic superstition which will explain the psychological phenomenon we are about to observe. To a certain extent Plato witnessed it when he compared Socrates to the figures of Silenus, outwardly hideous but admirable within; adding, "He cares not what riches or honors a man may possess, esteeming as nothing whatever seems happiness to the generality of men; and he passes his life indulging in irony, and, as it were, playing with men, while his interior is golden and divine, beautiful and wonderful; so that, in short, whatever Socrates says should be done ought to be done, τοῦτο οὐ σειληνῶες." So when we find under the cowl that intellectual and spiritual beauty which is more excellent and delightful than all the loveliness of material substances, as Dionysius the Carthusian observes;§ when we find men girt humbly with the cord, to whom heaven has given the tone and thoughts of angels as manifestly as the sky imparts to lakes and mountains its azure or its golden hues, Plato's question, τοῦτο οὐ σειληνῶδες, may naturally be asked.

We have already seen that this type was familiar to the earliest ages of the church. "A stranger and alien is the gnostic all his life long," says St. Clement of Alexandria; "though inhabiting the city he despises the things which other men admire in it, and lives there as in a desert, that not the place may compel but choice may show him to be just."‖ Such was the monk, calm, and meditative, who had stolen away from noises, whose mind, as Dante says, "was inwardly so wrapt, it gave no place to aught that asked admittance from without."¶

* De Reductione Artium ad Theologiam.
† Wicboldi Quæstiones in Octateuchum ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix. ‡ Lucan, iv.
§ De Venustate Mundi. ‖ Stromat. vii. 12. ¶ Purg. 17.

"To be wise indeed, and happy, and self-possest," says a modern philosopher, "we must often be alone; we must mix as little as we can with what is called society, and abstain rather more than seems desirable even from the better few.' "They who are strengthened in the love of God are in proportion weakened to this world; they grow faint in the flesh from beholding the light of eternity. The world beholds him as one wearied and faint from the impressions of an occult colloquy."* The truth of these words of the Pope, St. Gregory the Great, was verified in the monks whose eyes had taken view of Him by whom, as Dante says, "all other thoughts were barred admittance."† Do you complain of their detachment from the world, and of their lives so hidden as to have many points analogous with those that sleep in the sepulchres? You should rather admire their consistency and their zeal in following the Apostolic doctrine; for hear how St. Chrysostom comments upon the words of St. Paul, "The world is crucified unto me and I am to the world." "Remark here," says the holy doctor, "the force of this whole sentence. Not only is the world dead to him, but he is dead to the world. In fact, he who is living, though there is no longer any social relation between him and the dead, nevertheless is not altogether insensible to what regards the latter. Possibly he may still admire the beauty of that body which has been deprived of life; he may lament for it and regret it; but a dead man feels no longer any sentiments for those who sleep with him in the silence of the tomb. Therefore, adds the Apostle, 'And I am dead to the world.' What a prodigious separation from things below is here expressed! How it indicates an entire devotion to heavenly things while living on the earth!"‡

The blessed John of the Cross, after citing the words of the Canticle, "For if I was neither seen nor heard of, you will say that I have lost myself; that walking in love I was lost and am found," proceeds in these words: "If then from henceforth you behold me no more in the meadow, and if you can no more find me, say that I have lost myself; for, being wholly inflamed by love, I have voluntarily lost myself; but afterwards I have been recovered. This refers to the reproach which people of the world are in habits of casting upon those who give themselves seriously to God. They accuse them of being too retired, too abstracted, of being good for nothing, because they abandon what is esteemed and sought after in the world: but the soul says to her censors, that she despises all that for the love of God; that she separates herself from them willingly; that she considers such a loss as her greatest gain; that it is her pleasure, her honor; and that from henceforth she only seeks for her divine spouse in the practice of the most perfect virtues. By the meadow she understands the world where seculars saunter and rejoice in feeding the flock of their passions, as it were, in a fertile and pleasant meadow: she says that she is no longer to be met with in that place; she desires that they count her for dead to all their sensual satisfactions,

* Lib. iv. in Job. † Par. 32. ‡ On Compunction, Lib. ii. cap. 2

and that they publish it everywhere; and by being afterwards recovered she implies, that in this voluntary losing of herself she has gained everything." This is the self-mortification which, as Louis of Blois says, "is quickly followed by a living light which God sheds into our souls, and finally, by our union with God. Oh yes!" exclaims this holy abbot, "what stops us? the only thing which stops us is our tepidity, our want of courage. If we knew how to get rid of this; if we knew how to substitute for it a holy zeal for our salvation, to die to ourselves and to all perishable objects; if we applied all our care to prepare a proper habitation in our souls for God; it would be impossible that we should not arrive at length at the very summit of perfection so as to possess and feel God within us."*

Thus again we are presented with proof of the consistency of the monastic character; and what can place it in a stronger light that this observation? that, notwithstanding the wide range of objects which its occupations implied, the mind was never so attached to any of them as to forget its main employment; that the monk who tilled the ground preserved learning, cultivated poetry, with all other arts, and thus, to use the ancient comparison, walked a little upon the shore to admire the beauty of the shells, never lost sight of the ship to which he belonged, or wandered so far from it as to be beyond reach of the pilot's call; but keeping that daily before his eyes, never entertained a base thought, or greatly desired any thing that could be gathered on the mortal strand; that, in fine, he was one who meditated on the eternal years! What are the eternal years? A great thought, replies the monk, with St. Augustin. That thought implies a silence from all disturbance from without, and from all tumult of men; he must rest within who wishes to think upon those eternal years. The years in which we are, are not eternal. They are constantly changing, and never standing still. Years and days incessantly move and pass; and we cannot even lay hold of an hour or a moment; for while we utter the word it is already gone. We can hold nothing of these years; they are mutable. We must think upon the eternal years which stand and are always the same. We must think of them in silence. "Better is one day in thy courts," says David, "than a thousand." Men desire a thousand days, and wish to live long. Let them learn to despise a thousand days to wish for one day which has neither rising nor setting; one day, one eternal day, to which yesterday did not yield, and which is not pressed upon by to-morrow. Let that one day be our desire. What are a thousand days to us? Let us press forwards to one day; to one let us hasten.†

Methinks, after hearing such words, even a child, on seeing the hooded men pass along so silent and collected, would turn pale at their solemnity. And yet with all this gravity, the great peculiarity of the cloistral life was its sweetness; for the spirit of the place might boast in Dante's words and say—

* Epist. ad Florentin. † St. August. Tract. in Ps. 76.

——— "Who'er frequents me once
Parts seldom; so I charm him, and his heart
Contented knows no void."*

What is the most natural and universal of our desires? To be happy, without doubt. But what reason have we to suppose that it was not this desire which drew men to the cloister? It is nothing to gain these pious tears? this faculty of love? these mystic ecstasies? The Stagyrite affirms that a contemplative and theoretical man has in himself matter of delight without being obliged to have recourse to sensible and external things. Do you suppose that the monk formed an exception to this law? What must have been the enjoyment of Dionysius the Carthusian when writing his treatise on the beauty of the world, in which he considers the whole supernatural doctrine of the Catholic religion in the light of beauty, as being full of beauty to prepare souls for that beatitude which will consist in beholding deliciously the uncreated and super-infinite beauty of the divine essence, and in being in an ineffable manner transformed into its image, and fulfilled with the exuberant profusion of the goodness, and light, and beauty of God?† To be wise and happy are reciprocal terms. "If you had once tasted the sweetness of wisdom," says Peter of Blois, "all things in comparison with it would have become insipid to you: for it has an incomparable treasure of delights, and it imparts an overflowing grace of all good. But you cannot attend both to studies and to riches. God has been bountiful towards you in enabling you to pursue the scholastic warfare."‡

Again, the Pythgoræans said that "God, being the Author of all things to whom they should be referred, the most perfect life and happiness was therefore when extremities were no longer separated from their centre, but when in this one all were collected."§ Why should we then doubt the happiness of a state in which, as Dionysius the Carthusian says, "the grace of God withdraws the soul from the tumult of things to the joys of silence, that is, to the clearest splendor of supreme light, in which from all delusion of fleshly desires, and unquiet phantoms, and wandering thoughts, it sweetly rests in love."‖ How great is the praise to adhere to God, so as to live in Him, to be wise in Him, to be happy in Him, to enjoy such a good eternally, who can worthily conceive or express?¶

You see how the church realized the aspirations of the philosophers. "Would you not justly style most miserable," says Cicero, "him whom you beheld inflamed with desires, seeking all things madly with an insatiable cupidity, more ardent and thirsty in proportion as he drank more pleasures from all sides? What! that man elate with levity, and exulting in vain joy, and bearing himself presumptuously, is he not so much the more wretched as he seems to himself more happy? So then as these are miserable, those, on the contrary, are happy whom

* Purg. 19. † De Venustate Mundi, 19. ‡ Pet. Bless. Epist. 81.
§ Jamblich. Adhort. ad Phil. 4. ‖ De Fonte Lucis. ¶ De Civ, Dei, xii. 1

no fear disturbs, no lusts excite, no futile joys elevate, no languid pleasures liquefy. As the sea is understood to be calm when not the least breath of wind ruffles it, so the soul is at rest and pacified when there is no perturbation with which it can be moved."* Can you doubt whether this wisest perhaps of the philosophers would have placed happiness in the monastic peace? But that peace included more than he could have foreseen. St. Anselm speaks of monks as "those who are attracted by the sweetness of God to a life which is to enjoy perpetual beatitude."† And St. Thomas says, "that the feeling a delight in God while the soul despises earthly things, and is not conscious of mortal sin, is a criterion to know that one has acquired grace."‡

The monks, therefore, had their positive enjoyment; and, even by the voice of ancient philosophy, are proclaimed happy. Richard of St. Victor, indeed, observes that the cloistral life would otherwise have been impossible. "For," saith he, "we cannot desire things above unless we despise earthly things; and we cannot despise earthly things unless we are attracted by desire of things above: for the heart cannot be without delight: it must incline to something." Hear how Œlred, abbot of Rievaux speaks of these enjoyments! "When man," he says, "withdraws himself from external tumults, and enters into the recesses of his own mind,—when he perceives nothing unquiet, nothing out of order, nothing of ill-will, nothing of remorse,—when he finds, that all things are cheerful, all harmonious, all peaceful and calm,—when, like the father of a well-regulated pacific family, he sees smiles on all his thoughts, words, and works,—there arises within himself an unspeakable security; from that security springs delight; and that delight rising into rapture, he praises God the more frequently in proportion as he sees traces of the divine image within his own breast."§

These were the delights which the sages of the cloister possessed, and which proved to them a remedy for all the bitterness and weariness of life. "O Deus æterne!" they exclaim, alluding to the vain desires which might still assail them "si tu mihi dulcescas et sapias, quam cito fugient et peribunt." The admirable secret of these raptures is indicated in the following words of Richard of St. Victor: "There are some who wish to receive the taste of divine sweetness, who yet are unwilling to show humanity to their neighbor."‖ But, says St. Thomas, "if any one should have all gifts, without charity he has not life." So the monk, by his ecstasies, was brought back to that charity which constituted the peculiar characteristic of his wisdom: "for," as St. Bonaventura says, "what distinguished theological truth"—in which it consisted—"from all other, even from moral philosophy, is, that it teaches us to acquire charity."¶ "In fact it was a counsel of St. Francis," says one of his friars, "which he gives to us all, that if we are in contemplation, and even in an ecstasy, and some one should come desiring our

* Tuscul. v. 6. † Epist. 8. ‡ i. 2. Q. 112. 5. § Spec. Char. ‖ In Ps. xxv.
¶ Compend. Theolog. Verit. Præf.

assistance, we must immediately leave God for God, and run with haste to obey Him who has called us."* This was strictly the monastic rule: it was the precept of all the great mystics of St. Victor. Hence the singular combination of erudition and the love of almsgiving which is found in the monks. The more they abstracted themeslves, the more they seemed to love men. Helgalo, in his epitome of the life of Robert, after saying that Gerbert for prodigious learning was illustrious, adds, "et praecipue in eleeomosyna sancta."†

But now, seeking repose after a flight so far beyond the vigor of our wing, unable to follow such a teacher long, I would fain hear somewhat of the mysterious histories treasured up in monasteries: for in every cloister there are doubtless some hooded men who in their brains have strange places crammed with observation, the which they vent at times. Oh, I am ambitious to be a listener!

"Whoever wishes to know fully all the wondrous events connected with the holy monasteries of Spain," says Lucius Marineus, "should seek from the priests who inhabit them, and who know all mysteries." So it was in other kingdoms. Let us profit then by our present opportunity: and we shall find more pleasure than in beholding ruins where no one is found who can tell the domestic history of the place. Thou didst say—I thus address my guide in thought—thou knewest

> "A monk, whose spirit is a chronicle
> Of strange, and secret, and forgotten things.
> I pray thee summon him:—'tis said his house
> Has old traditions of a mystic lore."

That sage instructor I can hear replying,—

> "The monk of whom I spake is old;— so old,
> He seems to have outlived a world's decay:
> Huge trees seem younger: his hair and beard
> Are whiter than the tempest-sifted snow.
> ——But from his eyes looks forth
> A life of unconsumed thought, which pierces
> The present, and the past, and the to-come."

Then let me add,—

> "I would talk with this old monk;
> Though he who questions him would have to sail
> Where the stream of ocean rages around
> The foaming isles."

Yes, reader: in the monasteries were men of a singular and attractive character—saints, scholars, hermits, travellers, who bore on their countenances the seal of those who have seen every thing on this side of eternity:—men, like that aged Echenes, the oldest of the Phæcians, *καὶ μύθοισι κέκαστο*, who knew many

* Le Sacré Mont d'Olivet. † Ap. Duchesne, iv. 63. ‡ De. Reb. Hispaniæ, Lib. v.

histories ; who could relate many miraculous instances of the patience of God in bearing with great sinners, as well as divulge somewhat of the secrets of Heaven's vengeance, in traditions terrible to hear, such as now perhaps are chiefly heard within the cells of Roman cloisters : for Rome still possesses that attraction which in the middle ages made each monastery thronged with visitants, each of whom could a tale unfold that was well worthy of being rescued from oblivion. Monks, on hearing them thus publish the acts of Almighty grace, did but gather up the fragments lest they should be lost : for they understood that, as a mystic command : "the fragments," says an ascetic, "are the words of doctors, the examples of good men, which ought frequently to be considered by studious brethren, and collected in books or on tablets, as if in baskets, for the use of readers.* These personal narratives they treasured up in memory wherewith to edify their future guest : and such a charm did they impart to their discourse, seasoned with reflections of their own, that each stranger admitted to their cell would say repeatedly, in the words of Telemachus to Mentor, "Speak on,"—

αἰνῶς γὰρ μύθοισιν ἔπεσσί τε σοῖσιν ἀκούων
Τέρπομαι——— †

Or rather in those of Adam to the angel,—

"For while I sit with thee, I seem in heav'n."

"Three years ago," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "Lord Henry, our abbot, who was then vice-abbot, had to visit Clairvaux, in Frisia. On his journey he happened to lodge in the castle of a certain knight named Suederi, who devoutly received him according to his custom. He then related some of the wonderful things which had occurred in our order; and Gerlac, the son of that knight's brother, was present,—in whose heart the seed found such good ground, that from that hour, as Gerlac himself assured me, he began to fluctuate about his conversion, which took place soon after."‡

"Miracles and mysteries and sacraments belonging to the beauty of the world," says Dionysius the Carthusian : "not in its first state, that of innocence ; but in its second state, that of repairing grace."§ In the middle ages, indeed, as at all times, there were men incapable of appreciating them, through the influence of their habitual self-abandonment to the innumerable little vulgar details of life ; like the author of the Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris, in the time of Charles VI., who thinks the Maid of Orleans far less worthy of attention than the price of vegetables in the Paris market. Rigord, speaking of some miracles wrought at the preaching of Foulques de Neuilly, says, "Quæ prætermittimus propter hominum nimiam incredulitatem."‖ With what acute and philosophic eyes miracles were regarded in the cloister, may be learned from the Compendium of St. Bona-

* Thomas à Kempis, Sermonum iii. † iv. ‡ Lib. i. c. 18
§ De Venustate Mundi, xii. ‖ Ad an. 1197.

ventura.* Nevertheless, in general, the monks of the middle ages, as if feeling themselves above all suspicion, write boldly in recording all events which seemed to them supported by sufficient testimony; and some in modern times have lamented that the later Benedictine historians, Mabillon and Martene, should have been so far influenced by a fear of scandalizing the public around them, as to adopt a different style in relating the same traditions, which are but timidly and faintly sketched in their pages. However, as we before remarked, so far from wishing to work or divulge miracles, the religious orders, in ages of faith, rather sought to conceal them. The Carthusians, in particular, shrunk from the power of working them, on the ground that they did not confer, but only indicated, holiness; and that they even sometimes diminish merit, since it is of imperfect faith to seek them;† and, therefore, St. Hugo, bishop of Lincoln, refused to turn aside a short distance to see a miraculous host, saying that the things which holy faith prescribes are much more certain than those which are shown by the visible light.‡

To explain why the miracles of St. Hugo were not written down, the historian of his order says, "the Carthusians wish to shine, not with miracles, but with merits."§ "Far more admirable," says the Abbot Rubertus, speaking of Altmann, a bishop of Passau, "was the sanctity of this man than the miraculous power which he exercised. Others may wonder that he gave sight to the blind, and made the lame walk; I will rather wonder at the grace which was the inward secret principle of such operations. I will wonder at his humility, at his chastity, at his piety, at his charity, at his devotion, at his solicitude, at his prudence, at his longanimity, at his fortitude. But you cite his miracles: well, be it so. Still I shall always esteem it more admirable to have expelled from the heart avarice, pride, and luxury, than from the eyes and limbs of others to have removed blindness or decrepitude."‖

Dom Martene, in the preface to his sixth volume of the great collection of ancient writers, says that not only the Benedictines, but also the Cistercians and Præmonstratensians, were unwilling that miracles should be known to take place in their abbeys, fearing to lose their peace and quiet by the crowds that would visit them in consequence. "In the monastery of Eberbac," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "there was a poor convertite, simple and good, but decrepit. By his touch he used to cure divers infirmities; so that crowds of rich men and poor came to beg his blessing. The abbot, seeing that the quiet of the brethren was disturbed by such a confluence, and the house involved in great expense, forbad him to touch any one in future. This was told to me," adds Cæsar, "two years ago, by the monks, when I was at Eberbac. On my going to the holy man, and asking him to pray for me, he replied, 'Daily I pray for you, and for the whole world.'"¶

* Lib. i. c. 29. † Pet. Sutorus, de Vita Carthus. Lib. ii. t. iii. c. vi.
‡ Dorlandi, Chronic. Cartus. iii. 11. § Id. ii. 8. ‖ Ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.
¶ Illust. Mir. x. c. v.

Mysticism in the cloisters of the middle ages is one of the subjects on which Goërres treats. The subject is immense. It was in the convent of Dysibodusberg that St .Hildegard past eight years. The convent of Unterlinden, in Colmar, was a great school of practical mysticism in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Catherine of Gebsweiler, Hedwig of Gundelsheim, Adelheid of Rheinfelden, Herburg of Herkenheim, Margaret of Breisac, Gertrude of Colmar, Agnes of Blozenheim, and many other sisters, enjoyed wondrous gifts and visions there. So also the convent of Thöss, in Thurgau, in Switzerland, where dwelt Elizabeth Steiglin, the spiritual daughter of Suso, the hospital of Dissenhofen, and St. Catherine's convent of Hohenwyll, in Thurgau, the convent of Schönensteinbach, in Alsass, the convent of Adelhausen at Freiburg, in Breisgau, were houses peculiarly favored in this respect. So also, among the abbeys for men, of the Cistercian house of Waldsassen, in the diocese of Regensburg, many wondrous things are related.

"Great men may jest with saints," says Shakspeare; "'tis wit in them." Such companions are not with us now? so let us obey the friendly sign, and sit down with reverence, and listen. Many instances occur in monasteries—would the blessed father say—of the interposition of Heaven which are deemed miraculous, though some can be otherwise explained. "I have heard it said that there are scornful English writers who pretend that St. Dunstan's own escape was the result of his contrivance, when the floor gave way; but, without taking notice of the malice and impiety of such a suggestion, they should be told that similar accidents are related in many histories, attended with escapes of the same kind. Thus in 1183, when the floor of the room in Erfurth fell in, precipitating all the nobles, King Henery and the archbishop of Mayence were left standing in the recess of the window."* Undoubtedly, in ages of faith, men, after such escapes, were grateful, ascribing them to divine interposition. We could relate many instances. When St. Maiolus was remaining in the monastery of St. Denis one night, and was reading according to his custom, and had chosen the book on the celestial hierarchy, oppressed with sleep, the candle fell from his hand upon the book; the flame consumed the wick and the wax, but it left the page uninjured.† Father Innocent Ansaldi has a letter from the cautious and sensible Marquis Maffei, in which he speaks of certain cures effected by prayer and the intercession of saints, as having fallen under his own observation, in a manner to convince him of their truth.

The monastic diaries contain many instances. Thus in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read, "This year," 1406, "Gunther Coenhus, a vicar in Einbee, almost in the agony, was brought to us in a chariot, and by the patronage of St. Vitus, after a few days, he returned home sound and joyful."‡ "A certain abbot of our order," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "being astonished at the miraculous

* Chronic. Montis Sereni, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. ii. † Bibliothèque Cluniac.

‡ Ap. Leibnitz, Script. B. ii.

cures wrought by one of his monks, whose vestments healed the persons who touched them, asked him once secretly if he could imagine the cause? To whom he answered, 'Truly I know not. I do nothing more than the others.' 'Were you not disturbed when that soldier lately set fire to our grange?' asked the abbot. 'No,' said the monk, 'for I commit all to God.' Then the abbot knew the cause of such virtue in him."* It would be long to discourse on this subject. But let us hear instances of more uncommon grace.

There was in the twelfth century a monk of Cluny, named Benedict, who after being a secular priest, became a monk and a model of the contemplative life. His spare form, his venerable but neglected hairs, his eyes half closed, his mouth ever pronouncing sacred words, indicated that the man was not on earth, but in heaven. Day and night he meditated on the holy Scriptures; and he would always use a Psalter that had a gloss, in order that he might lose nothing of its sense. He spent a great part of the night in prayer and watching. He had for his cell a little oratory in a lofty and distant turret, which was consecrated in honor of St. Michael the archangel. It is said that he had visions of angels, and that one night in particular he beheld the whole monastery full of angels clothed in white,†

> "For spirits in what shape they choose,
> Dilated or condens'd, bright or obscure,
> Can execute their airy purpose,
> And works of love or enmity fulfil."

Randiscius, a monk, dying in the monastery of Mount-Cassino, being in the article of death, as the brethren repeated round him the prayers for the commendation of the soul, cried out suddenly, "Silence, silence. Do you not hear the lauds in the sky? Do you not see the youths that sing, whose countenances and robes are white as the snow? Silence, for God's sake, I implore you, and let me listen to that sweetest song;" and with these words his spirit departed.‡

Who has not heard of the divine visions imparted to the angel of the school? But one should hear friars of his order relate the details. Touron will satisfy us. It was while praying in the chapel of St. Nicholas, in the church of St. Dominick, at Naples, that he was seen in an ecstasy by Dominick de Caserte, who heard the voice from the crucifix, "Bene de me scripsisti, Thoma, quam ergo mercedem accipies?" to which he answered, "Non aliam, Domine, nisi te ipsum." After this he renounced writing and teaching, and prepared for death. On Passion Sunday, while saying mass in that church in presence of many friars and several officers of the king of Naples, he was again visited with ecstasy. After coming to himself he would reveal nothing, but only said, "Talia mihi sunt revelata, quod ea quæ scripsi et docui, modica mihi videantur." After this he was wholly occupied with

* Lib. x. c. 6. † Bibliothec Clun. 599. ‡ Chronic. S. Monast. Cas. iii. c. 51.

eternity; and he said, foretelling his death, "Sicut doctrinæ sic cito finis erit et vitæ." When he had expired in the abbey of Fos-a Nuova, a marvellous light shone over that house. Albert the Great, being at Cologne, was apprized of his death the same day and hour. But these things are widely known. Hear some of the purely domestic secrets of monasteries. "Lambert, a monk of St. Hubert, in the Ardennes, was proud on account of his noble birth. On the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, being about to read nocturnal vigils, he intended to pass before the abbot without making any reverence. Suddenly he saw in the arms of that holy man our Lord, surrounded with a blaze of glory. Trembling, he could scarcely stand to read. On returning he made a most humble reverence to the abbot, and burst into tears, to the surprise of all present."*

In the Bibliotheca Cluniacensis we read that Hildebrand, deacon of the Roman Church, who was afterwards Pope St. Gregory VII., while in the monastery of Cluny, in the time of St. Hugo, thought he beheld our Saviour sitting by the side of that holy abbot as he sat in the chapter room. Here the veracity of the narrator is as unquestionable as that of the witness.

How many have walked under these cloisters who were in life and death more truly than Calabria's abbot, Joachim, endowed with soul prophetic! St. Benedict was found on one occasion, not sighing and weeping at his prayers, but groaning bitterly, from foreseeing that all his monastery on Mount-Cassino, which he had built for the brethren, and all the things which he had prepared for their use, would, by the judgment of God, be delivered up to the Gentiles; though he knew it was granted to him that they should escape with life: all which was fulfilled by the hand of the Langobards, when they came by night and destroyed the monstery.†

Sophronius mentions a similar instance. "In a monastery of Scythopolis,' he says, "we met Anastasius, who told us, that one night, as he rose to give the signal for the brethren to assemble, he heard George, an old monk, weeping, who, on asking him the cause of his sorrow, replied, that he had had a vision, in which it seemed to him as if he beheld Jesus Christ upon a throne, rejecting the prayers of many suppliants, and inexorable, though his blessed mother interceded. On the following day there was an earthquake, which overthrew the maritime cities of Phœnicia.‡

Wadding mentions, that brother Thomasuccius, a minor friar, uttered many prophecies in rhythm, in the Italian tongue, in which he predicted the ruin of several Italian cities; all which proved true. "Many things I have heard of him," says St. Antoninus the archbishop, "from those who had seen him and known his conversation. Ugolino Trincius, the tyrant of Fulgino, had in vain, resolved to put to death this man of God, who had reproved him for his cruelty.

* Hist. Andagenensis Monast. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 924.

† Chronic. Casinens. c. xvii. ‡ Pratum Spirituale, 50.

Suddenly, fear and reverence succeeding to his fury, he wished to learn from him, whether the years of his own life would be many. To whom the friar replied, 'You will live till the town bell shall fall to the ground, and calves fly over the turret.' The tyrant was overjoyed at such an answer; but in 1377, when the Florentines excited the people of Fulgino to revolt, the citizens rushed to arms at the ringing of the bell, which fell down from the tower, on which the enemy placed their standard, on which two calves were emblazoned. Then rushing into the palace, they threw Trincius out of the window, who thus miserably perished."* In 1289, when the blessed friar, Petrus Pectinarius, was on his death bed, a little before expiring, he predicted the future calamities of three cities, saying, "Woe to Pistoia! woe to Florence! woe to Sienna!" The first by various wars was brought to ruin; Florence became torn by disorders, and its armies were twice defeated, at Allipassum and at Monte Cattino; and, finally, Sienna was visited with diverse calamities and intestine wars. The tomb of this holy friar is in the convent of his order in the latter city.†

In the Island of Iona you would hear things truly admirable of the saints who had dwelt in the famous monastery there. One time, on a day of raging tempest and intolerable agitation of waters, St. Columbkill, sitting in that abbey, said to the brethren, "Prepare for receiving a guest soon." But they replied, "Who can pass the straits in such a storm as this?" But the saint said again, "A holy and elect man will come to us before vespers, and the Almighty will grant a calm in the storm." Lo! the same evening a vessel arrived, in which was St. Chamnech, who was honorably and hospitably received.‡

"While stopping at the pool of God, near the mouth of the river, a Scottish poet came to the saint, and when, after some conversation, he had departed, the brethren said to the saint, 'Why, when Coronanus was going away, did you not ask him to sing some song, according to his art?' To whom the saint replied, 'Why do you now utter vain words? How could I ask a song of joy from that wretched man who is about to perish by the hands of his enemies?' After a short time, a person arrived from the other side, saying, that the poet who had just left us had been slain."§

St. Columbkill foresaw the time of his own death. Ascending the hill above the abbey, he blessed the place, and prophesied that it would flourish long in honor. Then descending, and returning to the monastery, he sat in his cell writing out the Psalter. When he had come to that verse of the thirty-third Psalm, "Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono," "Here," he says, "I stop; but what follows, let Baitheneus write." Well did he stop at that verse to whom were about to open goods that were not to fail for ever. Then he entered the church to assist at the first vespers of Sunday; after which he returned to the

* Annal. Min. tom. ix. † Id. tom. v.

‡ Adamnani Scoti de S. Columb. apud Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ, tom. i. § Id.

hospice, and sat upon his bed of rock, which to-day is the stone upon his grave. Then he spoke to the brethren for the last time. "Hæc vobis, O filioli, novissima commendo verba, ut inter vos mutuam et non ficiam habeatis charitatem cum pace." Then relapsing to silence till about midnight, when the bell sounded, hastily rising, he hurried to the church before any one had entered it, and prostrated himself before the altar. Diormitrus, following, saw the whole church illuminated by a great light, which suddenly went out as he reached the door. Entering in darkness, he called out, "Where are you, father?" nor could he find him, though he felt every where about, till the other brethren came in with their lights, when they saw him there praying. Then raising him up, Diormitrus placed his head in his bosom, while the monks, holding their lights, began to lament around him. As we heard from some who were present, the saint, opening his eyes, looked round upon them with a smiling countenance, as if he saw the holy angels coming for him. Diormitrus then raised his right hand, that the holy father might bless the brethren. He moved his hand a little, and then, after the holy benediction thus signified, yielded up the ghost. That same hour the whole island of Iona was seen encompassed with a brightness through all the space of air above it to the pole. The saint had told the brethren that none should assist at his funeral but themselves; and his words were fulfilled; for during three days and nights after his transit a great tempest, with furious rain, rendered access to the island impossible; but after his burial it ceased immediately, and the sea again was calm.* This narrative is deeply interesting; but there were, in fact, few monasteries which had not some tradition of predicted death. Dom Cantelen, a holy monk, being in good health in the abbey of Vendome, foretold that he should die within a week. He continued to work at the edition he was about to publish of the Instructions of St. Gertrude, which he finished on the very day of his death, which verified his prediction.†

Cæsar of Heisterbach relates what follows: "Cuno, the great lord of the castle of Malburg, a man powerful and rich in the world, became a monk three years before his death, and in that short space attained to great sanctity. His monastery had a beautiful mare, which was kept for breeding, so fine was the race. A certain nobleman, Henry de Isenburg, wishing to get it, offered any price, but not succeeding, he had it stolen, and then refused to give it up. The said Cuno, who had been his intimate friend while he was in the world, was sent to claim it, when Henry refused. After all his entreaties, seeing him obstinate, he summoned him to the judgment of God, and named a certain day. Henry despised the summons, but Cuno prepared himself to die on that day, and falling sick, told the abbot that the sixth feria he was to leave the world. The monks never imagined that his sickness was serious, but he actually did expire on the day he predicted, which

*Adamnani Scoti de S. Columb. apud Canisii Lectiones Antiquæ. tom. I.

† Bibliothèque Hist. de la Cong. de S. Maur. 57.

was the vigil of St. James. Hearing of his death, Lord Henry feared for his skin, and with great haste came to the abbey barefoot, with his own hand leading the charger which he had so proudly retained, and which he now led to the sepulchre of the dead monk, and there did penance.*

"Walter of Bruges," says Wadding, minister of the province of Tours, "was made bishop of Poitiers, which dignity he did thrice refuse, till required by the general of his order, Bonagratia, to accept it; a man illustrious in all virtue, and profound in theology. Zealous of the rights of his church, he defended them against Bernard de Gonth, archbishop of Bordeaux, who, on being elected sovereign pontiff as Clement V., mindful of the old contention, and succumbing to his passion, obliged him to leave the see and retire to his cloister. With pacific mind he bore the opprobrium, but on his death-bed he appealed to God, who avengeth the innocent, and held a parchment-scroll in his hand, on which he wrote that he cited the pontiff who had oppressed him to the tribunal of God within a certain time. The scroll no one could extricate from his grasp, and he was buried holding it. A year after, the pontiff passing that way to compose the dispute between the kings of France and England, ordered the friars to open the sepulchre. The body was found perfect, and the scroll was still in the hand. The pontiff then desired them to give him that scroll, and said that he would return it. He took it, read it, and gave it back, but he turned pale, and well he might. About the time specified in that summons, which gave him seven years, he was obliged to obey, and depart hence.†

All this sounds very solemn at the twilight hour, sitting in an old wainscotted chamber, within an abbey which stands in the midst of a forest, having two or three hooded men by your side. Paintings there were, too, in some monasteries well calculated to aid the effect of such histories. Those who have seen the picture by Murillo, which was taken out of a Spanish abbey, representing St. Bonaventura writing after his death, according to a legend, which supposes that he was permitted to return to life for three days, in order to finish a book he had not completed, will be able to appreciate the impressions which narratives of this kind could inspire. He is seated at a table, and in the act of writing. He has evidently known death; its paleness is over him; but there is such a peaceful benignity in his look, such an unearthly expression, that the beholder is fascinated and struck with awe. "That the grave is fitter to take the living than give up the dead," would, however, be the monk's reply to those who desired to hear such traditions. "Why do you ask me these things?" he would say, in the style of Ulysses; "I know not whether they be true or false—*κακὸν δ' ἀνεμώλια βάξειν*. If you wish to believe them, only look at the picture, and then judge whether imagination alone could have suggested such a countenance." Nevertheless, after much entreaty, a gentle guest

* Illust. Mir. Lib. xi. c. 17.

† Annal Min. tom. v. 1279.

might draw somewhat more from the sage instructor, which he in turn might repeat to other listeners, that he would be sure to have in secular house, once Hallowmass come, and a fire in the hall. Hear then what is related in the annals of Corby, in Saxony, at the date of 1095: "Brother Becelinus, keeper of the library, entering it about mid-day on the 9th of the calends of October, saw a man in our habit, sitting at a table, reading the Psalms of David. He shuddered, but it told him to fear nothing. It resembled exactly our Ansgarius, as he is painted in the convent."*

The chronicler of Mount-Cassino relates another instance. "The Abbot Gerard," he says, "being very old, and on the anniversary of the Abbot Oderisius, singing the office of the dead for his soul in the chapel of St. Sebastian, after the first vigil, when he had repeated the Antiphon, 'Anima mea Deo vivit,' the Abbot Oderisius suddenly appeared to him behind the altar of the same church, and beckoned to him that he should approach; and when Gerard saw him, he fell on his face and began to weep inconsolably; and when the office was finished he returned to his chamber, weeping and groaning; and being asked by the brethren why he wept, he told them what he had seen, and said he knew that he was about to die; and, in fact, shortly after he fell sick, and departed the way of all flesh; and he was buried in the chapter-room at the feet of the Abbot Desiderius.†

Still the monk would not encourage such inquiries. Some words of this kind might escape his lips, but he would find an excuse to interrupt them. Then would he gaze long in silence on the lovely moon, and then opening his casement, into the night would look forth. This looking forth into the night from cloisters has left many traces in the monastic chronicles. It was from opening the window of his cell one night, as an explorer of the heavens, "horarum explorator," after singing his psalms, that the Neapolitan hermit, who lived on the high steep rock near the public way, beheld the fearful escort which attended the soul of Pandulph from Capua, where he had just expired.‡ It was owing to the same practice that the monks of Mount-Cassino witnessed those innumerable falling stars which, like hail, appeared in the western sky from the fourth watch of the night till daybreak, on the fourth feria after the octave of Easter, in the year 1095, at the time when that amazing host of crusaders was proceeding from the west to rescue the holy sepulchre.§ Orderic Vitalis expressly says, "that of this spectacle Gislebert, bishop of Lisieux, was a spectator, in consequence of his custom every night, when an old man, to contemplate the stars for a long time."‖ Indeed, men of science, however hostile to us, attach value to these observations of the monks, and think that their writings furnish proof of the periodical return of falling stars,

* Annales Corbienses, ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. Illust. II.

† Chronic. Cas. Lib. iv. cap. 77. ‡ Chron. Mont. Cas. Lib. ii. 83. § Lib. iv.

‖ Lib. ix.

in different ages, about the 12th of November, when St. Gregory of Tours speaks of having remarked them.* But let us persuade our good monk to return and continue the conversation. The Sorbonne, by its decisions in the year 1518 and 1724, recognized the belief that the dead do sometimes appear to men.† Peter the Venerable relates, that a certain Seignior Gui, slain in a combat, appeared all armed to the curate who had heard his confession, and prayed him to tell his brother Anselm to restore an ox which he, Gui, had taken from a peasant, and to repair some injuries which he had committed in a certain village, on which he had imposed unjust charges, which sins he had neglected to declare in his last confession.‡ For such deeds men in those ages knew that when they died, to sulphurous and tormenting flames they would have to render up themselves. Visions of the saints, on their departing, were not uncommon. St. John of the Cross, immediately after his death, appeared to a Carmelite nun, and by his touch healed her of an infirmity which had long afflicted her. At the same moment he delivered a person of the town from the double death, and appeared soon after to two monks of the order, and also to his brother, Francis d'Yepes.§

Hear again the annals of Corby, in Saxony: "In 966, William, archbishop of Mayence, in the night in which he died appeared in a vision to Luitholf, our abbot." In 1443, Mathias Quintel, a priest in Polle, after death, was seen by many in the fields and woods: he hurt no one, but exhorted all to do penance.‖

Narrations of this kind on the lips of monks derived, it must be remembered, a charm from the context of the discourse: for they chiefly alluded to them in solemn and impressive moments, as connected with other things of more value, "when by moonlight sweetly and sadly they did talk of death." And if any one should wonder how such talk could yield a taste of sweetness, let him read Cæsar of Heisterbach's eleventh book, or the historical dialogue of Martinus, abbot of the Scotch monastery at Vienna, in which he describes, as an eye witness, the deaths of monks in that cloister; and he will admit the justice of the poets epithet. "I have heard, however, enough of this," says the youth who converses with this very Abbot Martin, "and I want to hear something stranger still." The old man, finding him in such a vein, proceeds then to relate a demoniac vision which had assailed himself when he was a boy, hastening under the moon to school in winter while it was still night, according to the custom of some places, on account of the shortness of the days, which makes such early walks necessary to scholars. This youth, by his questions, seems already to be well fortified against such terrors; for he asks, "Why did you not make the sign of the holy cross? and then it would have disappeared, and you could have gone on to school without molestation."¶ Less conversant with such themes, we perhaps might wish, however,

* Libri Hist. des Sciences Mathemat. en Italie. ll. 235.

† Dom Calmet sur les Apparitions, tom. i. p. 237.

‡ Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 1288.

§ P. Dosithée, viii.

‖ Annales Corb.

¶ Senat. Dialog. Hist. Martini Abb. Scot. Vien. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

to have a little information on the subject; for, though we heard some remarks upon it in the Eighth Book, the traditions respecting it are so general in monasteries, that no one ought to lose such an opportunity as the present for satisfying the lurking curiosity to which we may be still liable. In the collection of illustrious and memorable histories by Cæsar of Heisterbach, Apollonius is represented saying, that, on the question of demonology, he would prefer hearing the testimony of monks to that of seculars.* And Marsilius Ficinus, writing to Soderinus, thus philosophizes on the fact, which really renders them the best authority on the subject: "Men contemplative, despising human things, apply," he says, "either to religion and sanctity, or to science. Yet both fall into gulphs: for the saints, flying the vanities and deceits of mortals, fall into the temptation of demons; for they struggle, not against flesh and blood, says Paul the Apostle, sed adversus maleficos quosdam spiritus aëris caliginosi tyrannos. But what shall I say of philosophers! While avoiding the business of Jove, and no less pleasure, they fall into the tedium and black bile of Saturn; to which mighty evil Democritus, Plato, Aristotle, and all the most ingenious men, are deemed obnoxious; so that they seem to suffer the punishment of that stealer of celestial fire, Prometheus, the contemplator on Mount Caucasus. Therefore, if these men, who seem of all others to have best escaped human calamities, fall into such misery, surely no one can hope to avoid evils in this mortal life. But there is this difference: that while the one proceed from bad to worse, the others, by persevering, reap the promises of God: for they who sow in tears reap in joy."†

No one, in fact, needs to be told how this theme pervades the monastic philosophy, as appears both from the paintings and the books of monks. These holy men, suffering from such assaults, have often addressed that Prince of the Air in words as sublime as those of Æschylus.

> "That enemy from enemy should suffer
> Extreme indignity, is nothing strange.
> Let him then work his horrible pleasure on me;
> Wreathe his black-curling flames, tempest the air
> With vollied thunders and wild-warring winds,
> Rend from its roots the firm earth's solid base,
> Heave from the roaring main its boisterous waves
> And dash them to the stars: me let him hurl
> Caught in the fiery tempest, to the gloom
> Of deepest Tartarus: not all his pow'r
> Can quench th' etherial breath of life in me."‡

Do you ask, whence such combats in the very sanctuaries of peace? The ascetic replies, "that sinners, as a secure possession, are not tempted by the evil one;

* Lid. v. c. iv. † Epist. Lib. xi. ‡ Prometh. Vinct.

but that he tempts and vexes the faithful and devout." St. Thomas treats at great length on the temptation of men by demons, and states all the objections, that can be alleged against it, refuting them, and proving how God permits it to be so.* In the book of Job we see what power was given to Satan; and in the holy Scriptures generally the texts are so numerous and clear, that no one who lays claims to any Christian faith can accuse the monks of superstition, in admitting and confirming by their own alleged experience the belief to which they lead. The human enemies of monks, however, imitate the very power whose existence they deny, in omitting all mention of the virtues to which these trials led: for when Satan was asked whence he came, he was silent respecting the constancy which he had found in holy Job.

A modern historian, in order to illustrate what he terms the credulity of the German mind during the middle ages, cites some sublime legends from the work of Cæsarius of Heisterbach. I shall repeat one of these with a different object: for I conceive that it conveys a proof of the profound views and acute discernment of the monks, in teaching the real nature of those demoniac temptations to which men are subject, both in the cloister and in the world. "A priest," says the monk, "was one day in Lent hearing confessions in his church. While one by one they advanced and receded, a stout youth, who has taken his station with the rest, advanced the last of all, knelt down, and confessed so many and such monstrous crimes that the hair of the holy man stood on end. Rising from his seat, he exclaimed, 'Hast thou lived a thousand years to commit all these?' The other replied, 'I have lived more.' 'Who and what art thou?' demanded the confessor. 'A demon who fell with Lucifer,' was the reply. 'Why shouldst thou confess,' demanded the priest. 'As I stood here, looking on,' continued the strange penitent, 'I perceived that some, who came to thee sinners, left thee justified. Diligently have I listened to their statements, and to thy replies promising pardon and bliss eternal. Hoping to obtain the same happiness, I too have approached thy chair.' The priest, soon recovering, from his dismay, said coolly, 'If thou wilt follow my directions, and do penance for thy sins as sincerely as the rest, thou mayest obtain the same pardon.' The demen promised to perform any reasonable penance that should be tolerable. The priest assured him that it would be a very moderate one indeed,—far less than any which had been imposed on those who had preceded him: it would be simply this,—'Fall three times on thy face before Heaven, and say, 'Lord God, my Creator, I have sinned against thee; pardon thou me.' 'Impossible!' replied the devil, starting up; 'never can I stoop to such degradation. Enjoin me any thing else, and I will readily obey thee.' The priest bade him depart; and he vanished."

But demonology appears under another form in the literature of the middle ages; and we must inquire how it came to pass that some monks should have been

* Q. 114. ii.

accused of being in alliance with the very powers which they were enlisted to combat. Having already seen how evil insinuated itself into monasteries, we have no occasion for entering upon any further explanation with respect to the abuses to which it led. Doubtless, as far at least as guilt was concerned, there were wizards under the cowl. Wibald, abbot of New Corby, writes to Walter, a monk of that abbey, interdicting him from saying mass, forbidding him to converse with laics, or to leave the walls of the monastery, until, by his obedience and humility, it may be known what should be done. His offence was magic and sacrilege: for he used to say mass incessantly, with the diabolic intention of injuring his superiors; and he used charms and incantations. "O hominem omni lacrymarum imbre deflendum!" cries the abbot, "qui de fide perfidiam facit, de pietate sacrilegium, de religione idololatriam."* In the annals of Corby, in Saxony, we read, "This year, 1298, Gotschalk Marker, a painter, while painting the devil, was so terrified by a spectre that he soon after died." Who knows whether this was not another instance to verify what Cardan says, when, after speaking of the terrible apparitions to Cassius and Brutus, he adds, "I do not believe these to be ancient fables, or that other examples could not be found; for daily they occur; and I have known no impious man who wanted punishment of this sort?"†

In 1325, Leopold, duke of Austria, asked a necromancer if he could show him the devil. ("I only repeat what is in old books," says the sage monk.) He replied that he could, but that it would endanger his body. A stipulation was made, and he was led into a secret room, and there shown a man seated. At the sight Leopold exclaimed, "Satis est!" and immediately dropped dead.‡ Fulbert of Chartres, in a sermon, relates the history of the man sold to the demon and delivered, which is represented in sculpture on the walls of Nôtre Dame, at Paris.§ Dom Calmet may be consulted‖ respecting traditions of this kind, to which we alluded sufficiently on a former occasion. Of course, in general, such accusations against monks were utterly groundless, and the result either of malevolence or of superstition: to which last, it is a remarkable fact, that the enemies of monks were peculiarly, in all ages, prone. It was an observation made by Agobard, that the superstitious people who paid what they called Canonicum, which was a tribute to the sorcerers who pretended to have power over the air, were precisely the very men who refused to pay tithes, or to give alms to the poor.¶ The charge of magic does not seem to have been advanced against the illustrious monk of Aurillac, Gerbert, till half a century after his death; and Hock supposes that it was the schismatical Cardinal Benno who first brought it forward, when he separated himself from Gregory VII. and the Holy See. The first trace of it is

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 350.
† De Utilitate ex Advers. i. 4.
‡ Erphurdianus, Antiquitatum Varilo quus, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. ii.
§ De Nativ. B. Virg. Serm.
‖ Traité sui les Apparit. i. 39.
¶ Agobard, De Grandine.

found in the works of Sigebert, in 1113, and of Hugo of Flavigni, in 1100, who both give a false version of his leaving the monastery, and of his subsequent actions. Then followed Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury, who improved further on the legend.* Bzovius gives the following apology for him by an old poet :—

"Ne mirare, Magum fatui quod inertia vulgi
Me (viri minime gnara) fuisse putat.
Archimedis studium quod eram Sophiæque sequntus
Tum, cum magna fuit gloria, scire nihil,
Credebant magicum esse rudes. Sed busta loquuntur
Quam pius, integer, et religiosus eram."

Others also published his vindication.† But still, among the credulous and ignorant, voices were found to perpetuate such calumnies, urging that—

"The sage, in truth, by dreadful abstinence,
And conquering penance of the mutinous flesh,
Deep contemplation, and unwearied study,
In years outstretch'd beyond the date of man,
May have obtain'd to sovereignty and science
Over those strong and secret things and thoughts
Which others fear and know not."

"I am not ignorant," says the abbot Trithemius, "of the rumors which have been spread respecting my studies, and how often it has been said that I am addicted to necromantic vanities. I have, therefore, deemed it necessary for me to meet these calumnies, and leave a short defence of myself to posterity : for I am a faithful Christian, nourished in the Catholic faith, consenting to all things of faith according to the Roman Church. I am a priest and a monk, a minister of Jesus Christ. I have never had commerce with evil arts. I have never had any society with demons. One God in Trinity of Persons I adore, fear, and worship ; to the participation of whose glory I hope to attain after this life. If the things I have known or done seem wonderful, they are not the works of demons, but of nature, but of industry, but of philosophic speculation. Now hear why I have been so distinguished. At the time when Maximilian, king of the Romans, held that great assembly at Worms, there came to me to the abbey of Spanheim a Frenchman named Libanius,—a man, profound in all kinds of learning, and no less venerable for sanctity and faith. He had conversed some time with that monk and hermit, Pelagius, in the island of Majorca ; and, after his death, became heir of all his books. From him he had learned many hidden things in philosophy, on the Christian faith, on the nature of good and evil spirits, and on the mysteries of nature, and other things which are not common in the schools of men at this time. This learned Libanius, seeing my disposition and love of study,

* Gerbert und sein Jahrhund. 161.

† Sylvester II. Cæsius Aquitanus a Magia et aliis Calumniis Vindicatus, Rome, 1629. fol. attached to the Vita et Passio S. Adalberti Ursini.

said that he thought me worthy of receiving all that he had learned, first from Pelagius, and then from John Picus, count of Mirandula, during thirty years. So, beginning from the majesty of nature, he disputed on many points of wisdom and occult philosophy, and interpreted many things which were before unknown to me; by which I learned to distinguish between natural magic, which teaches how to do wondrous things by natural means, which the Church has never condemned; and that which is effected by the co-operation of malignant spirits, whether necromancy in the bodies of the dead, or piromancy by invocation of demons, or acromancy, hydromancy, geomancy, chiromancy, auruspices, auguries, auspices, pedomancy, orincomancy, sortelege, eromancy, or maleficy,—all which arts of demons are condemned by the holy Catholic Church, and forbidden to all Christians; though geomancy and chiromancy are not *in toto*, but may be tolerated in moderation, for exercise and recreation. But natural magic has been studied in all ages by holy men, as by Albertus Magnus. Magic is a Persian word, and signifies wisdom. The magicians are wise men. So far I am a magician,—that is, a lover of wisdom, divine, human, and natural. This is all my magic; but for the other condemned by the Church, I execrate, I abhor, I despise it, with its authors. At the instigation of a certain prince, (an unknown hand adds in the margin, Philip, Palatine of the Rhine,) I began to write that vast, arduous work, Steganographia, to be finished in eight books, of which I have only written two, being doubtful whether I shall proceed further, and fearing lest it may cause some to suspect me of evil arts. Perhaps it will be expedient for me that these wonderful things which I have invented should die and be buried with me, lest when I am dead, by those not understanding it, I should be accused of temerity or of superstition.*

But the monks familiar conversation was not always on such solemn or wild-melancholy subjects. "Come hither, youth; and I will tell you what happened to me in my younger days, beginning from my boyhood." Such are the first words of the historical dialogue written by Martin, abbot of the Scotch monastery, at Vienna. "Truly," cries the other, "I will listen to you gladly."† There is nothing to alarm any one in such a commencement, nor would the sequel prove it a deception.

Rainauld, a monk of Ouches, says Orderic Vitalis, had lived in that abbey from the age of five, during fifty-two years, and under four abbots. He was remarkable for the gift of memory, which enabled him to relate exactly all that he had seen and heard. He often used to charm his companions by the agreeable recitals which he used to make, drawn either from the sacred books, or from the conversations of the learned.‡ "This year," (1252) says the annalist of Corby, "Hermann de Bodenhusen, a canon of Hilleshem, had long conversations often

* Nephchus. ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, ii. † Ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

‡ Lib. iii.

with our Abbot Tideric upon antiquities, in which he was very learned."*

You will wonder not, reader, that the monks of the middle ages should have had much to relate, if you consider through what vicissitudes many of them had come to this peace; for here were some "who," as Dante says, "of all spirits had reviewed the state, from the world's lowest gap unto this height." Assuredly, without fear of disappointment, one might have conversed with a St. Louis, son of King James of Arragon, after he had renounced the promise of a crown, become a Franciscan friar, and retired into a convent in Germany, to be the farther removed from the honors due to his birth;† or with a St. William in the desert, —*πάλαι πολέμων εὖ εἰδώς*. Independently of their former position in the world, the immense journeys and pilgrimages of monks must have supplied them with innumerable themes. What a high pleasure would it have been to talk with Ingulf, abbot of Croyland, in the time of King William, who had been first a monk of Fontanelles, though an Englishmen, then secretary to the king, then a pilgrim to Jerusalem; finally, during twenty-four years, abbot of Croyland! or with any of the generals and superiors of the medicant orders, who were such great travellers! with John the Teutonic, who had visited England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Italy, and Hungary! or with a Humbert de Romans, another general of the Dominicans in the thirteenth century, who had held general chapters at Barcelona, Bologna, and London!‡ There studies, too, and their conversation with older monks, must have supplied them with many forgotten histories which lived in the eternal tablets, which they would deliver in such apt and gracious words, that aged ears might play truant at their tales, and younger hearings be quite ravished,—so sweet and voluble would be their discourse. Each abbey had curious, and often valuable histories attached to it, which were handed down from age to age. In Italy there existed ancient traditions of Attila, collected in works which Malespini had seen in the thirteenth century, in the abbey of Florence.

The work of Cæsar of Heisterbach will convey a good idea in general of the style of narratives that one heard in the monasteries of the middle ages. This monk had been educated at Cologne, and professed as a Cistercian, in 1199, in the monastery of St. Peter, at Heisterbach, which is near the bank of the Rhine, opposite to Bonn. Let us hear one of his simple tales, which have, ere now, charmed many a listener under the abbey roof. It is a ditty, we might be disposed to think,

> "Not of these days, but long ago 'twas told
> By a cavern wind unto a forest old."

"Some five years ago," he says, "near the abbey of Floreffia, in the diocese of Liege, lived a young nobleman, who, on his father's dying, inherited vast riches.

* Ap. Leibnitz, ii. Script. Brunsv.

† Annal. Min. v. 1295.

‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. 3.

The youth, becoming a knight, devoted himself to tournaments and actors, by which he was soon reduced to poverty, so that he sold all his estates. Near him dwelt a rich and honest knight, to whom he sold or mortgaged his lands; and when all his money was gone, he resolved to travel, preferring to beg among strangers than remain where he was known. He had a steward, who in name only was a Christian, being a wretch given to the demon. He, seeing his lord sad, said to him, 'Master, do you not wish to recover your riches?' 'Yes, truly,' replied the knight, 'provided I could do it without offending God.' Fear nothing, then,' said the other; 'only follow me.' So that same night he led him into a wood to a marshy spot, and there he began to talk as if with some one else. 'Who do you address?' asked the young man. 'Silence,' he replied; 'it does not concern you.' He resumed the conversation; and when the other again asked him, he said that he spoke with the demon. The youth began to tremble; and who would not have trembled at the sound of such cursed words, in such a place and at such an hour? The youth could distinguish the voice replying, 'Then he must renounce the Most High.' So the steward told him to renounce God. He refused. 'What! do you fear to pronounce a mere word?' asked the steward. 'What is it but sound? Only say, I renounce.' The miserable youth repeated it after him. Then he could hear the voice say, 'He must also renounce the mother.' 'Never,' replied the youth; 'that is what I can never do.' 'What!' said the steward, 'do you shrink when you have done what is much greater? The Creator is something more than the creature, I opine.' 'No,' answered the youth; 'rather will I beg all the days of my life.' Nothing more was said, the work was left imperfect, and both proceeded to return. On their way back they passed by a church, the door of which stood half open. The youth leaped from his horse, gave the bridle to the steward, and said, 'Wait here till I come to you.' He entered, prostrated himself before the altar, and invoked the prayers of the Mother of mercy. He wept, he groaned, he filled the whole church with his lamentations. Now the hour was about day-break, and, lo! the knight to whom he had made over his property came by that way, and seeing the church door open, and hearing the lamentations within, he concluded that mass was saying. So he entered, and saw the young knight weeping, and recognized him instantly. Thinking that he only wept for his calamities, he steped behind a pillar, and waited to see the issue. Now there was over the altar an image of the Virgin Mother, holding the child Jesus in her arms; and the youth invoked her, and it seemed to him as if in heaven she joined her prayers with his, asking her Son to forgive him, and as if He, at length, consented, through love for his mother. The youth then rising went out of the church. The other knight followed him, and coming up, as if not knowing where he had been, asked him why his eyes were so wet and swelled? to whom the other replied, that it was the wind which had affected them. 'Nay, I know the cause,' said the knight; but be comforted. I have one only daughter, and if you will marry her, I will make you

The feelings of the other may be conceived. The knight related to his wife what had passed, and the marriage was soon after celebrated. They are all at present living, but the young man is to be the heir."*

Hugo of St. Victor relates a narrative no less wild, but from the character of the narrator it acquires a peculiar interest.

"A certain brother of approved testimony," he says, "related to me what had been told him by his own abbot, who on one occasion going to visit certain monks, while on the journey took up his lodging for the night in a certain hostel, where he learned the fact which had occured there a few days before. A strange pilgrim, going for the sake of prayer to St. James, was received there to hospitality. That night, before the dawn, as is the custom with travellers, he rose, and leaving the village, entered into a wood which was adjacent. There being separated from his companions owing to the darkness, he began to deviate from the way, and after proceeding on some time, met a man of venerable habit and countenance, who, in answer to his interrogations, informed him that he was St. James, and that he was come to meet him on the way to praise his devout intentions. He then proceeded to speak of the reward prepared for him, and of the miseries of this life, and with such force that he not only quite took away the fear of death from the pilgrim, but even persuaded him, that it would be wise and meritorious to put an end to his life by his own hands. The unhappy pilgrim, deceived by this demon, attempted to destroy himself; but being discovered by his companions, he was brought back to the hostel, where, on suspicion of having assassinated him, the host was arrested and accused. The man, however, who was thought dead, recovered, and he then confessed the whole history, adding, that it appeared to him as if the wicked angel who had deceived him, while carrying him away to torment, was met by the real St. James, who obliged him to let go his hold, and that he was then permitted to have a vision of the other world, which he could not describe by any words."†

The spirit from whose lips these wild narratives proceed might win us easily to listen still; but having in memory the scowl of certain persons born near the dull-making cataract of Nilus, let us ask the good father for legends less poetical, that none may incur blame for repeating his discourse.

Well, then, we may take back this report, that never does the poor old monk indulge in telling histories without an especial view to inculcate some great practical lesson, and, above all, charity. Let these next tales bear witness. "Two citizens of Cologne," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "confessed in Lent that they were guilty of lying and perjury. 'We cannot buy or sell any thing,' said they, 'without lying, swearing, and often perjury.' 'These,' said the priest 'are grievous sins, prohibited by our Lord.' 'Then we cannot observe his precept in trade,' said they. 'Follow my advice,' replied the priest. 'Try it for one year.' They

* Id. Lib. ii. c. 12. † Eruditiones Theologicæ De Sacramentis, Lib. ii. par. xvi. c. 2

agreed to do so. Now Satan, ever opposed to human salvation, contrived that they should sell nothing; so at the end of the year they returned to the priest, and said, 'Our obedience has cost us dear. We cannot carry on business without oaths.' 'Fear not,' said the priest. 'It is a temptation. Resolve never to offend God this way, whatever may be the consequence.' They promised it. Wondrous thing! The temptation ceased, and from that hour men flocked to their shops more than to any other, and they soon prospered."* Now hear how he teaches us by a true tale to commiserate the poor.

"In the year 1192 it happened on a certain day that Rocherus, a man of high dignity in the church at Magdeburg, was playing at chess, when a servant-boy entered, and whispered to the butler, who stood near, that a poor woman had sent a messenger to ask for a little wine. Rocherus, overhearing him, ordered that the wine should be given immediately: and on the servant answering that he had no wine excepting what was in a vessel that had not yet been opened, he ordered him to open it. The servant went out, as if intending to comply, but in reality he sent away the messenger empty. Scarcely two hours had elapsed, when the church bells tolled for a death. Rocherus sent to inquire the name of the person, and the messenger brought word that it was the woman who had so lately sent for wine. Then he inquired minutely, and discovered that it had not been given. Greatly troubled, he summoned the servant to appear, and with vehement indignation commanded him to empty the entire hogshead upon the ground, declaring that he would never make use of that, of which a part had been refused to one of the poor of Christ. Then he dismissed the man, and forbade him ever after to enter his presence."

Nor was the cloister left without domestic traditions appertaining to families in the world, but each monk brought to it some history of this kind from his home, which had often the charm of an exquisite tenderness. How many sweet tales could Henry Suso, the Dominican, relate of his own mother, to whose pious memory he was so attached, that renouncing the illustrious name of his father, Dumon, who was a worldling, he chose to be called Suso, after her, during the thirty-seven years of his evangelizing Germany, from the year 1328, when he entered the convent of Constance, till his death at Ulm in 1365.†

"I should like to know, were your parents devout?" asks the youth in the historical dialogue of Martinus, the Austrian abbot; to whom the old monk replies, "I ought not to speak of that; yet one thing I will relate of my father. Once on a Good Friday he came back from the church very ill, so ill that my mother and I, and all the family, began to despair of his recovery; and when we lamented over him, he said to us, 'Weep not, for I asked the Lord that He would deign this day by some infirmity to make me participator of his passion, and I am grateful that my prayer has been heard.'"‡

* Id. Lib. iii. c. 38. † Touron, ii 13. ‡ Dialog. Hist. ap. Pez. Script. Rer.

But these effusions of intimacy must cease at the tolling of the bell. Indeed even Homer himself might read us a lesson in this respect; for Ulysses stops suddenly in the most solemn part of his narrative, and says it is time for retiring to sleep, and that he must depart on the morrow.* I know not whether my reader, like Alcinous, would wish to protract the conversation, saying,

νὺξ δ' ἤδε μάλα μακρὴ ἀθέσφατος· οὐδέ πω ὥρη
εὐδειν ἐν μεγάρῳ σὺ δέ μοι λέγε θεσκελα ἔργα,†

but I am sure that the guest of the middle ages, whether young or old, so far from disdaining even these familiar narratives, would apply to them the words of the ascetic with whom he had begun this conversation,—"Non sunt frigida verba, nisi non amanti: nec surda organa, nisi cor obturanti. "Scit amans et flagrans anima, et toties intra se concalescit cor ejus, quoties ex amore æternæ pacis compungitur."

CHAPTER XVII.

WE came within these cloisters, let it be remembered, reader, in search of further proof that there were multitudes in the middle ages who loved peace, and who, through that love, were happy. Thus far, methinks, our observations justify our first report, although, as yet, they have been chiefly general: but now I would impart to them a direction more especial, and interrogate the monks, that from their answers we may learn as fully as if we had long dwelt amongst them, what fruits of peace were yielded by the monastic institution.

But, first, what say these strangers in the guest-chamber, like ourselves, some of whom can but ill disguise their jealousy? "It is a sweet life to be in a monastery after spending one's youth in battles," says one. "Every thing here," he continues, "speaks to the imagination. The loud tolling bell, the solemn organ, the chaunt of matins, resounding under these long vaulted aisles."‡ He speaks maliciously, but so far his observations are just. Another of a similar

* Od. xi. † xi ‡ Capefigue.

school, describing the Carthusian monastery near Valentia, called Porta Celi, indicates, however, more discernment of the true advantages of monastic seclusion, for he says, "Everything there nourishes the peace of the soul. Though one may have held the monastic life in aversion, it will be impossible not to feel an interest in these silent solitaries, who, at least, do not neglect the benefits which nature has spread round their dwelling, and who, austere for themselves only, peaceably laborious, do not even merit the charge of being useless. In their cemetery, shaded by palm trees, and embalmed with roses, the idea of death seems stripped of its terrors." This is still the testimony of one who comes from a hostile camp; but if we consult any young unprejudiced observer, we shall find that he can discover at a glance the leading characteristic of monastic life. Thus a recent traveller, describing the union among the monks in the convent of St. John the Baptist, near Jerusalem, says, "You see different countenances, some more gay, others more reserved, in fine, the varieties which must exist in all assemblies of men; but here you find in all that peace of heart, and that innocent joy, which result from a tranquil conscience, and a life removed from the cares of this world."*

But now, in fine, what says the monks themselves? Unquestionably they will yield a cheerful assent to the first speaker, and plead guilty of leading a sweet life. St. Bernard is almost ravished with the beauty and pleasures of his monastery. "Good God," saith he, describing it, "what an aggregation of pleasures hast thou provided for the poor! Deus bone! quanta pauperibus procuras solatia!" "In this porch of paradise," he says elsewhere, "the voice of a divine whisper is heard, a most holy and most secret counsel, which is hidden from the wise and prudent, and relvealed to little ones."† Bernard the abbot of another monastery, writing to the saint, bears the same testimony after visiting him. "Man, when he was in honor, did not understand, which sentence is verified in wretched me," he says to him; "for I did not sufficiently understand, when I was in Clairvaux, that I was in a place of pleasure, between trees of paradise; and, therefore, I counted for nothing the desirable land."‡ St. Peter Damian says, that the monastery of Cluny "is a garden of delights, producing all the graces of which roses and lilies are the symbol." What else is the Cluniac monastery, but a field of the Lord, full of things celestial, where they are in profusion?§ A certain canon regular, writing to the monks of St. Barbara in Normandy, to describe the manners of the Præmonstratensian monks, after enumerating many excellences, adds, "With them existed that one principal and singular good of concord and unanimity, every one supporting the other in charity."‖ All the great and acute observers of monastic life in ages of faith corroborate these testimonies. To Mount-Cassino Charlemagne, who so loved its holy family, addresses this epistle,—

* Delaroière, Voyage en Orient † De Conversione, c. 14. S. Bern. Epist. 344.
§ Epist. v. ‖ Ap. Martene, i. 780.

"Hinc celer egrediens facili mea carta volatu
Per silvas, colles, valles quoque perpete cursu,
Alma Deo cari Benedicti tecta requie.
Est nam certa quies fessis venientibus illuc.
Hic olus hospitibus, piscis, hic panis abundat,
Pax pia, mens humilis, pulchra et concordia fratrum,
Laus, amor, et cultus Christi simul omnibus horis.
Dic Patri et Sociis cunctis, salvete, valete,
Colla mei Pauli gaudendo amplecto benigne
Dicito multoties, salve, Pater Optime, salve."*

St Peter, Damian says of these monks, "Blessed are they who live with you, blessed are they who die amongst you in your holy works;"† and Isidore, who translated the tract of St. Nilus on the Christian philosophy, says, in his Preface, to the monk Ambrose of Florence, "Last year, while staying at that mount, or rather paradise of Cassino,‡ Rothrod, archbishop of Rouen, being invited by the monks of La Charite to seek rest with them in time of war, after replying that he cannot be absent from his flock, continues thus: 'To converse with you, we count beatitude and the image of another paradise. Nothing more renders bitter our present troubles than the memory of that peace which we enjoyed within your cloister, conversing with you as with angels. If we cannot bring about peace, at least we beseech God for the things of peace. Implore him, brethren, to reduce to peace the tumult of the present discord.'"§

The anonymous monk of Ratisbon says, "that he returned thanks to God for the charity and peace which he enjoyed while residing in the monastery of Fulda; 'Magnum quippe mihi tunc videbatur, in eodum monasterino pacifico incessu posse deambulare;'‖ that monastery, under the Abbot Eigil, was described by his disciple as enjoying profound internal peace." The brethren, in happy tranquillity, have one heart and one mind in God.¶

Neckham, abbot of Cirencester in 1217, speaking of his iuvenile years in the abbey of St. Alban, bears testimony to it in these lines:

"——Claustrum
Martyris Albani, sit tibi tuta quies!
Hic locus ætatis nostræ primordia novit,
Annos felices, lætitiæque dies!
Hic locus ingenuis pueriles imbuit annos
Artibus, et nostræ laudis origo fuit.
Hic locus insignes magnosque creavit alumnos
Felix eximio martyre, gente, situ,
Militat hic Christo, noctuque dieque labori
Indulget sancto religiosa cohors."**

* Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. c. xv.
‡ Ap. Martene Vet. Script. tom. ix.
‖ Ap. Mabillon, Vet Analect. iv.
** De Lau de Divinæ Sapientiæ.
† Hist. Casinens. Sæc. vi.
§ Pet. Bles. Epist. clv.
¶ Præf. in iv Sæc. Benedict. 6.

Some time after Peter of Blois had visited Croyland, the abbot wrote to him to request that he would undertake to write a continuation of their annals, promising to send him the materials. The archdeacon, in reply, takes occasion to extol the happiness of that community. "While with you lately," he says, "I was refreshed with so many delights, enriched with so many presents, edified by so many devout exercises, that being called away on the king's service, I was troubled in spirit, and afflicted to such a degree, that as long as I live I shall have your countenances, and the persons of each of you, as it were, painted before me. Calling to mind the urbanity with which you received me, which seems indigenous in the place itself, I was so affected with a womanish tenderness, that before I reached the firm land, seven or more times did I pull my reins, and look back from the midst of the marsh to gaze again on your most holy monastery, and bless it from my heart, and grieve for myself, like Adam when exiled from paradise."* Orderic Vitalis, concluding his history, testifies the peace and happiness he has reaped in his monastery. "It is time to finish this book," he says: "in fact, I have passed sixty-seven years of my life in the worship of my Lord Jesus Christ; and while I have seen the great men of the world overthrown by terrible misfortunes, and the most distressing evils, I am, thanks to God, strong in the security which my submission gives to me, and in the joy which I owe to my poverty. Lo, there is Stephen, king of England, kept mourning in prison, and Louis, king of France, a prey to torments of various kinds, in expeditions against the Goths and Gascons. What shall I add? Almighty God, supreme King, I render thee thanks for having disposed of my years according to the good pleasure of thy will. Baptized at Attingham, on the Severn, on the Saturday of Easter, by the curate Orderic, whose name was given to me, I was sent, in the fifth year of my age to Shrewsbury school, where I offered my first services in the Basilica of Saints Peter and Paul. There, during five years instructed in Latin by the illustrious priest Siegward, I was made familiar with the Psalms and Hymns, and other necessary studies. But thou didst not wish that I should remain in the midst of parents and relations, lest mundane affections should cause an obstacle to my observance of thy law. Therefore, thou, who didst send Abraham from his country, didst inspire my father Odelir with the design of offering me to thee wholly. Bathed in tears, he committed me to the monk Rainauld, and sent me away an exile for thy sake, since which hour I have never seen him more. Young and weak child, I had no wish to oppose him, for he told me, that if I became a monk I should have after my death paradise with the just. Thus did I abandon my country, my parents, and my friends, who all wished me farewell with tears in their eyes, recommending me with affectionate prayers to thee, O my God, O my supreme Adonai! I was ten years old when I passed the seas, and arrived in Normandy, unknowing and unknown. As Joseph

* Pet. Bles. Continuatio ad Hist. Ingulphi in Rer. Aug. Script. tom. i.

in Egypt, I heard a language that I understood not. Nevertheless, assisted by thy grace, I met with from strangers all the gentleness and the friendship that I could desire. The venerable Mainer, abbot of the monastery of Ouches, admitted me to the monastic state in the eleventh year of my age. He substituted the name of Vital for my English name, which seemed barbarous to the Normans, borrowing this name from one of the companions of St. Maurice, whose festival was that day celebrated. Thanks to thy favor, I have remained in this convent fifty-six years, loved and honored by all my brethren and fellow-countrymen far beyond my deserts. I have revered as my fathers and masters, because they were thy vicars, the six abbots, Mainier, Serlon, Roger, Guerin, Richard, and Ranulf. They have governed legitimately the monastery of Ouches: they have watched, as if they had to render an account for me and for the others: they have used their ability within and without; and under thy eyes, and with thy assistance, they have procured us what was necessary; and since thirty-four years I have fulfilled faithfully the holy ministry of priesthood in all the joy of my heart. Thus hast thou made me to live, O Lord God: thus gratuitously hast thou lavished thy gifts upon me. For all thy benefits, O tender Father, I yield thee thanks, I praise and bless thee with all my heart, and with tears in my eyes I implore thy mercy for my innumerable sins?"*

Finally, extending their observations beyond themselves and their own community, the monks express a profound conviction of the immense advantages, in regard to peace in general, which resulted from the monastic state. Many abbeys were called "the gate of heaven," and rightly, if we receive the evidence of those who knew what was the life within them; for as a modern philosopher says, "Certainly it is hevaen upon earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth." "O how happy is the life of monks," cries Alcuin, addressing the brethren of Salzburg; "life, pleasing to God, lovely to the angels, honorable to men."† "For a man of good manners," says Brother Francis Antonio Guevara, "the tranquillity of a monastery constitutes another paradise. Certes, if one reflects well, there is no peace under heaven, equal to that of being in company with good men, praying to God with them."‡ It was there one saw clearly verified the song of the church. "For the testament of the Lord, and the laws of their fathers, did the saints of God persist in the love of fraternity, because there was always in them one spirit and one faith."

This love of fraternity, this expansion of heart towards all men, did not exclude the enjoyment of friendship in its more common acceptation, for in the cloister graces did not counteract each other. "Nor is such love," says the Abbot Suger, "repugnant to charity, since He who commands us to love our enemies does not forbid us to love our friends."§ Peter of Blois remarks, that St. Paul,

* Lib. xiii. † Epist. 20, ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. 11. ‡ Epitres, II
§ In. Vit Ludov. vi. ap. Duchesne, v.

when he came to Troad, says he had no rest for his spirit till he had found Titus his brother; and again, when he came into Macedonia, that his flesh had no rest till He, who consoles the humble, consoled him in the coming of Titus.* Gerbert, writing to his old Abbot Raimund, thanking him for his long friendship, adds, "what else is true friendship but an eminent gift of the Divinity: quid est aliud vera amicitia nisi Divinitatis præcipuum munus?"† Hence Sigebert, abbot of Gemblour, says, "that immense thanks should be returned to God for providing such delight for men as is furnished by epistolary correspondence."‡ "Leave me then," the monk would say, with a modern author, "the memory of all my friends, even of the ungrateful. They must remind me of some kind feeling; and perhaps of theirs; and for that very reason they deserve another." But this phrase indicates the experience of the world in its present state of civilization; for the same writer says, "A friend is a creature now extinct: we read of its petrified bones in distant regions." Within the cloister, where, "true to themselves, monks could not be false to any man;" and in the Catholic society, which faith had animated, we meet with no complaints of this kind. To discover them we must go back to the day of paganism, when Cicero said that scarcely three or four pair of friends could be found in all the past ages. "But let no one wonder," adds Peter of Blois, "that there were few friends among the heathens; for they knew not Him who is love, whose charity is diffused through our hearts by the Holy Spirit which is given to us. But since the voice of the turtle has been heard in our land, the voice of Him announcing peace, announcing the truth of friendship, and saying, 'This is my commandment, that ye love one another;' many thousands of men have contracted true friendships, loving each other more truly, certainly, prudently, and with more force than Pylades and Orestes. How many thousands have had but one heart and one mind, and how many have laid down their lives for their friends and brethren in Christ."§

"It is gratifying to find," says a modern historian "that the best human affections can subsist in the cloister: perhaps there they exist in their greatest intensity; for there the rivalry of the passions is not to be found—none of the jealousies, or misconceptions, or caprices, which beset men amidst the busy scenes of the world."‖ Where facts seem to contradict this judgment, St. Bernard supplies the explanation, saying, "Neque hoc facit stupor, sed amor; submittitur sensus, non amittitur; nec deest dolor, sed superatur, sed contemnitur."¶ But let us now behold this creature living, which in the world men affirm has been so long extinct; for it is not in a fossil state that friends among monks were found but in all the freshness of a new creation—

> "Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love
> Uninterrupted joy, unrivall'd love,
> In blissful solitude."

* De Amicitia Christiana, 21.

† Gerberti Epist. 29.

‡ Ap. Martene. Vet. Script. tom. i. 986.

§ De Amicit. Christ.

‖ Europe in Mid. Ages. Encyclopæd. ii. 174.

¶ Serm. 61. in. Cant.

What deep affection subsisted between St. Francis and that Bernaad Quintavalle whom he first sent to preach, and whom he so lovingly invited to be present at his death? "Dear to him also," he used to say, "were the simplicity and purity of brother Leon, the good nature of brother Angelo of Rietti, who had been a knight in the world; the gracious look, natural science, and devout conversation of brother Mace; the contemplative elevation of brother Gilles; the spirit of prayer of brother Ruffinus; the patience of brother Junipere; the laborious activity of brother John of Landes, the charity of brother Roger, and the solicitude of brother Lucide."* Many followed their friends to the cloister or the desert, and assumed the habit at their suggestion. Erluin, abbot of Gemblou, in the middle of the tenth century was attached, by divine dispensation, in bonds of closest friendship with one of the most noble men of the age. Guibert; insomuch that "unum vellent et unum nollent in Domino." Nevertheless, he believed that much was wanting to him when he alone had withdrawn his feet from the vanity of the world, because the other part of his soul, the pious Guibert, was still held fast in the mire of the profane world. Desiring, therefore, that his friend Guibert should truly and perpetually rejoice in the Lord, he burnt with all the ardor of his mind to win him to the Lord, and he directed all the grace of friendship to effect the salvation of his soul: nor did he rest until he had drawn him from out of the mundane lake of misery, and had placed upon him the rock of ecclesiastical conversation; and had directed his feet in the ways of justice; and had put a new hymn of divine praise in his mouth. Ever afterwards he was his strenuous instructor and advocate in all times of difficulty."†

Celebrated was the friendship of those illustrious hermits of Venda, Albericus de Burgo-ricco and Stephen de Tremignone, who retired together to the desert of Camaldoli, where leading a most holy eremetical life during thirty-two years, they passed to eternal peace, with only forty-six days intervening between each other's death, in 1241.‡

When Eckehard III. died, who had been dean in the abbey of St. Gall for thirty years Wickard threw himself on the dead body, and, through sorrow, gave up the ghost.§ When Peter the Venerable died, the grief of the monks of Cluny was so poignant that no common mode of expressing sorrow sufficed to them. They kissed his face, and drank the water with which they had washed his body; and each endeavored to carry off some of it to preserve as a memorial of the man he loved so brotherly.‖

This intense affection of monks for their superiors, or brethren, may be witnessed also in those old paintings which represent death or funerals within the cloister, amidst the tears of the community; as that by Angelico de Fiesoli, of the

* Diego de Navarre les Chroniques des Frères Min. Liv. 11. c. 51.

† Libell. de Gestis Abb. Gamblacens ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vi.

‡ Annal. Camald. Lib. xl. § Necrolog. S. Galli. 21 Martii. ‖ Chronic. Cluniacens

death of St. Clare by Murillo; or that by Pedro de Cordova, in the Louvre, of an old monk carried to his burial, scenes of surpassing tenderness! still witnessed within religious houses, as I can testify, after assisting at the obsequies of the venerable Marguerite de Lezeau in her convent of the Mother of God, in Paris; at whose requiem several, through sorrow, fainting, fell like corses to the ground; while sighs, with lamentations and loud moans, with hands together smote, made such an accompaniment to the sweet voices who sung around her, that the sound thrills me yet.

What affectionate friends were seen in the abbey of Mount-Cassino, when St. Maur and his brethren departed from it to proceed into France! An analogous scene occurred in the abbey of St. Victor, at Paris, which is thus described. It being resolved that regular canons should be placed in the abbey of St. Geneviève, when Suger was conducting the reform of that house, that holy abbot, with some religious men, went to the abbey of St. Victor to demand assistance. "We forgot nothing," says Suger, writing an account to the pope, "to persuade the venerable abbot of that monastery that it was the will of God he should succor the church of St. Geneviève. We conjured him, both in private and before the whole community, with all imaginable earnestness, but without effect; because being prudent and wise, he feared to weaken his own house in helping another: but when he saw that we asked even for his prior, a man of rare merit, to be the new abbot of St. Geneviève, he was still more troubled; for then he began to weep, and to sob with such force, that he moved our pity. 'You wish then to take my life,' said he, 'at my age, loaded with years and infirmities; I cannot do without my prior: no, I can never consent to it.' This was his answer during the entire day; but at length, as night came on, and we still pressed him as we had done, without intermission, from the morning, and interposed the authority of your holiness, he consented; and, preferring the general good of the church to his own, promised us his prior and twelve of the canons, all men of great merit."*

If we desire to single out some eminent example of one who cherished friendship in the cowl, we may distinguish the illustrious monk of Aurillac, Gerbert, whose correspondence with the abbots and brethren of different monasteries is more concerned with the interests of deep private affection than even the peaceful occupations of a learned life. Writing to Constantine the scholastic, he says, "Vis amicitiæ pene impossibilia redigit ad possibilia. For how should I have undertaken to explain the reasons of numbers unless by your exhortation, O my sweet consolation in labor, Constantine!"† Writing to the abbot of Aurillac and the brethren: "In common, indeed, to you all," he says, "I return my thanks, but especially to Father Raimund; to whom, after God, if there be any degree of science in me, I am above all men indebted. And now farewell, holy

* Hist. de Suger, liv. vi.

† Epist. 161.

college; farewell, my acquaintances, and those joined with me in affinity; and if there should be any remaining whom I have not known sufficiently, or only by their appearance; whom I have neglected, not through any pride, but from being torn, and, if I may so speak, altogether changed by the ferocity of the barbarians. What I learned when a boy I lost when a young man; and what I desired when a young man I despise in my old age. Such are the fruits I have reaped! O pleasure! Such are the joys which the honors of this world bring forth! Trust, therefore, my experience. In proportion as glory exalts princes externally, does the interior torment prey upon them." His object in thus writing to these ancient friends is to implore their prayers.* With the most fervent affection did he love his director in Aurillac, the Abbot Gerald, his instructor Raimund, the monks Airard, Bernhard, and the others. In every passage of his life, in his contests at Bobbio, at Rheims, on the funeral of King Lothaire, in the power of his betrayers, after his own election, and at the court of the emperor, he still ever thinks of them, greets them, sends them presents, and recommends himself to their prayers. With what warmth does he defend the interests of his friend Constantine in Fleury! How solicitous does he continue to show himself for the monk Rainaud in Bobbio; consoling, advising, and assisting him! With restless zeal he serves his Adalbero; until, on his death-bed, he is his companion, his servant, his counsellor, his champion! Extending his friendships beyond the cloister to the house of Otho, in misfortune as in prosperity, he evinces the same love. Over the third Otho he watches as a father over his child; and the severest blow of all he ever felt, which he receives as the signal for his own departure from the troubled scene, is Otho's death. The loss of the young emperor, who died at Paterno in 1002, was a wound from which he never recovered. He had seen pass three generations of great rulers, whom he had personally loved; having followed to the grave the last Charles, and the last of the Othos, with whom his friendships died. His letters, his public acts cease at this period. He expired on the 12th of May, 1003, and was buried under the portico of the church of St. John Laterun. Pope Sergius IV., the third of his successors, wrote his epitaph, beginning,

"Iste locus mundi Sylvestri membra sepulti
Venturo Domino conferet ad sonitum:"

and ending with

"Quisquis ad hunc tumulum devexa lumina vertis,
Omnipotens Domine, dic, miserere sui!"†

Thus fervently did men learn to love their friends in the sanctified retirement of the cloister; and if they continued to practice these lessons so zealously when removed from it to the dizzy and distracted scene of common life, what must

* Epist. 35. † Hock.

have been their friendships within the monastery, while inhabiting the house of peace together! "When we were youths we began to love each other in Christ," says Peter the Venerable to St. Bernard; "and now that we are old, shall we doubt of our love, so sacred, of such long-standing? Far be it from us."*

The monk of Mount-Cassino, who composed the history of the Normans, speaking of the Abbot Desiderius, says, "I wish that I may die in the time of this holy abbot, and that he may live after I am dead, and that he at the last day of my life, may give me the absolution of my sins."† "Ask Severus, if you desire to know any thing of his monastic life," says Paschasius to Adeodatus in that curious dialogue, which contains the history the Abbot Wala. When Severus replies, "Brethren, brethren, what shall I say, or where shall I find words, since nothing remains to me of him, unless the power of tears and sorrow, for it was good for me, when with him I was carrying the yoke of my youth, as if solitary before him, and was silent rather than now, when I have permission to speak of him. O good Lord Jesus, how indefatigable didst thou make him in all offices of love! how strenuous, how efficacious, how devout."

Richard, a monk of St. Remi, having removed to Canterbury, in which monastery he was living at the time of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, Petrus Cellensis, his former abbot, writes to him in these terms, "Behold, my dearest Richard, I would rush to embrace you on hearing of this change of your habit, though it can hardly change your mind for the better; for what attribute of decorum, what of maturity, what of piety, what of charity, what of all religion, was wanting to you when you were before me, and in the eyes of our congregation, a mirror of goodness and a model of imitation? Had you remained with us, you would have been a comfort to me against all troubles, nor do I think that God would have deserted me as long as I possessed such a pledge of his mercy; but what has happened, has happened. This absence of the body must only be a stimulus to greater friendship, and dictate more continuance of prayer."‡

A monk of St. Victor writes to his friend as follows: "Hearing, my beloved, that you are living well, and in health, that you prosper in all things, that you please God and men in your manners, and that you are glad to hear accounts of me as your relative, I rejoiced with great joy, and though dead to the world in regard to its affections in this respect, I confess I am not wholly free; yet this is the gift not of the world, but rather of charity, which as it renders sometimes your pious breast solicitous about me as your relation, so also it affects me with cares for you as my relation. From which as I am now in part delivered, thanks be to God, it only remains that I should exonerate myself by sending a letter in return. So then at Paris, having put my hand to the Lord's plough in the house of God, and of blessed Victor, under the canonical rule of St. Augustin, as a pu-

* S. Bern. Epist. 389.

† L'Ystoire de li Normant, Lib. iii. c. 49.

‡ Pet. Cellens. Epist. Lib. v. 14.

pil, I have decreed to militate for Christ, to serve whom is to reign, to be restrained by whose bridle is perfect liberty, where I live, yet not I but Christ who dwelleth in me; where the world to me is crucified, as am I to the world; not seeking there the things which are mine, but those which are Christ's; and this is my glory, to will and to be able to please God. Do you desire to hear greater and sublimer things of me? Lo I consult my memory, and I know nothing; I can find nothing; but what shall I say? more, and as if greater things I promised, and so I am reduced to nothing; and nothing know; or is it perchance, that thus to have descended, is rather to have ascended, as it is written, "qui se humiliat exaltabitur;" for he is truly humble who had rather be reputed vile, than pronounced humble? but enough of this. It remains that I reveal to you my secret and ardent desire. If by your means I could procure any particle of the relics of the glorious martyr of Christ, St. Thomas; for that would be to me a treasure more precious than gold and topaze, that would be a companion and a consoler in my pilgrimage, a sweet guardian against the temptations of the insidious enemy. If you should be able, hasten to send it to me in a sealed vase, and by some trusty messenger. Farewell."* Monastic superiors had as many friends as subjects. When Thomas, the venerable abbot of Croyland, became blind, which calamity he bore with cheerfulness and humility, the monks so loved him that they prevailed on him to retain his pastoral dignity till his death, and he governed them in that state five years.†

When Ambrose of Camaldoli, in 1431, was to remove from his monastery in Florence, by order of Pope Eugene, on being made prior general of the order, which office required him to visit distant provinces, he describes his departure thus: "So I Ambrose, then sub-prior, and Sylvester, my sweetest companion, with whom I had passed thirty years in that monastery, were obliged to set out. We left the monastery on the 11th of October, while the brethren were singing vespers, lest anything of disturbance should arise from their tears and lamentations."‡

Indications of the most tender love and amiable sympathy for all members of their respective houses, abound in the writings of the monks. Hugo of St. Victor, supplies an instance. "I am invited out," he says, "and I am enjoined under obedience, to become a guest with strangers. I ride forth and arrive at their house. I sit down at table. White bread and good wine, fish, and cheese, and eggs are produced. Then I begin to think of my brethren who are in the convent, and it is grievous to me to be treated differently from them, and to think that I should be feasting splendidly while they are only dryly supporting nature. My conscience smites me if I have fish instead of beans, and cheese instead of onions or millet."§

* Vetera Monumenta Monast. S. Victoris ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vi.

† Hist. Croyl. ‡ Annal. Camaldulens. Lib. lxii. § De Anima, Lib. iii. c. 36.

For seculars too, as we remarked in the instance of Gerbert, they manifest friendship with no less fervor and familiarity. Guevara, the Franciscan, writes to a Spanish nobleman in these terms: "Illustrious Seigneur, if you think that I am not your friend, you err; for your friends and mine know that Don Fernando, of Cordova, Clavaire de Calatrava, and brother Antonio de Guevara, are two bodies with one will, united by an indissoluble bond of friendship." The mourning of monks on the death of friends has left many traces in their writings. The grief of St. Bernard on losing his brother Gerard, dictated one of the most affecting epistles that was ever written, from which St. Bernardine, of Sienna, borrowed certain passages when lamenting the death of his own friend, the blessed Vincent of Sienna.* The internal combat between joy and sorrow, which the monks endured on occasion of recalling the memory of friends, is beautifully expressed by St. Hilary, when preaching the funeral sermon of his friend St. Honoré. "Talem reminisci dulce est, tali carere supplicium." It was the custom at Clairvaux, for the monks not to leave the interior of the monastery after the last sacraments had been administered to any brother, until after his burial or recovery.† The sorrows of friendship, perhaps, were never expressed in more affecting words than in those of St. Peter the Venerable, when he heard of the death of many of his monks, and addressed the survivors in the following epistle, in which he styles himself, not so much their abbot as their servant.

"I have heard," he says, "my dearly beloved, that the hand of the Lord hath touched you, that many and precious members of our body have been cut off by the sword of divine judgment, that the living fall upon the dead, that youths and old men are carried off in equal numbers; that little boys precede to the grave men of a hundred years of age. We who are left suffer intense affliction, from being deprived of so many useful holy brothers; all have matter for sorrow; but I more especially; for who else has such cause for lamentation and tears? What father is there of so iron a nature, as not to be filled with anguish at the death, I do not say of so many chosen, but of one only son? and what father could ever be so great a debtor to his sons, as I am to you? for what father has ever found in his carnal sons such obedience, such sincere love, such prompt obsequiousness as I have in you? Who has ever had such sweet experience of affection as I have received from you? If I had to pass the Alps of Italy or Spain, you always went with me in mind and affection. If, as often happened, I visited Rome, you adhered inseparably to me. If I had to cross the seas, you sailed along with me in heart, in devotion, and in prayers. If I was sick, you became infirm with me in grief and compassion of mind. Without you I could never labor or make head against dangers: how could I therefore see such dear friends torn from me without feeling the most profound grief of heart? The former ages seem to have returned, and the angel of the Lord appears to have stretched forth

* Annal. Min. tom. xi. † Voyage Lit. de Deaux Bénéd.

his hand over our Jerusalem, I trust in the mercy of Almighty God, not to destroy, but to correct it. Ah, it is I who have sinned, and who have done iniquity; but as for these sheep, what have they done? But I ought not to aggravate your sorrow, nor indulge any longer in these lamentations. Let us change our tears into prayers, both for those who are departed, and for ourselves, who may so shortly follow them. Above all things, let us beware of the detestable opinion that the Most High doth not care for us, since, as the apostle says, 'whether we live or die, we are the Lord's.' Nothing in human events, as you well know, occurs through chance; fortune confounds not the death and life of men, and though the abyss of the judgments of God be hidden to us, we cannot doubt but that it is in all things just. Not a sparrow falls to the ground without your heavenly Father, and do we suppose that any servant of God can finish his mortal life without that same heavenly Father? the hairs of our head are all numbered, and our steps are reckoned; and how much more is our death or life known to Him? I beseech Jesus Christ, the Creator of all men, and your Redeemer, the Author of our transitory and eternal life, to receive to eternal life these members of his flock that have been taken from us, and those who may be about to be summoned. Raise up your hearts, dearest brethren, in devout prayers, stand between the living and the dead, and with a contrite and humble heart invoke the mercy of Almighty God. I would rather speak than write to you; but I am compelled to continue my journey to the Pope: I trust soon to return, and again by God's favor, to behold those whom my soul loveth."*

Thus then was the grace of friendship imparted to the peaceful inhabitants of cloisters. Thus did they love each other; but this was not all, for it is certain that they also loved the place itself which sheltered them; and the contentment of heart which such love indicates, is so remarkable that it will be well to produce passages in proof. Who now is content with the place of his own residence, and willing to remain in it for ever? "We that are born in the sorrows of this pilgrimage," to use the words of St. Gregory, alluding to men in a similar state of society, "have come to that state of weariness, that we know not what we ought to desire; or the more the mind alienates itself from the food of sweetness, so much the more is the disease increased, and therefore it has no appetite for internal delights, because it has long ceased to enjoy them, so that we are oppressed with weariness, and with the lingering pestilence of famine, and because we do not wish to taste within the prepared sweetness, wretched men, we love our hunger. This is the difference between the delights of the body and those of the heart, that when the former are not possessed, they are ardently desired, but when greedily enjoyed they turn to loathing, and are soon despised; whereas on the contrary, spiritual delights, when not possessed, are held in loathing, but when possessed are the object of desire; and so much the more are they thirsted after

* Epist. Lib. iv. 39.

in proportion as they are more possessed. With the former, the appetite pleases, and the experience disgusts; with the latter, the appetite is vile, and the experience delights; with the one, appetite generates satiety, and satiety disgust; with the other, appetite leads to fulness, and fulness produces appetite; for spiritual delights increase desire in the mind while they fill it, because the more their taste is perceived, the more they are known and desired."* Hence the experience of the middle ages leads the ascetic to conclude, that "the more studiously any one keeps within his cell, so much the more doth it please him; but that the seldomer he enters it, the more he dislikes it."† Of disliking it, however, as the monastic writings prove, it was seldom a question in the middle ages; or if an instance did occur, it was generally followed by a voluntary return of the fugitive to the monastery, imploring to be received on condition of performing some humiliating penance for the rest of his life; as in the case of the monk of St. John-des-Vignes at Soissons in the thirteenth century, whose nine last years were thus spent, proveing how dearly he valued the peace which pride had tempted him to forsake.‡ Monastic severity on such occasions consisted in refusing to receive back the fugitive.

Who is this already risen, the hour before the heavenly harnessed team begins his golden progress in the east, standing so thoughtful at an open window, inhaling the freshness and the beauty, which seem to fill his eyes with tears of gratitude! It is the monk, who says with the Carthusian, "the cell is a place of refuge, a seat of quietness, a port of tranquillity; the cell is a place of useful discipline, conducing not a little even to human objects; for where the impediments of the world are excluded, where the darkness of sin is dissipated, where the passions are bridled, where hostile tumults are appeased, a great facility is afforded to learning. The cell is therefore an excellent place for composing books. In what place are celestial truths so profoundly discussed, so subtilly investigated as in the solitary silent chamber? The cell is besides a place for inflaming the affections, and for exciting holy desires; for there devout thoughts and divine meditations are more frequent."§ "The meditations of a solitary student," says a great French physician, "have a secret charm which makes him forget the vulgar joys of the exterior world. He loves to take refuge from it. and find himself face to face with nature."‖

"Pax est in cella, foris autem plurima bella,"

was the line ever on the tongue of brother Pacifico of the Franciscan convent of Sienna, to whom I used to be led often by my father when a boy, says a holy priest of that city.

* S. Greg. Hom. 36. in Evang. † Thomas. à Kemp. de Discip, Claust. 7.
‡ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 162. § Pet. Sutorus de Vita Carthusiana, lit. ii. t. ii. 1.
‖ D'Alibert, Physiologie des Passions, 1, 88.

In the middle ages there were princes and noble philosophers in the world who loved to imagine themselves in the same asylum. Writing to Andrew Corneo of Urbino, John Picus of Mirandula says, "I prefer my little cell, my books, and my peace of mind, to royal courts, to their occupations and honors."* Ulysses, though in the island of Calypso, and in the beauteous grotto, grieves that he cannot see his father-land. What a lovely scene was spread before him! what harmony in the groves! what odors from the meadow! yet he sat alone, weeping, gazing on the sea, making the rocks re-echo with his groans.† To the monk, his monastery, though in a foreign land, was his country, so far as enabling him to enjoy the peace which reigned within it and the felicity of existence Benedictine monks indeed used to derive their names from the spot in which their monastery stood, not from that in which they had been born.‡ With what affection do they speak of the abbey which has sheltered them!

"Toto corde meo te Centula mater amavi.
Traditus à puero, mea sub te colla ligavi.
Richarius foveat me, sub quo sanctificavi,
Ut Christo placeam, me cui sacrificavi."

Such are the lines with which the monk of St. Riquier concludes his chronicle of that house. The monk of Crovland is diffuse in praises of his own monastery.

"Dulce patri fratrem fore, quo cœtu vacat omnis
Fraterna invidiai decus; hoc Croylandia sola
Se sua concordia semper voto celebrasse
Vindicet ut proprium, discedant jurgia, rixæ.
Hic nihil hospitii poscant, sunt omnia plena
Hospitibus gratis; libet id narrare quod ipsi
Vidimus, ut virtus crescat laudata; quid illa
Alliciens hominum mentes devotio sancta
Efficit in templo, quantum prostratio parva,
Mens humilis, rectus oculos, pes sobrius, et vox
Continuæ laudis, juvat his nimis associari
Collegiis, quorum pia vita repercutit ipsa
Culmina cœlorum: ne sancta precamina votis
Frustentur precibus fratris, ego nunc mea vestris
Omnia commendo, valeant qui vestra valere
Exoptant, etiam vos in Christo valeatis."

"Me sola Hirsaugia gaudet," is the expression of Trithemius in writing its chronicle. "Though separated from your church now twenty-four years," says Ansellus writing to his friend at Paris, "yet in mind I am ever present there with you, and I call to memory continually the places in which I was nurtured, and those with whom I was educated; yea, in my dreams I often seem to assist at your solemnities and processions, and at your ferial matins and offices

* Joan. Pic. Mir. Epist. Lib. i. 86. † v. ‡ Sicilia Sacra, i. 172.

and to sing with you."* The diaries and chronicles of the monks contain indirect, but no less convincing, proof of their attachment to the monasteries in which they lived. In 1337 Theodoric, abbot of Corby in Saxony, wrote letters to require the superiors of every house to keep a chronicle of the events relating to it on the ground that such documents would be of advantage to future ages.† Sometimes, indeed, the monks preferred giving a brief, simple record of chief public events, as that of the monastery of Cava.‡

Frequently they produced works of great historical importance, as the house chronicle of St. Gall, begun by Rapert, from the time of St. Gall, and continued by Eckehard IV., Burkard, Konrad von Pfeffers, and Küchimeister, till 1328, when the narrative closes. Collections of this kind are very curious, from their containing, besides original information, extracts from earlier records; thus in the annals of the abbey of Clonmacnois, written in the eleventh century, are fragments of Irish writers and poets of the sixth and seventh centuries, of whom no other vestige now remains. "As navigators love to relate the dangers of their voyages in youth, so monks, after escaping from worldly passions, were fond of casting over the sea of the world a melancholy look, which was not wholly without a charm."§ "The matter of this work," says John, abbot of Victoria or Vitring, in his chronicle of Carinthia, "is concerning the emperors, kings, and pontiffs, of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, with diverse incidents intermixed, including an interval of one hundred and twenty years, exhibiting to the reader the shortness of human life, the fragility of nature, the instability of fortune, and the treacherous and transitory variety of mundane glory."‖ The monks of Einsiedelin, Albert de Bonstetter, and Hartmann, in their chronicles, have both, like some other monastic historians, contrived to group the principal events of Europe round the incidents immediately connected with their own abbey, so that the monastery forms a common centre to all important facts, the recital of which might otherwise have been complicated and obscure. But, in general, like the historians who preceded Herodotus, monks confine their observations to local limits, and content themselves with recording, in a concise and artless, but clear and not ungraceful style, the events in each district, or the legends relating to the houses which they especially loved. These diaries, which might be styled monastic evenings at home, which descend even to such details that one might regard them as a kind of farm-yard journal, that bring back many boyish recollections, indicate those habits of quiet and delicious observation with regard to the occurrences of each day in rural life, than which nothing can more unequivocally indicate peace of heart, contentment, and fondness for the very locality in which they were living. Thus one of the chronicles, published by Dom Pez, records when the cistern of

* Gallia Christiana, i. 427.

† Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 621.

‡ Chronic. Cavense, Rer. It Script.. vii. ab an 569 ad 1318.

§ Paulin Paris, Dissertations sur les Chroniques de S. Denis.

‖ Ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

the abbey was frozen; another, how the Danube over-flowed, inundating the cloisters and even the library; another, that violets were gathered at Christmas and the Epiphany.* Let us read a page of the annals of Corby in Saxony.

"This year, 897, our Godescalchus had an admirable dog, whose prudence (if it be lawful so to speak) all admired. He was taught by brother Baddo an ingenious monk. In 1049, on the mountain of Belenberg, there was a wild boar taken, probably strayed from Sollingen, with an iron collar, on which was inscribed, 998, A. C. D. D. whence we concluded that it was put on by Adolphus, count of Dassel, who was a great hunter. In 1155 all things were well composed in the monastery, God giving His blessing. In 1159, a rustic who never took any other food but milk, died at the age of 131. In 1160 and 1161, we had tranquil times, full of concord and religion, God being propitious to us in all things within and without the abbey. In 1200 there was a parrot of rare capacity in our monastery. 1307 was a happy and fortunate year in all things, glory to God. In 1324, a stork, building its nest on our palace of the Cæsars, filled our granary with vipers and serpents; for as particles of these reptiles fell from the nest, they multiplied to the injury of men and cattle. The nest, therefore, was destroyed." Cæsar of Heisterbach, however, by the way, would not have advised that measure, for he says, "At Cîteaux, the headhouse of our order, there are many storks, which the brethren permit to build all round the abbey, because they freed the place from reptiles. The storks and the brethren lived in peace, and the storks, on going away for the winter, seemed, by their hovering round the monks who were working in the fields, to ask a blessing, which was given to them."† The diaries make frequent mention of the sagacity which birds and other animals seemed to attain under the protection of the monks. When, by order of the Bishop Heidenrich, the monastery of Kulmsee, founded by Bishop Christian, and destroyed by the pagan Prussians on their invasion of Kulmerland, was to be rebuilt, one day, as the abbot, and some knights of the Teutonic order, were inspecting the work, they espied a tame raven, which belonged to Stettin, one of the monks, sitting sorrowful by itself, and the abbot said, "What are you thinking of, raven?" and the raven answered in Latin, "The eternal years and your death."‡ In 1507, in the convent of Muri, there was a lamb like that which St. Francis had, which, at the sound of the bell, used to go to the choir and stay there during the whole of the divine office. When the sign for matins used to be given, it used to run round and beat with its forehead against the door of each cell, and so perambulate the whole dormitory, beating till it had raised every one up, and on entering the choir, if it missed any one, it would return to the dormitory and beat."§ In 1336, say the annals of Corby, Daniel Bobenhus brought from Belenberg an otter, which our novices had for a long time in the refectory.

* Ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

† Illust. Mirac. Lib. x. c. 58.

‡ Voight, Geschichte Preussens, ii. 477.

§ Wadding, Annal. Minorum, xv.

We before alluded to the meteorological observations of the monks. Here again they come before us as connected with important events to the communities which were so dear to them. Thus we read that it was in the beginning of a dreadful night of storm and rain that John, a monk of Ouches, a poet and a saint, who had lived forty-eight years in that house, expired.* Orderic Vitalis, enumerating the calamities of the year 1134, describes the heavy snow which began on the Holy Innocents, the inundations succeeding the consuming of the succeeding June, the numbers of bathers who perished in the lakes, the storm and whirlwind on the eve of St. Laurence, after nones, and the lightning which proved fatal to so many persons,—in September the destruction of Mans and Chartres, Alençon, Nogent-au-Perche, Verneuil, and other towns, by fire, the awful breaking in of the sea in Flanders, and, finally, the death of many illustrious princes and seigneurs. On the twenty-eighth of October, 1135, while the church, he says, "was celebrating the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, and that monks were singing devoutly the office of matins, there arose, about the fourth watch of the night, a violent wind, which continued unabated till nones, resounding with a terrific uproar, uncovering the roofs of the houses, and ravaging the woods, and prostrating a multitude of trees."† Guibert, abbot of Nogent, does not disdain to notice such events. "The thunder," he says, "one morning fell over this monastery, entered the church, and destroyed part of the chasuble, which was deemed one of the most precious in the treasury. That chasuble had been sought for by name by the king of the English, an illegitimate man, and enemy of the church, named Rufus, whom God afterwards slew by means of a hunter. This king being unwilling to draw from his own treasury, destined a monk to be executor of this intention, and sent him to the abbot, saying, that he should give him fifteen marks of silver; but the abbot refusing, the booty was taken by violence from the monastery, and soon after was redeemed for fifteen marks by the same abbot. Thus, by a sacrilege and by sacriligious persons, the chasuble was first procured and then compounded for, so that the whole was under malediction."‡ Let us hear the chronicle of Mount-Cassino. "On the fifteenth of February, while the brethren were in the church singing the office of the first hour, suddenly the thunder fell, and the hebdomadal priest, Mauno, and a novice were struck dead, and the rest were thrown prostrate on the earth. The picture of the Abbot Richerius was split in two, and many parts of the church injured. Therefore the venerable father, in council with the brethren, decreed, that, to appease the wrath of God, every month, on the first Friday, the community should abstain on bread and water, and proceed barefoot to mass, at which the prayer against thunder should be said, as also the appropriate Psalms. I myself, says Leo of Ostia, remember, while at school in the monastery, that one night, during the second nocturn, the thunder fell six times in the church, and struck the tower. The monastery

* Orderic. Vit. Lib. v. † Lib. xiii. ‡ De Vita Sua, Lib. i. c. 21.

being built at the very top of the mountain, was exposed to frequent calamities from lightning, as well as to the vehement blast of the winds from every side, so that when Abbot Desiderius rebuilt the church, it was necessary to lay a deep foundation, excavating the rocky crest of the mountain with fire and iron. So frequently did these dangers occur, that every Sunday in the year it was the custom at Mount-Cassino to make a public supplication between tierce and high mass. When I was a youth, says the Abbot Angelus de Nuce in his notes to the chronicle, I remember the thunder having often caused strange phenomena. Once it stripped one person of his hair; another it rendered for the moment insane; another it weakened in his limbs; and another escaped safe. Prodigia demum ex fulgoribus et fulminibus futurosque eventus venari non est christianæ religionis."*

One observation recorded acquires a fresh interest from its similarity to what was seen at Migné in recent times. "In 1414, on the eighteenth of March, a minor friar preaching on the Eucharist in the square of the town of Guadalfagiara in Castille, during a public supplication, there appeared in the sky, over his head, a cross, white as the snow, which was seen both by Christians and Jews. Four or five days after, one hundred and twenty-two Jews, embraced, in consequence, the Catholic faith. Through all Spain this was celebrated, and King John of Castille, and King Ferdinand of Arragon, sent figures of the cross in letters to St. Vincent Ferrer, asking his opinion, which is given by Diagus in his history of the Dominicans of the province of Arragon."†

The dangers to which monks were sometimes exposed in their isolated convents, and the strangeness often of the manner of their deliverance, form also a very interesting part of these peaceful memoirs. Thus, in the annals of the Capuchins, we read, that some Turkish pirates, in 1575, made a descent on the Italian coast in the province of St. Nicholas near the convent of Monopolitani, which stood near the shore. Thither they went, when, lo! the matin bell was sounded at the usual hour. The pirate supposing it an alarm, was for retreating hastily, but an apostate in his crew told him what it meant; so they proceeded, entered the church, and heard the brethren singing the divine praises. We must suffer them to praise God, said the pirate; let us go elsewhere first, and on our return we can take them prisoners when they will have finished worshipping God. So departing secretly, they went to a secular house in the neighborhood, and took captive all its inhabitants. On their return to the Capuchin church, finding the friars still at their devotions, they said, these men who praise God, and crucify themselves thus for others' wickedness, must be spared. They passed on to their ships, and the friars escaped the danger.‡ On a September night, in the year 1474, after the gates of the city had been closed, some Turkish pirates made an invasion on the Franciscan convent, without the walls of Mazara, in Sicily, intending to pil-

* Chronic. Casinensis, Lib. iii. c. 22.

† Wad. Annal. Minorum, ix.

‡ Annal. Capucinorum, ad an. 1575

lage it, and carry off the monks prisoners. That night the sacristan, moved by an internal impulse, rose before the regular hour, and tolled the bell for matins, at which sound the pirates thought that snares were laid for them, and fled to their ships.* In like manner the chronicle of Mount-Cassino records, that certain robbers set out by night to make a descent upon that monastery, but that, by an interposition of Providence, they were made to wander all night long round and round it without being able to find the place.

Such, then, in general, are the motives and observations of the monks, which, I conceive, without danger of contradiction, we may adduce as indicating their attachment to the houses of peace which they inhabited; in connection with the interest of which the least events acquired such an importance in their eyes, as to be judged worthy of transmission to posterity. But we are not left to come to a conclusion from such inferences; for the monks expressly record how dearly they loved their own abbeys, and how deeply they grieved when they were torn from them.

When John, abbot of Croyland, in the reign of Richard II., was obliged to travel to Westminster to defend the cause of his abbey in Parliament, the monk who relates his history says, "that he was torn away from the quiet of contemplation to exercise his duty amidst the laborious affairs of the world."† Speaking of Richard, abbot of the same house in the time of King Richard III., the historian says, "Nor ought we to consign to oblivion the manners and merits of this father, and the patience of his mind, by which, as we hope, he gained the reward of eternal happiness; for he was much more inclined of his own disposition to the study and writing of books than to engaging in the disputes and troubles of secular affairs." So that patience was tried in leaving the monastery, not in remaining in it. "If it please his majesty to let me retire to my convent," says the Franciscan Guevara, "I promise you, on the faith of a Christian, not to stop one hour longer at the court; for the court is no more fitting for me than I am for the court."

Bede was deemed most happy from never having left his abbey of Wearmouth; though without having seen Rome, it was he who first gave that name to the amphitheatre of Vespasian, by which it has ever since been designated. Many of his contemporary monks were as content as himself to remain in their monasteries. When Lullus, the bishop, sent presents of clothes to the Abbot Gutberct, the disciple of Bede, that holy man replied, "Gratefully I have received your gifts, to honor the blessed memory of our master Bede. It seems, indeed, most just, that the whole nation of the English, in all their provinces and every where, should return thanks to God for having raised up among them such a wonderful man, of whom I can bear testimony, having been nourished at his feet. This garment of various colors which you have sent me to preserve my body from cold, I have

* Sicilia Saera, ii. 871.

† Hist. Croylandensis Rer. Aug. Script.

consecrated to the Almighty God, and have placed it with great joy as an ornament to cover the altar which is in his church, because I have lived in this monastery under his protection for the space of forty-three years." Mabillon cites a passage from the chronicle of a monastery, describing the peaceful life of a lay brother, who for fifty years had never left that house. "He never wished to go out to stay at any of the exterior cells: he used to lie in the church, taking care of the lights, cleaning the pavement, washing the walls, and laboring with all his power in the discharge of holy services: he used to sing the Psalter in order every day, and after matins he never indulged in the rest of a quiet bed." At length he made a blessed end, after a short illness.* "This year, 853," say the annals of Corby, "our Bunicus, called to be a bishop, preferred serving God in his cell, rather than rule over others, to the danger of his soul."† When Pope Nicholas wished to make Matthew Rheginus, a minor friar, archbishop of Rosana in Calabria, he sent to him Cardinal Formano, who came into his cell and disclosed the object of his mission. The friar, without answering him, ran out of his cell, and called the brethren to come to his assistance. He wept and and cried out, "Come hither, help your miserable brother. Alas! wretched me; I have spent a long time in religion, I have lived poor and obedient, I have never violated the rule of blessed Father Francis, I have preached the word of God to the people; in my little cell I have enjoyed a rich poverty, contemplating divine secrets, and now I am called to episcopacy, to business, to honor, which I never desired. O Immaculate religion, O sacred influence of the cloister, O sweet silence of the cell, O beloved brethren, O companions of my consolations, am I to leave you, and to be deprived of your most sweet conversation? No. But I must have your assistance; defend, deliver me, lest Firmano should carry me off."‡

In the abbey of Abdinghoff at Paderborn lived the recluse St. Paterne, who having predicted that the city would be consumed by fire, and seeing his prophecy accomplished, preferred perishing in the flames to leaving the cell which he had chosen, as Sigebert and Marianus Scotus relate. Nor can I omit mention of a poor Clare, once a marchioness at the court of France, whom I met hastening back to her convent, from which she had been sent to beg alms, and who told me with a smile, that her motive in adopting such a rapid mode of conveyance was anxiety to die in her own cell; for having past her eightieth year, she regarded a slight indisposition as announcing that she was near her end. The same desire was expressed by St. Bernard; for towards the close of his life, in a letter to Peter the Venerable, he writes thus, "I have determined to leave the monastery no more, excepting once a year, for the assembly of the Cistercian abbots. Here, supported by your prayers and consoled by your benedictions, during the few days which I have further to militate, I shall wait until my change cometh. My strength is broken, and I have a legitimate excuse to move about no longer as I used. I shall sit

* In VI. Sæcul. § 12. † Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. iii. ‡ Italia Sacra, ix. 865.

and keep silence, if by chance I shall experience what of the fulness of internal sweetness the holy prophet uttered, saying, 'Bonum est exspectare Dominum in silentio.' In silence and in hope will be my strength."* It was in reply to this letter that Peter the Venerable says, "What I never remember to have done, unless through reverence for the sacred books, when I had read the writing I kissed it." What shall I add to these instances? There was found stability in monks, even when their places seemed to know them no more: the walls might perish; their hearts were immoveable. When the monks of Ouche were proposing to remove, after the destruction and pillage of their abbey, Orderic Vitalis relates that the Prior Ascelin resolved to remain and end his days there in the fear of the Lord. "As for you," he said to his brethren, "I dare not persuade you to abandon your resolution to fly fron this desolated spot. Depart with the benediction of God, travel to foreign countries with the bones of our good father; but as for me, I will not abandon the territory of Ouche. I will serve my Creator in the place where He has loaded me with so many good things. I know that the bodies of many saints repose here. An angelic vision pointed out this spot to our holy father, that he might combat here for the edification of much people. A vast number of the faithful have offered up on this spot to the Almighty King, the agreeable sacrifice of a holy life, the recompense of which they have now received, crowned in the Elysian asylums. I will remain here, persevering in the track of those who have preceded us; I will preserve this savage spot in the name of the Lord, until a more prosperous time shall smile upon us, through the grace of the Lord of lords." Ascelin remained here till his old age and death, when he confided the place to his nephew, who was a clerk; but the young man grew weary of the solitude, and passed into France. Thus, all men having withdrawn, Ouche became again a desert.

An historian of Ireland says, that the annals of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries mention numbers of devout and learned monks living among the ruins of their monasteries, which had been ravaged by the Danes, as if unable to leave places so dear to them.

When Dom Martene visited the abbey of Bourras in the diocese of Auxerre, he found it in ruins; but one monk still lived amongst them, a model of holiness and poverty.† In 1640, John Hartry, a Cistercian monk, on returning from Spain, fixed his residence among the ruins of the dissolved abbey of the Holy Cross in Tipperary, where he compiled a work upon that ancient monastery, and a history of the Cistercian order in Ireland. When the last revolution overthrew monasteries in Europe, similar instances of attachment and stability was often witnessed. A traveller through Germany may still arrive at vast desecrated monasteries, in which some poor old constant monk is lingering solitary in an obscure distant chamber of the immense building, at whose death the state, like a

* Epist. ccxxviii.

† Voyage Lit. 51.

greedy vulture, is to rush upon the remainder of the spoil. The count of Stolberg mentions, on occasion of his visit, in 1791, to the beautiful Carthusian monastery on the banks of the Rhine, near Mayence, which had been lately suppressed, that when the monks received the command to leave the cloister, command emanating from the primate of Germany, at which Stolberg, though then still a Protestant, seems to cover his face with both hands, one aged father died of horror on hearing the resolution.*

This attachment of monks to their own monastery and order was very different from the narrow and contracted affection of men in the world, who are so self-endeared that nothing pleases but what is in some degree or other personal. There were different orders to suit the divisions of graces, of ministrations, and of works which were inspired by the same spirit under the same Lord. Of diverse voices is sweet music made; and so in the Church different orders rendered sweet harmony; "for all were so arranged that none could see and not admire them." "The Church, like a garden of pleasure, was adorned with many colored-flowers, represented by the variety of her sacred orders and rites,"† which were in perfect agreement with unity of faith and manners. Each order, each monastery could supply something of interest to the curious student of ecclesiastical antiquity. "The difference of monastic orders," says a Carthusian, "arises from the difference of dispositions in men; for what pleases one would not be grateful to another; what would benefit one would injure another. Some like solitude, others society; one loves contemplation, another action; and it was for this reason that the holy fathers instituted so many different modes of life, as conducive to salvation."‡ Therefore, Pope Clement IV. replied to a knight who asked which order he ought to embrace, "They all tend to the same end, which is the salvation of souls. Whether you embrace this rule or that, you will take the narrow way and enter by the little gate into the land of milk and honey. Examine, then, carefully which order is most suitable to your genius, and adhere to it, so as not to withdraw your love from others," for "some," says St. Bonaventura, "tend to God by quiet, others by labor; some in this manner, others in that; and often what is esteemed the least is the best. Therefore," he adds, "do not judge any one to be more imperfect than yourself, because he does not perform all the things which you do."§

"Monks on a journey," as St. Bonaventura says, were careful to avoid exalting the merit and excellence of their own order, dwelling on the detail of its advantages, so as to praise it to the disparagement of other institutes: they were to esteem it without making any invidious comparisons; for it is wickedness to praise one's self while depreciating others."‖ "Never boast of the dignity of your order," says another cloistral guide, "or the beauty of the locality, lest you

* Reise in Deutschland, 35.

† Card. Bona de Divina Psal. 439.

‡ Pet. Sutorus, De Vit. Carthus. Lib. i. c. xi.

§ Stim. Amoris, P. iii. c. 9.

‖ Specul. Novitiorum, c. 32.

should be deceiving yourselves."* "Heaven forbid that any one should believe God to be local," says a monk of Cluny, writing for the instruction of an abbot of a monastery at Spires," so as to suppose that He cannot perform in the territory of Spires what He does in France. Only let his mercy be with you, that He who proves the reins and the heart may see that there his precepts are observed with the same simplicity and with no less regard to his will."† As St. Bernard says, "Each one was to hold fast the good which he held without judging another holding other things; that whoso had received to be good might not envy those who were better; that he who seemed to himself to do better might not despise what was good in another; and that they who could live more strictly might not despise those who could not."‡

With what veneration does St. Bernard write to Guigo, prior, and to his brethren, the Carthusians, declaring that he hardly presumes to interrupt their quiet by his writings, lest he should trouble Moses on the mount, or Elias in the desert, or Samuel in the temple.§ The letters of the Cluniac monks to the Carthusians, requesting to be associated in the society of their prayers, show what a fraternal bond could unite different orders.‖

Writing to Pope Eugene, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, says, "Many know how much I have always loved and venerated the institutions of the Carthusian order. I know it well; for if my mind do not deceive me, I acknowledge that for the last thirty years I loved that order above all others, and I thought that their life was preferable to that of all the other institutions of the Latins."¶ "Do you think we are angry," says St. Bernard, writing to the abbot and brethren of Flay, in the diocese of Beauvais, "if any one who leaves our monastery, is received into yours? I wish that you could save without us, all that are committed to us. If any one of ours should fly away to your house for the sake of greater perfection, and through a desire of stricter life, so far from being angry at your assisting him, we entreat you to do this; nor shall we regard ourselves offended; but on the contrary, as much beholden to you for such assistance."**

It was the custom of the two monasteries of Mount-Cassino and of St. Vincent, for the brethren to visit each other during Lent, in order to draw closer the bonds of love."†† "This year, 906," says the annals of Corby in Saxony, "our Chrysostom went in golden Corby, in France, and was most humanely received there by the whole congregation." Monks of one order did not seek to win over those of another to their own. "Some one wishes from the Cluniac Institute to pass to the Cistercian poverty. If he consults me," continues St. Bernard, "I do not advise him to do so. Why so? First, because of the scandal of those whom he leaves: secondly, because it is not safe to leave certain things for doubtful:

* Thom. à Kemp. Dialog. Novitiorum, 3. † Antiq. Consuet. Cluniac. Epist. Nuncup
‡ De Præcepto et Dispensatione. § Epist. xi. ‖ Mabill. Vet. Analecta, 159.
¶ Epist. Lib. vi. 12. ** Epist. lxviii. †† Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. 35.

thirdly, because I suspect levity in such wishes."* Again, elsewhere, he writes thus: "Who hath ever heard me disputing or secretly whispering, against the order of Cluny? When have I ever seen one of that order, but with joy, received him, but with honor, spoken to him, but with reverence, exhorted him, but with humility? I have said, and I repeat it, that mode of life is holy, instituted by the fathers, pre-ordained by the Holy Ghost, and not moderately adapted to the saving of souls. I remember having been sometimes received to hospitality in monasteries of that order. May our Lord recompence to his servant the humanity which they evinced beyond what was necessary to me in sickness, and the honor beyond my deserts, which they thus lavished upon me. I have commended myself to their prayers; I was present at the collations; often had I discourse with them publicly in their chapters, and privately in their chambers. Whom have I ever attempted to alienate from that order, or to invite over to ourselves? Have I not rather repressed many who wished to come to us? Why should we disagree? Are the continent and the married to condemn each other, because they converse in the church according to their respective laws? Are monks to blame clerks, or are monks of different orders to speak derogatively of each other? How shall there then be peace in the Church, in which there must be variety, for it is impossible that one man should hold all orders, or one order all men: I am not so stupid, as not to recognize the tunic of Joseph, not of him who delivered Egypt, but of him who saved the world. The Church is clothed with variety, but all is peace. Each receiving his peculiar gift, ministers accordingly; one in this manner, another in that; whether Cluniacs, or Cistercians, or regular clerks, or faithful laics; each order, each tongue, each sex, each age, each condition, in all places, and in all times, has its peculiar office, and exercises it in peace.† What then? I am a Cistercian; do I therefore condemn the Cluniacs? God forbid; but love them, but I magnify them. Why then, you will say, did I not embrace the order? because, each one has his particular calling, and all things are not expedient; and different medicines are required for different diseases. I praise and love all orders, wherever there is a pious and just life in the Church. Unum opere teneo, cæteros caritate.‡ In fine," he says, "let it be remembered, that whatever may be our observance, those who live orderly, and yet speak proudly, make themselves citizens of Babylon, and sons of darkness and of hell, where is no order, but eternal horror dwelleth."§

About the year 1140, a certain canon regular writes in these terms to a prior. "Facta est contentio inter discipulos quis eorum videretur esse major. This root of dissension was taken away by Christ, saying 'qui voluerit major esse inter vos erit vester servus.' Who after this will dare to say, ego melior sum? If any one ask me who is best? If I am a canon, I answer the monks are best: if I

* De Præcepto et Dispensatione, xvi.
† Apologia ad Guillelmum, c. iii.
‡ c. iv.
§ c. v.

am a monk, my reply is, the canons are best. This is the rule of a Christian."*

With what love and reverence does Martin of Fulda, the Benedictine, speak of St. Francis and of the rise of the Mendicant orders !† "It cannot be believed," says the chronicler of Monte Sereno, "that any one of these two new orders of the preachers and minors can be holier than Augustin or Benedict. But, far be it from me to say this in their disparagement. I only lament that men who wish to renounce the world think the primitive orders no longer sufficient."‡

"There are more canonized saints in the order of St. Benedict," observes an Austrian abbot, "than in any other : yet this I say," he adds, "not to derogate from other orders ; for every order is good, provided it deserves to be called an order ; but where is no order, there is confusion."§ "It is not glorious to the blessed that men should dispute concerning holy men, or claim them with intemperance for any particular order," says Mabillon. "Such contests were unknown to the ancient monks. We wish to make a work that will benefit all who profess the monastic life. Nor does it matter whether you be instructed by the example of a Basilian or of a Benedictine. All Christians live in common. The saints lived in common : their example is proposed in common, that all may derive advantage. Charity claims nothing private for itself. We shall, however, endeavor carefully to distinguish our saints from the monks of another institute —'non ad faciendam pompam, sed ad illustrandam historiæ veritatem.'" The Benedictines had no jealousy against the modern orders. Balthasar à Dermbach, abbot of Fulda, desired that his body might be buried in the church of the Jesuits, where he had erected a tomb for himself ; and John Frederic, who succeeded him, adorned and restored the Jesuits' church.‖

Observe how Trithemius the Benedictine praises the men of the Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and Carmelite orders,¶ on the origin and excellence of the last of which, he wrote a book expressly,** and how the Carthusians praise every other order as well as their own !†† The Cistercians alone were thought by some to regard the Franciscans with less favorable eyes ; ‡‡ but no facts are produced to justify the opinion, Nor were the new orders remiss in returning such love. At the death of a Benedictine abbot, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Capuchins, used to be seen entering his church, to kiss the body, as when Dom Didier de la Cour died at St. Venne.§§ With what reverence and affection does Touron the Dominican speak of the Benedictines, and of Mount-Cassino, in his life of St. Thomas of Aquin ! Arnold Bostius, a Carmelite, wrote a book in praise of the great men of the Carthusian order.‖‖ Ribadeneira says, that St.

* Ap. Martene. Vet. Script. i. 767. † Chronic. ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i.
‡ Chron. Montis Sereni, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. ii.
§ Dialog. Hist. Martini Abb. c. 7. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
‖ Schannat. Hist. Fuldens. p. iii. ¶ In Chronic. Hirsaug. ** Trithem. Nepiachus.
†† Anonym. Carthus. De Religion. Origine, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi. ‡‡ Annal. Minor. iv.
§§ Voyage Lit. de Deux Bénédict, 508. ‖‖ De Viris Illust. S. Cartus. Ord.

Dominic bore a wonderful great respect to all other religious orders, and to every particular person of them; and of the Seraph of Asisi he might tell the same: for love and wisdom made them similar. "Once baptized," says the Franciscan Antonio Guevara, "there is no order in the whole Church of God in which a good man cannot be saved, and in which a bad man will not be condemned: so that, whether we take the habit of St. Benedict or of the Augustinians, of St. Dominic or of St. Francis, of the Carthusians or of Trinitarians, or of any other, it matters little, since they are all holy habits, instituted by holy men."*

Pope Clement IV., in 1266, in the letter already quoted to a certain noble knight, who desired to know to which of the two orders he should yield himself in preference, replied, "Adhere to the one, and still love the other; for a friar of the order of preachers, who does not love the Minors, is execrable; and a Minor friar, who either hates or despises the order of preachers, is execrable and damnable."† So the great historian of the Minors, in his epistle to the reader, desires to extol the merits of both equally. "The society of the Minors," he says, "has many and spacious things; but neither are great ornaments wanting to other orders of the Church.—'Pulchra sunt omnia tabernacula Jacob, et tentoria sacra Israel, ut valles nemorosæ, ut horti juxta fluvios irrigui, ut tabernacula quæ fixit Dominus, quasi cedros prope aquas.' The illustrious Baronius," he continues, "magnifies the Dominicans, but seems disposed to depreciate the Franciscans. Let the sacred family of the preachers live, flourish, and be exalted; whose learning, discipline, and dignity, are beyond all praise. But, in order to commend it worthily, is it necessary to vituperate the Minors?‡ True to these instructions, the great poet of the ages of faith, in his paradise, represents St. Bonaventura the Franciscan proclaiming the praises of St. Dominic, and St. Thomas Aquinas the Dominican celebrating those of St. Francis: each blaming the irregularities, not of the other's order, but of that to which he himself belonged.§

It would not be difficult to produce admirable instances of fraternal affection, which long continued between these two great families. When some grandees of Andalusia, and even officers of the King Philip II., took occasion to injure the Franciscans, it was a Dominican of Granada, Ferdinand du Château, superior of the convent of Our Lady of Atocha, and of great authority at court, who, without being solicited, undertook their defense, and exerted himself to such effect that the prosecution was stopped.‖ What bonds of affection existed between St. Vincent Ferrier, the Dominican, and St. Bernardine of Sienna, the Franciscan!¶ With what admirable charity and kindness did the Camaldulese fathers treat the Capuchins, when they stood so much in need of support!** And again, what generosity did Dominic Ferdinand Navarette, the Dominican, archbishop

* Epist. Lib. ii. † Annal. Minor. tom. iv. ‡ Wadding, Annales Minorum, Epist. ad Vet. § C. xii. ‖ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. Dom. iv. 32. ¶ Id. iii. 17.
** Annal. Capucinorum, ad an. 1542.

of St. Domingo, evince towards the Jesuits!* "Religiosas omnes familias veneror, et in Domino Jesu complector," says the Jesuit Drexelius.†

Where traces of a contrary spirit appeared in the middle ages, the language of holy monks in reprobation is so instructive, that the occasions seem to have served more to the utility than to the injury of the Church. Let us hear Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, addressing St. Bernard, abbot of Cîteaux. "If he who loveth not remaineth in death, in what death remaineth he who hateth, who detracteth? Why do I say this? Because I perceive that there are some of our and of your sheep who carry on a mutual war, and are fallen from charity, though men of the family of the same Lord, soldiers of the same King, and all equally Christians and monks. Ah, be it far from the hearts of monks to give place to the prince of this world, the king of the children of pride! But why do they oppose each other, and detract, and why devour they one another? Let the matter of the contention be produced at once; and, if there be a just quarrel, let it be terminated by just arbitration. What does a brother demand of a brother,— a monk of Cluny of a monk of Cîteaux— or conversely? If the question be of cities, camps, towns, farms, or any landed possessions, little or great,—if it be of gold or silver, or of any quantity of money, propose it openly. There are here judges, not of iniquity, but of equity, and all prepared to remove the cause of contention. But it cannot be so with those who are enriched with the poverty of Christ. What then can be the subject of dispute?—for I will never desist until I discover it. It is perhaps concerning some different custom or exercise of monastic order? But, my beloved, if this be the cause of so great an evil, saving the respect I owe to you, it is very irrational, very puerile and foolish: for if a variety of customs ought so separate the servants of Christ from charity, what peace, or concord, or unity, or remnant of the law of Christ, will be left,—not to monks alone, but to any Christians,—to all of whom the apostle said, 'Alter alterius onera portate, et sic adamplebitis legem Christi?' Dearly beloved, is not the whole world covered with the churches of Christ; and does not the number of churches under one faith, and serving God in the same love, exceed all computation? And yet the variety of usages is as great as the multiplicity of places; while all retain charity. The enemy of men, finding that he can no longer injure by the instrument of heresy, adopts a different method. Seeing that he can at present no longer pervert faith,—which, by the Spirit of God, now fills the whole world,—he directs all his efforts to destroy charity: for since he cannot persuade Christian men to become infidels, he endeavors to prevent them from loving one another. Now the Arian, Sabellian, Novatian, Donatian, Pelagian, and Manichæan sects have perished and been dissipated by the Spirit of God, and have left to us a pure day free from all darkness; and, therefore, he only hopes to succeed in attacking us on the side of charity. And thus he causes us to contend about colors, and instigates

* Touron, v. 88.

† De Jejunio, liv. i. c. 8.

the black monk to disdain the white, and conversely; though for each dress their is sufficient reason; and though such things are of no importance, according to our Rule, which prescribes that the monks should not dispute about the color or coarseness of their habits, but wear vestments of whatever color or quality is usual in their province, or what is most easily found, or the cheapest. You perceive how foolish then it is to dispute about color. It is damnable to hate a brother for the color of his habit. At length to you, my beloved, to whom this letter is sent, I return to address myself. The cause of my writing was charity. It remains that you, whom highest Providence hath raised up as a strong pillar to support the edifice of the monastic order,—that you, whom he hath given, as it were, a shining star, not only to monks, but to the whole Latin Church of our time, should exert your utmost diligence to prevent any dissension between the great congregations of our name and order. I have always studied to commend the holy monks of your congregation to our own, and to incorporate, as it were, our own with them, in the union of a perfect charity. This I have not neglected in public, in private, and in our great assemblies. Do you also labor in their common field; and, with that sublime and flaming eloquence imparted to your lips by the Spirit of God, expel from their hearts that puerile emulation, from their tongue that whispering; and make them to substitute for these the desires of fraternal love: so that to whom there is one Lord, one faith, one baptism,—to those who are contained in one Church, to whom remains one eternal and blessed life,—there may be also, according to the Scripture, one heart, and one soul." *

Again, he writes to him on the same subject: "I have known some," he says, "whom not alone the common bond of faith unites, but also the same monastic rule, yet who are separated from that sincere unity of hearts in which they seem congregated by a certain unintelligible, occult, and execrable alienation of mind, a pride which even in common lay Christians has been overthrown. What can be the cause? It cannot be an interest of money or property; nor should it be diversity of customs,—for between all Christians is there not also diversity of customs? And if a layman with those who hated peace was pacific, what will be a monk to a monk? 'Si oculus tuus fuerit simplex, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit.' Behold, O brother, thy whole body with a simple eye,—that is, all things with a pure intention,—that is, with charity. You have a simple eye, who require a year of noviceship before admitting to the cloister; you have a simple eye, who receive those who come before the lapse of a year. You have a simple eye, who are content with the raiment which the rule advises; you have a simple eye, who permit it to be augmented in consideration of weakness or climate. You have a simple eye, who only thrice will receive back fugitives returning to you; you have a simple eye, who will receive them back as often as they leave the monastery and return to it. 'You have a simple eye, who observe the fasts ap-

* S. Pet. Ven. Abb. Clun. Epist. Lib. iv. 17.

pointed without exception; you have a simple eye, who permit some of these to be omitted. You have a simple eye, who observe manual labor according to the rule; you have a simple eye, who, from not living in the country, substitute other employment for it. You have a simple eye, who, in every guest arriving or departing, adore Christ prostrate on the earth, and wash the feet of all; you have a simple eye, who do not prostrate yourself before all guests, or wash the feet of all, when the number would be too great. You have a simple eye, who wish the abbot's table to be always that for the guests and strangers; you have a simple eye, who prefer the abbot's table to be that for the monks, and not that at which all guests are received. You have a simple eye, who labor to restore the injuries and ruins of the monastic order in all places, and restore things to the pristine fervor; you have a simple eye, who so moderate the rule that the weak may not be discouraged, and ordain all things thus that souls may be saved. Thus Benedict wrote the rule; and Maur changed many things in it, both with a simple eye and the same intention: for in this manner there is no difference, no dissonance; but by charity all things become one; for the rule of the holy Father Benedict depends upon that sublime and universal rule of charity, from which are all the Law and the Prophets. May there be peace then, O Jerusalem, in thy strength, that there may follow abundance in thy towers!"*

These eloquent complaints lay bare a nerve which is tremblingly susceptible at the present day; but during the middle ages, no passages conduced more to edification, because no one saw in them any thing but an allusion to an evil that was of a local and temporary nature.

Peter of Blois, writing to the abbot of Evesham, takes for granted that there can be no such tendency to discord existing in his time: for he says to him, "It is the part of envy to consider as an injury the praise of another; but your approved religion will not regard it as an offence against you, that I have seemed to commend the Cistercian or Carthusian orders above others. In commending them I have not detracted from you. I approve of them, and I praise you. I have not erected their titles in prejudice of your fame. Christ is not divided, whether we wear a white or a black habit; but, in every order, whoever does the will of God is accepted of him. Variety is not absurd with the Spouse of Christ, when she is described as clothed with varieties—'Ipsa varietas uniformitatis causa est:' for in a harp, from a diversity of chords, there is made a uniform modulation to harmony. Moreover, according to the Apostle, there are divisions of graces, and ministrations, and works, while there is but one God who works all things in all. You may see the beauty of the Spouse in the variety of acts, professions, manners, opinions, and orders. Therefore, she is described in the sacred pages as resembling a cedar, as a cypress, as a palm, as a plantation of roses, as an olive, as a platanus, as a cinnamon and balsam, as myrrh, as incense and ammoniac, as

* S. Bern. Ep. ccxxix.

turpentine, and as frankincense. This variety is indicated by Isaia, saying, 'Behold, I will place thy stones in order: I will found these on sapphires, and jasper, and graven stones.' But all are one body: for all works, studies, and counsels, are referred to one; for the end of the law is Christ unto justice, to every one who believeth. Holy is the order of Cluniacs, holy the Cistercian; and in both hath the Lord placed ministry of reconciliation, and the way of safety."*

It would be unjust to leave this ground without remarking that this exquisite charity, this comprehensive benevolence, so characteristic of the ages of faith, was manifested, not alone by monks of different communities towards each other, but also in general by the secular clergy towards the monks, and towards each of the religious orders collectively. The monks, indeed, invariably, from the beginning, showed them an example in this respect. "Do I dare to say any thing against clerks who live in cities?" asks St. Jerome. "Far be it from me to utter any sinister word respecting those who, succeeding to the apostolic degree, make with sacred lips the body of Christ, by whom also we are made Christians,—who, having the keys of the kingdom of heaven, in a certain manner judge before the day of judgment."†

"There are men," says John of Salisbury, "who observe long and strict fasts, who come to the nocturnal vigils, who lead a pure life, who keep the guard of silence on their lips, and make daily satisfaction for their daily faults, and who bear patiently all insults and injuries;—who must not admire such men, as of singular merit, as truly apostolic, and imitators of Christ? They wear not a monastic habit, but I dare not call them seculars, since there is nothing secular to be found in them."‡

Such was the monastic language towards the secular clergy,—always pacific, always affectionate and reverential: but, unhappily, the conduct of the latter was not in all countries so uniformly characterized by the same spirit.

It must be acknowledged, as St. Bonaventura remarks, that the cause of difference in this respect is to be traced to very profound roots, which cannot perhaps at any time be wholly removed. "We must not be surprised," he says, "when we see persons well engaged in active life murmuring against their brother who is devoted to the contemplative; for we read in the Gospel that so did Martha against Mary: but that Mary murmured against Martha, because she would not imitate her actions, we find no where."§

In Vigilantius there was found in an early age an organ to express a jealous feeling towards the monks; but, had he not also entertained heretical opinons, we may be sure that St. Jerome would not have replied to him so harshly as he did. "You say," answered the holy doctor, "that if all men were to shut themselves up in monasteries who could celebrate in the churches? who could gain

* Pet. Bles. Epist. xcvii. † Epist. v. ‡ De Nugis Cur. vii. 23.
§ S. Bonavent. Meditat. Vit. Christi, cap. lv.

secular men? If all were foolish with you, who could be wise? But you say, Why do you go to the desert? Truly that I may not hear you nor see you."*

When the fame of St. Benedict and of his brethren had spread through the country round the monastery of Mount-Cassino, Florentius, the priest of a neighboring church, began to grow jealous and indignant.† Thus there was an envious eye upon the monks, even when there was no clashing of temporal interests or rivalry of profession, and while they were saying, with St. Bernard, "It is of clerks to serve the altar, and to live of the altar; to us, our profession and the example of the ancient monks prescribe that we live by the labor of our hands, and not of the sanctuary of God."‡

When it became a question of monks being called to assist the secular clergy in their care of souls, this opposition became bolder. "Some come anxiously and ask us," says Ives de Chartres, "whether monks can be appointed to parishes and have the care of souls? to whom I answer, that, in the primitive Church, no rector of souls was constituted who was not taken from a life in community, because no one could more rightly be placed as a guardian over another's life than he who had first been made a guardian of his own: which in no place could be better proved than among those in whom a life according to rule seemed to flourish, and who disliked the malice of others in proportion as they had first disliked their own. Therefore, we conclude that such persons are not to be listened to, who say that regulars should not have cure of souls on the ground of their having renounced the world; since, precisely on that very account, they are so much the more to be chosen, because they have despised its pomps and pleasures,—'Non enim mundi contactus est animas a vitiis avocare, et ad virtutum celsitudinem provocare."§ Let us hear the advice which St. Francis, whose eyes were ever fixed on the supreme peace, gave to his friars on this subject. "We are sent, dearest brethren," he says to them, "to assist the clergy for the salvation of souls; that what is found less in them may be supplied by us. Every one will receive his reward, not according to authority, but according to his labor. What, above all, pleases God, is the gain of souls; and this we shall better accomplish by keeping peace with the clergy, than by being at discord. But if they impede our object, vengeance is God's, and He will repay in proper time. Therefore be subject to prelates; and, as far as is in you, let no evil zeal arise. If you be the children of peace, you will gain both clergy and people; and this will be more acceptable to God than if you gained the people alone, and scandalized the clergy. Conceal their faults, supply their multiplied defects; and so doing, you will be more humble."‖

The opposition, however, was not di-armed by such gentleness. A parish-priest came to the synod of Cologne, in 1239, saying, "Behold, friars of the order of

* Epist. xxxviii. † Chronic. Casinensis, 8. ‡ S. Bern. Epist. 397.
§ Ivon. Carnot. Ep. ccxiii. ‖ Wadding, an. 1219.

Preachers have come here to our injury, and put their scythe in another man's harvest, hearing the confessions of our parishioners." Conrad, the legate, after hearing his complaint, demanded "what is the number of your parishioners?" and he replied 9000. Then the legate, signing himself with the cross, said, "Who art thou, miserable man, that alone canst suffice to the care of so many souls? Knowest thou not that thou wilt have to answer for all these, in the tremendous judgment, before the tribunal of Christ? and dost thou complain of those who desire gratuitously to relieve thee of part of the burden? This complaint proves that thou art unworthy of the care of souls; and, therefore, I deprive thee henceforth of all pastoral benefice."*

Men of this description were not to be daunted by an appeal to future judgment. Reckless were they of consequences so distant, if they could but guard their monopoly, and pass their own inventions off to prove it just. Unhappily, the disinterestedness of the monks, and their desire to keep aloof from all political or worldly disputes, free from partial aim, formed another source of complaint which in the universities became loud and menacing. The disagreement between the secular and monastic doctors, at Paris, began in the time of St. Thomas, whose moderation and gentleness were invincible, while the violence of his opponent Guillaume de Saint-Amour, was blamed even by his own party; for in that age there could be no gross violation of the law of charity by those whose office was to teach it, without a sense of shame. The secular doctors having suspended all lectures till they had justice for the scholars slain by the watch in the Lent of 1253, were indignant at the monastic doctors for continuing to teach within their convents; as they did also in 1229, during the minority of St. Louis and the regency of his mother, when the secular doctors had suspended all exercises of the school. The university having obtained justice, imposed an oath in future on all members to suspend teaching in similar cases. The Dominican and Franciscan doctors, not choosing that their exercises should be at the mercy of every commotion, declined taking it, and in consequence were by another decree excluded from the body of the university, and deprived of their chairs. Pope Innocent IV., to whom the regulars appealed, ordered them to be restored. The secular doctors did not evince religious simplicity: they demanded protection from the bishops of France. Alexander IV. by his bull, "quasi lignum vitæ," confirmed however the former sentence, and exhorted the seculars to peace and charity; but Guillaume de Saint-Amour, continued to oppose the re-establishment of the regulars, aided by Odon of Douay, Nicolas de Bar-sur-Aube and Chrétien, canon of Beauvais, who were in consequence of their proceedings excommunicated by the pope. The conduct of St. Thomas during these trials, was worthy of one who represented the religious orders. While he was preaching in the church of St. James on Palm Sunday, Guillot, a scholar of Picardy, inter-

* Ad an. 1239.

rupted him with insolence, commanding him to be silent till he read a notice from his masters. The saint remained silent while he read a long libel which had been written against the monks by Guillaume de Saint-Amour. When he had finished, St. Thomas resumed his discourse, and without saying a word to justify himself or his brethren, continued to preach. Soon afterwards, Guillaume published his libel "on the perils of the last times," in which he compared the monks to false prophets. St. Louis, justly indignant, sent the book to Rome. St. Thomas was ordered to answer it, though the author pretended to write in behalf and by order of the bishops. Fleury himself remarks that he was not sincere in protesting that he meant nothing against any order approved by the church, and it is certain also that at the very time many bishops were receiving the friars with open arms. Of the reply of St. Thomas, entitled, "Contra impugnantes Religionem,"* which forms a most complete defense of the religious orders. Henry of Ghent, his contemporary, says, "Frater Thomas de Aquino opusculo subtilissimo errorem Guillielmi refutavit." The book was then condemned and burnt in the pope's presence. The author retired to his village of Saint-Amour, in Burgundy, where he lived to an advanced age. At his death, he is said to have confessed that he had been actuated by envy at the learning of the Mendicant orders; and to prove that he repented from his heart, he left his body to be buried with the friar Preachers. Similarly, Laurentius Anglicus, after persecuting the friars, when he came to die at Paris, left them all his books, and, wonderfully penitent, desired to be buried in their convent.†

But to return to a more pleasing theme, the pacific and charitable spirit evinced towards the regular by the secular clergy. Mabillon, observing that Britain and Germany owed the light of faith to monks, adds, that he says this without any intention to disparage the secular clergy, however little they may be disposed to acknowledge the debt. "Sed quid juvat," he continues, "monachos deprimere ut clericos extollas? Utrosque operarios messis Dominica recipit et locupletat."‡ It is delightful to find that these were the views after all, which in general actuated the latter during ages of faith. "The English secular clergy themselves," says Orderic Vitalis, "rejoice respectfully, and with benignity, at the preference which their countrymen evince for monks, from remembering that originally they owed to them the conversion of their nation."§

Bourdoise, a celebrated parish-priest in the reign of Louis XIII. expressed the sentiments of the French clergy in these remarkable words, which in the hearts of the people at least, will as all times find an echo. "It is an injustice when curates, who have not sufficient priests in their parish, prevent the people from applying to monks. It does not edify them when they hear curates complaining of monks, as if they were not enough of work for both curates and monks. As for

* Opuscula, xix. † Touron, Vie de S. Thomas, Wadding, An. Min. iv. ad an. 1257
‡ Præf. in 11 Sæc. Ben. 2. § Lib. xii.

me, if I may be allowed to say what I think, in my conscience, I believe that without monks, that is, if there had not been monks, we should at present be without faith and without religion, or at least a hundred times worse than we are. I hope I may not give displeasure to curates, but God grant that they do not deceive themselves. If a curate have any portion of the spirit of the tonsure, if he do not want monks in his parish, he will at least take care to live at peace and good understanding with them. I approve extremely of what a holy personage, Penitentiary of Loretto, said formerly, that he saw only one remedy to re-establish true piety in the church, and that was to re-establish parishes; and to do that efficaciously, if he could advise the pope, he said that he would desire him to take monks from the most holy monasteries, and make them priests of parishes."* To such a measure, however, the admirable clergy of France would never have objected. An historian of Soissons remarks, that the building of a chapel in the street of the Minims, which was to be served by monks of St. John-des-Vignes, met with no obstacle from the curate of St Remy, who might have objected to this encroachment on his rights."†

But let us hear the secular clergy of the middle ages. Speaking of the monks generally, "The life of monks," says Peter of Blois, "of whom there are diverse kinds, for the tunic of Joseph is of many colors, and the Spouse of Christ is clothed with variety, I venerate with all the affection of my heart, and I embrace their feet with the arms of most devout humility; for I know that above all seculars, whether clerks or laics, they adhere more closely to the foot-steps of the apostles;" and again, he says, "truly in the bowels of Christ every holy order I love, I magnify, I venerate and adore. For a long time I used to have always with me some man of your order, a witness of my conversation, and a guardian angel of my body and soul; but above all, I loved one, dear to God and man, who from being rich made himself poor for Christ. In his friendship, I glory; preferring it to all my relations with the court and in the palace. Doubtless he is the friend of God. Honey and milk are on his tongue, and his countenance is composed to a joyful serenity, with a certain expression of angelic peace. His memory I place as a seal upon my heart."‡ The humility with which the secular contrasted their state with that of the regular clergy, is often most strikingly expressed. Thus writing to a friend who had become a Cistercian monk, and praising the wisdom of his choice, the archdeacon says, "you have ascended the mountian of sacrifice, but I am still remaining in the valley, 'Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus a Deo prolongatus est!'"§ and in his sermon to the people in the vulgar tongue, which he afterwards, by desire of his brother translated into Latin, speaking of the necessity of their reading the holy Scriptures, to make their lives correspond with them, he says, "to us seculars, who are not only in the world but

* Sentences Chrét. de Bourdoise, xxix. xl.

† Hist. de. Soissons, ii. 199.

‡ Pet. Bles. cont. Depravatorem.

§ Pet. Bles. Epist. iv.

of the world, who of the cup of Babylon are often drunken to loathing and sickness, to us, I say, is most useful and fruitful that application of mind, consisting in the perusal of the Scriptures, which leads to a fear of the Judge who is to judge the world by fire."*

It would be easy to multiply testimonies of this kind; but in fact the cases of exception were so rare, if we take into account the whole tract of faithful ages, that I deem it needless to proceed. It is certain that the religious orders in general, so far from being an offence and a source of discord to the secular clergy, only supplied them with a constant occasion to exercise that pacific, charitable, and reverential spirit, which characterized their own profession. But it will be said, perhaps, that the privileges and exemptions of the monks indicate that their relation with the episcopacy was at least of an ambiguous character. The fact is undoubtedly, as Martene observes on occasion of his visit to the abbey of St. Maximin, at Treves, that the exemptions of monasteries are almost as ancient as monasteries themselves, the most learned and holy bishops having always deemed it necessary to provide against the enterprises of some prelates who might come after them.† There were in all but three classes of monasteries, those of the jurisdiction and diocese of the ordinary, those in the diocese, but exempt from his jurisdiction; and those which possessed a separate territory of their own, though not so as to constitute a diocese. The abbots of St. Martin of Tours, of St. Denis, of Lobbes, in Hainault, and some others, were bishops within the walls. The monastery of Mount-Cassino constituted a real episcopacy and a diocese in itself.‡

During the first ages the monasteries in Ireland were both abbeys and bishoprics; each superior was abbot and bishop of the surrounding district; and it was not till later times that the episcopal jurisdiction was separated from the abbeys. Now, though as we before remarked, abuses crept in here which monks themselves desired to remove, there can be no doubt but that the interests of peace often required these exemptions, "we know," says Peter of Blois, "that these exemptions for the most part were granted by the Roman pontiffs for the sake of securing the quiet of the monasteries, and in consequence of the tyranny of some bishops."§ The historian of Rheims observes, that the monks obtained many of these privileges as a protection against the ruinous expenses in which they would have been otherwise involved, by the grandeur and military character of some prelates, who had not the spirit of their order.‖ "Some bishops," as St. Anselm says in an epistle to Pope Urban, "rejoiced not so much to nourish monasteries with paternal piety, and to instruct them with episcopal care, as to oppress them with a certain austere domination and self-will."¶

The abbot Faustus, of Lerins, in the fifth century, in a discourse to some prelates who had originally been monks, condemns the forgetfulness of those who

* Id. Serm. lxv. † Voyage lit. 286. ‡ Excurs. Hist. in Chronic. S. Monast. Casin.
§ Pet. Bles. Epist. 68. ad Alex. 111. ‖ Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, ii. 279.
¶ S. Anselmi Epist. ii. 33

think no more of the cloister which had nourished and consoled them. "What is more grievous than to forget suddenly the fraternal society and consolation! The birds themselves love their nests; wild beasts love the places in which they were nourished; they love their dens and pastures, and though by their natural liberty they leave their own, they soon return again to them."* "Piligrinus, archbishop of Cologne, persecuted with singular hate," says Trithemius, "on what grounds I know not, the Irish monks of our order, faithfully serving the Lord in the monastery of St. Martin, in Cologne. Shortly before his death, in 1036, he said to Elias, their abbot, on my return I will expel you Irish monks. However, he never did return alive, for he died on that journey, a good man in other respects, and from childhood regularly educated under the monastic discipline, in the abbey of Burckard."† In general, the contention between bishops and abbeys became most considerable after the year 1215. To observe the pacific and dignified spirit of the monks on these occasions, let us hear Peter the Venerable, addressing a bishop.

"Since the breach of charity is such a weight before God, I ought not to dissemble; as to be moved for justice is no breach of charity, but an action of equity. I have resolved not to conceal my mind to you, but to reveal what instigates me, as if to a friend without disguise. It has been related to us, that you, I say it saving fraternal peace, say things disparaging of the monastic order, and seize the most trifling occasion to lacerate it, declaiming in public assemblies, extenuating its good, and aggravating with rhetorical language, light excesses, such as must belong to men who are not angels. It is said that in your synod, before the clergy and people, you prayed that God might destroy the pride of Cluny, and you charged them to pray the Lord to this effect. And I wish that the merciful Saviour may destroy in us, and in all who are his, not alone the walls of pride, but all those of Satan's crew to the ground, that he may construct in their place the spiritual Jerusalem. But if this was to be said, it was not to be in a way of derision; if there was to be admonition, there was to be no preaching; if there was to be prayer, there was to be no declamation. For be it so; we are proud, we are sinners: nevertheless, the sins of the brethren were not to be proclaimed in the church: the faults of monks were not to be adduced in example before the people, lest the people should be drawn to imitate proud monks, especially those of Cluny, lest they should be taught to believe that the pride which they heard was notable in monks, was less damnable in themselves. Your wisdom ought to have preached this to the chapter at Cluny, and not before the people of Tarawan. This ought to have been brought without the knowledge of the people, to the ears of the brethren, not to the ears of the people, without the knowledge of the brethren, in order that exhortation might correct, and not declamation defame them; for the brethren of Cluny, so widely scattered over the earth, cannot hear

* Hist. de Frejus.

† Chron. Hirsaug.

eviève and St. Peter, at Soissons, was himself the bishop of that diocese; and in the charter conveying them, so humbly expressed, saying of himself, nostræ vilitatis extremitatem, he says, at the end, "if any one should attempt aught against this writing, let him be held for the enemy of the poor, and of the servants of God."*

Sometimes, it is true, the object of these exemptions was defeated; and, instead of securing peace, they occasioned trouble. "Many monasteries, therefore," as Peter of Blois says, "which were celebrated for sanctity, either never wished to have these immunities, or rejected them when they had obtained them."† Clairvaux, that flower of Cîteaux, chose to be subject to the ordinary. But the love with which bishops regarded the religious orders, forms too beautiful a page in the history of peace, and of its institutions, for us to leave it here, obscured by the violence or the meanness of a few unworthy men. "Omnis persona mihi placitura est quæ vita clareat et doctrina." Such was the language of Ives de Chartres,‡ and of all the great and holy bishops of the middle ages, whose constant desire was to imitate, as the church sings at the procession on Palm Sunday, the good and clement king, "cui bona cuncta placent."

"There was not a single bishop of Soissons," says the historian of that city, "at all eminent for piety or merit, who did not prove himself the friend and benefactor of abbeys and convents."§ An historian of the universal Church must make the same remark; for we should search in vain through all Christian history, to find an example of a good prelate, who, besides evincing a personal affection and reverence for the religious orders, did not recognize and proclaim loudly, like the illustrious confessor of the Rhine in our days, Clement Augustus de Droste-Vischering, archbishop of Cologne, that monasteries are absolutely necessary to each diocese, for various important and indispensable ends of pastoral care, which can never be accomplished without them.‖ The ancient bishops, like St. Fulgentius, even built monasteries in which they might live with monks when their other duties were fulfilled, so anxious were they to perfect themselves in that discipline which they were bound to maintain amongst the clergy.¶ When monasteries were destroyed by wars, and the monks dispersed, it used to be holy bishops who rebuilt them and collected again the separated brethren. Thus, St. Amblardus, archbishop of Lyons, when he found that the Norman ravages were probably at an end, rebuilt in a sumptuous style the abbey of Aisnay; and Burchard of the same see, solicited King Rodolph of Burgundy to rebuild the abbey of St. Maurice, in the Vallais.** Charles de Roucy, the venerable bishop of Soissons, in 1582, counted it a great happiness in his last years that he could favor

* Martin, Hist. de Soissons, i. 259. † Pet. Bles. Epist. lxviii. ‡ Epist. xcviii.
§ Martin, Hist. de Soissons. ‖ Treatise on the Religious Liberty of Catholics, Münster, 1838.
¶ S. Ambros. Lib. x. Ep. 82. Serm. 15. Sicilia Sacra, i. 604.
** Paradin, Hist. de Lyon, Lib. ii. 29. 31.

the foundation of a new religious house in that city, in which Minims were to be received for the first time.* Such were the works with which the holiest bishops desired to close their administration, and when any prelate had unhappily deserted the track of the good Shepherd, a return to a sense of his own duty was always found synonymous with a revival of zeal to favor monasteries, of which an old historian relates a singular example. "Bishop Reginard of Liege," he says, "experienced what the Lord said by the phrophet, 'Venies usque ad Babylonem, et ibi liberaberis;' for he came to the confusion of great sin: and then a look from on high, like that which melted Peter, made him tremble and weep. He resolved to rebuild the church of the monastery of St. Laurence; so early on the third of February his men came upon the roof and began to pull it down with a great noise; for it had been decided the evening before in the bishop's house, that to the Abbot Stephen still taking rest that sound should be the first announcement of his intention."† When Hugues II., bishop of Grenoble, was calumniated as having vexed some Cluniac monks, he sent the letter of accusation to Peter the Venerable; and the abbot of Cluny replied, that other grounds for detraction must be sought for, besides such supposed hostility, which he could himself disprove. Thus, to suppose a bishop capable of nourishing hostility to monks was then counted an infamous detraction. When a certain prelate elect, wishing to decline the episcopacy, alleged his devotion to a cloistral life, Fulbert, bishop of Chartes, replied to him, "The love of the monastic state would rather make you worthy than unworthy of the episcopal grade."‡

The attachment of bishops to the monks in ages of faith was not such as might be expressed in terms of a general decent acquiescence with the fact of their existence in the Church. Obealtus Marinus, a holy and humble man, the first bishop of Venice, in 773, would never as long as he lived suffer two monks of St. Hilary to stir from his side.§ Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, commending himself to the prayers of the Cistercian order, exclaims, "Oh desirable tabernacles, O venerable congregation, O Cîteaux, how great is thy house, how fruitful in sons, how magnificent in tongues, how glorious in people!" He trusts that in consideration of their prayers God will pardon his own insufficiency and offences in the episcopal office.‖ Turstin, archbishop of York, evinced such affection for the religious orders, and such zeal in protecting them, that St. Bernard wrote to thank him for his devoted attachment.¶ The conduct towards them of Arnulph, archbishop of Rheims in the tenth century, who is described as having been second to none in piety, was truly paternal. He was styled in consequence Pater Monachorum,** which words are engraved upon his tomb. The love evinced by bishops for the Mendicant orders from their commencement was no less unequivocal.

* Martin, Hist. de Soissons, ii. 468.

† Hist. Monast. S. Laurent Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. p. 1061.

‡ Fulberti Carnotens. Epist. viii. § Italia Sacra, tom. v. 1185. ‖ Pet. Bles. Epist. xcvi

¶ Epist. xcv. ** Hock. Gerbert, 183.

It is beautifully expressed in the curious letter of Gui Fulcodi, bishop of Puy, afterwards Pope Clement IV. to the prior of the convent of Montpellier.* Peter of Blois, writing to the bishop of Orleans, commits to his discretion, "The quiet of the monks, the peace of the simple, and the cause of Christ."† And he might well; for dear to the bishops of the middle ages was that quiet, that peace! "Prelates," says a Carthusian monk, "ought to repair to solitudes sometimes, to converse with devout men there, in order to compose all turbulent emotions and acquire serenity."‡ They did not require to be pressed to adopt this practice, the spirit of which was evinced in early times. Pope Gregory the great sought a refuge thus from the secular occupations consequent upon the pastoral care, in the observance of the rule of St. Benedict.§ At the very outset, on the eve of their consecration, bishops used to spend the night in prayer within some monastery. Thus at Beauvais, the bishop elect always kept his vigil in the abbey of St. Lucean.‖ Then in the course of their administration it was the custom of bishops to make retreats from time to time in monasteries. Thus St. Hugues, bishop of Grenoble, used to retire occasionally to the abbey of the Chaise-Dieu, or to the Grande Chartreuse.¶

We read that the abbey of Glendalough and the holy seclusion of this valley of the lakes, still continued to retain a charm for St. Laurence, when that great man became archbishop of Dublin in the time of Henry II. It was his delight to retire occasionally to that monastery, and there, in a cave which had been used as an oratory by St. Kevin, he used to pass whole weeks in prayer and contemplation. Thus, like the blessed Pope Gregory, did he look back to his monastery with regret. Henry, bishop of Liege, leaving the abbey of St. Hubert on one occasion, where he had spent the Lent, was seen to weep through sorrow at being called away from that desirable peace to the multifarious tumults of secular affairs.** Ratherius, bishop of Verona, only waits till he can finish building a church. "Then," he says to the Empress Adelheid, "I shall be ready to follow your advice; for it would be better for me to fly away and dwell in solitude in my monastery, and there expect my Lord, who would save me from pusillanimity, than any longer to bear such things uselessly, and with injury to my soul."†† In fact, many holy pontiffs, through the love of peace and solitude and cloistral life, renounced their bishopricks, following the example of St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Justus, archbishop of Lyons, St. Vulfran, bishop of Sens, and Pope Celestine V. John, the predecessor of the great Gerbert, in the see of Ravenna, had withdrawn into a wilderness of the mountains of Capareo. In 1267, Isaac O'Gorman, bishop of Killaloe, resigned that see and became a monk in the abbey of the Holy Cross. To Mount-Cassino came to the holy Bishop Bruno, wish-

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. D. i.
† Epist. cxii.
‡ Pet. Sutorus, De Vita Carthus. i. 3.
§ Mab. Præf. in 1. Sæc. Ben. 7.
‖ Chardon, Hist. des Sacramens, v.
¶ Vie de S. H.
** Hist. Andaganens. Monast. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 953.
†† Ap. Pez. Thes. Anecdot. vi. 98.

ing to serve God with more freedom under the monastic habit in that monastery, far from the rumors of the world.*

In the eleventh century, Bertrand, bishop of Frejus, renounced his see, and retired to the abbey of Lerins, where he died in odor of sanctity. On coming to the resolution his words indicated discouragment. "Ego Bertrandus Forojulii Episcopus, videns totum mundum urgeri diversis angustiis et tribulationibus, et sacerdotale regnum decidere, non reperio locum cui me prærogativo amore committam præter Lerinense Cœnobium."†

Walter Mauclerc, chancellor of England, in the reign of Henry III. and bishop of Carlisle, took refuge in the order of St. Dominic, abandoning all things, even to his cloak, as Matthew Paris says, when he entered the convent at Oxford.‡ The abbey of St. Medard at Soissons, was chosen by many great prelates for their place of rest after abdicating their sees, numbers of whom were buried beneath its vaults. To monasteries many prelates retired expressly to die. Cardinal George d'Amboise came with this intention to the convent of the Celestins at Lyons. Comparing his own life with that of the monk, brother John, who waited on him in his sickness, he said often to him, "Ah, brother John, my friend, would that I had been brother John." With the same object a great number of bishops chose to retire to the abbey of St. Victor at Paris, in which house the bishops of Paris in the thirteenth century had an apartment, where they used to spend some days occasionally. This abbey was full of their tombs.§ In 1170 Gerungus, bishop of Misnia, retired to die in the monastery of Monte Sereno.‖ John Milet, bishop of Soissons, who, towards the end of his life concentrated his munificence on the abbey of Longpont, was in the act of returning from a visit to the Chartreuse of Bourg-Fontaine, in spite of his eighty-eight years, when he fell sick of his last malady. He ordered that his heart should be sent to the Celestins of Paris, in token of his affection for that monastery. "This was the last bishop of Soissons chosen by the chapter and the people," says Cabaret,—"the last of those great bishops," says Martin, "who were animated by that zeal for the house of the Lord, and by ardent patriotism."¶ That nothing might be wanting to display the union of the episcopacy with the religious orders, it was the custom in the twelfth century, when a bishop died, to carry his body about from monastery to monastery, leaving it a day and night in each, till the whole number of religious houses in the diocese had been visited. This usage was observed, for instance, at the funeral of Adalbero, archbishop of Treves.** In conclusion we must observe, that this attachment of bishops and of the secular clergy to the monks was not exactly, after all, a merit of supererogation, in consideration of which all who loved peace and the holy institutions established for its mainte-

* Chron. Cas. iv. 31.

† Hist. de Frejus, Lib. iv.

‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D.

§ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, t. ii. 5.

‖ Chronic. Montis Sereni.

¶ Martin, Hist. de Soissons, ii. 356.

** Ap. Martene Vet Script. iv. 207.

nance, owed them a debt of gratitude. According to the Catholic religion, they could not have acted otherwise without a perilous risk, which rendered it needless to speak of what might be the consequence to their reputation among all men of cultivated minds, who looked on quietly with the eyes of Catholics, whose common verdict, though profoundly disdained in the society of a party, would faithfully represent that of the Christian world, to which, whatever might be their intrenchments, they could not be wholly and for ever insensible. In the first place, as a necessary consequence of the principal on which the monastic orders were founded, it is certain that all Christians, whether personally belonging to them or not, were strictly bound in conscience to venerate them; and the steps of the demonstration may be stated in the shape in which logicians are accustomed to exhibit processes of reasoning, in order to show their conclusivness; for as St. Catherine of Sienna says, "The evangelical precepts cannot be observed, unless the counsels are also observed," which proposition she explains thus, "The perfect despise all things mentally and actually: while others, indeed, who possess exterior things, observe the precepts actually, and the councils only mentally, though not actually. And because the counsels are tied and allied to the precepts; therefore no one can observe the precepts without also observing the counsels, if not actually, at least mentally; that is, possessing these riches with humility, not as being their own, but as lent to them for a good end, with freedom of heart and an interior contempt for them; so that although they may possess them actually, yet in no manner do they contradict the divine will."* So we arrive at our first clause, that all Christians must observe the counsels, at least mentally. But to have one's mind alienated from the monastic orders would be incompatible with a mental observance of the counsels: for in theology it would be as idle to separate a love of the counsels from a love of monasteries, as it would be in philosophy to detach the matter from the form of knowledge; the one process leading as necessarily to a substitution of abstract speculation, and perhaps hypocrisy for religion, as the other to the adoption of a geometrical conception, or an idea for reality. Therefore an alienation of mind from monasteries could not be compatible with an actual observance of the precepts; or, in other words, with the clear conscience, and the hope of one at peace with God.

Moreover, from the authoritative ground of the monastic institution, there was no alternative for Christians obedient to the Church. For the Holy See in every age took the monasteries under its especial protection. Its voice was always consonant with the words of Innocent III., with which he commenced his epistle to all the archbishops and bishops, in whose diocese were houses of the Præmonstratensian order. "If you are true lovers of the Christian religion," said the pontiff, "you will cause no trouble to religious men, in respect either to their persons or to their property, since you are bound rather to deliver them from

* St. Cath. Senens. Dialog. Tract. i. c. 47.

able. What a contrast between the adoraole goodness of a St. Germain, as described by Fortunatus of Poictiers, and the barbarism and perfidy of the sons of Clovis,—between the cloister and the palace! Here we can only observe the whirlwind, and the few who take shelter. Nevertheless, after a while, we shall be able to discern the results of this gradual and silent action of the few. The peaceful prove stronger than the ferocious; for these tigers, these destroyers of cities, like him who laid Milan in ashes, begin soon to tremble before the holy abbots, and, like tame beasts of the forest, to fawn at their feet. The monk, in those early times, passes through the paths of men as the charmed bird that haunts the the serpent's cavern. You think it is only because he feels himself invulnerable; but wait a little. "All shall relent, tears shall flow, and hearts beat with such intent as renovates the world."

"The fame of St. Richarius' sanctity spreading far and wide," says the chronicle of his abbey, "King Dagobert came with all the train to visit him, that he might commend himself to his prayers. The servant of God strengthened him with his blessing, and corrected him with the free voice of sacerdotal authority; warning him not to become proud with power, not to trust in uncertain riches, not to be lifted up by the vain sound of applause."*

Totila came to visit St. Benedict in his cave. Long on the earth did the haughty king prostrate himself, as soon as he saw the servant of Jesus Christ. Thrice did the holy man say to him, "Surge." He refused to rise, till the saint raised him up; sparing not reproof, but repeating "Multa mala facis. multa mala facisti, jam aliquando ab iniquitate compescere."†

Constantine wrote a letter to St. Antony, and styled him his father. Antony resolved to send no answer; but, on his disciples urging him to it, he wrote as follows: "Despise the world; think of the last judgment; remember that Jesus Christ is the only true and eternal King; practice humanity and justice." The Benedictine monk, who has recorded the deeds of the counts of Anjou, concludes his address to Henry, king of England, with these lines:

"Vive precor, sed vive Deo, nam vivere Mundo
Mors est; sed vera est vivere vita Deo."

Such were the lessons which kings received from those who wore the cowl; when the hooded men were feared and venerated, as strong in the force of innocence; when, as in Saxon language, "God's curse, and that of all hooded heads," constituted the only power that could save the pacific, disarm, or intimidate their enemies. Monks had the secret to move the conscience of the haughtiest sinners; so that, at least, at their death they should give to those whom they had oppressed a salutary spectacle. "Philip, count of Namur," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, the son of Baldwin, count of Flanders, showed such contrition at his death, that no one saw

* Chron. S. Richar. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iv.

† Chronic. Casinens. xv.

the like in any other person at the time. He made his confession to four abbots of our order, moved every one present to tears by his discourse, and besought his confesser to tie a rope round his neck, and drag him to the market-place, that he might die there, as he had lived, like a dog."* A more striking instance occurs in the chronicles of St. Denis, where King Chilperic and Fredegond are related to have been terrified at their having oppressed the people, when the death of their children came to verify the monastic warnings. The words of the queen are remarkable : "Ardons donques les lettres que nous avons escriptes, et pour la santé de nostre lignée et de nos ames effaçons les lettres où les exactions sont scélées, qui sont à la destruction des povres." This admonition made the king restrain his avaricious heart; "et lui amolia tant la dureté de son corage qu'il geta et ardi au feu les autentiques en quoi la loi estoit escripte pour le peuple grever."† ;

Although the monks retired, therefore, to places of shelter at a distance, as into the heart of forests, their influence was not unfelt by the society from the evils of which they fled. The world perceived them at a distance, like the castles which a traveller, passing along the plain, sees perched on rocks among the mountains.‡ Men sought to be associated with them in prayers. Thus, in the annals of Corby, we read: "This year, 1116, three counts of Insula, Gunter, Otho, Stephen, and two of Pyrmont, with their wives, are received into the fraternity of St. Vitus; an honor for which nobles and princes contended."§

"We are visited : we are known," says one who had withdrawn farthest : "what nation has not heard of the Carthusian order? what region has not seen the Carthusian light? The Carthusians are removed in hidden places, but men know where they are, and, though not seen, the fragrance of their good example is felt."‖ So in a theatre, while beholding some grand pageantry to the sound of heroic music, a spectator sometimes suddenly, and unaccountably, withdraws in mind, and pictures to himself the angelic life of the humble monk within his cloister, and feels from that moment a holy renovation.

Petrarch often experienced such feelings; and in his letter to John Birel, general of the Carthusians he seems under this impression. "Full of astonishment," he says, "and admiration, I speak to you as I would speak to Jesus Christ himself, who, no doubt, dwells in your heart; for the heart of the just, is it not the temple of God? They say you are an angel, and that you lead the life an angel would do if he was on earth. For my part, I behold you as a star which rises from the monastery of the Carthusians, to enlighten a sinful world; as we see the morning sun rise from the eastern mountains to illuminate the earth. How happy are you ! how miserable am I ! While I am struggling with the tempestuous waves of time, you are arrived safe in port, and, so to speak, entered into the porch of paradise, with the hope, or rather the assurance, of a blessed and endless life." After beseeching his

* Cæsar. Heisterbach, ii. c. 18. † Chroniques de S. Denis, liv. iii. c. xi. ‡ Lacordaire.
§ Ap. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns. iii. ‖ Pet. Sutorus de Vita Carthus. Lib. i. c. 8.

prayers that God would inspire him with unfeigned charity, perfect piety, and holy religion, he continues: "From whence can my confidence arise to a man I haven ever seen? It is not my merit which gives it, but my love for you, and for your pious flock, and the idea of your piety. We sometimes love those best we do not personally behold. Sinner as I am, though I embrace you tenderly with my soul, I wish to enfold you in my arms, and kiss that hand I revere; that hand consecrated to God. To this is joined that precious pledge I have confided to your care; that only brother, enrolled in the militia of Jesus Christ, under the the banners of your protection. Of all the gifts I have received from nature, none is so dear to me as he is: I know that you love him as your son; you have taken him from me: I am consoled, I rejoice; nay, I glory in a brother worthy to serve Jesus Christ in your holy family." The Carthusian, in his answer, reprimands him severely for the eulogistic style of his letter, saying that it was not right to praise any one to his face; and concludes, by urging him to employ the talents which God has given him in works on morals and devotion.

But the people followed such men to their deserts. "Vital," says Orderic, "who had once been chaplain to Robert, count de Mortain, retired into a desert with some monks, and built a monastery in a wood, amidst the ruins of some ancient buildings which he found. In his sermons he spared neither the weak nor the powerful. He raised his voice as a trumpet, announcing to the Christian people its vices, and to the house of Jacob its sins. Hence kings and princes respected him. The multitude arose before day to go to hear his words: all classes of society were profoundly moved by his just reprimands. Thus did this skillful man sow the good seed, and combat for God, during seven years in the convent which he had founded till his death."*

How many men in cities were trained by monks to live justly? What integrity and purity would belong to the commercial character, if formed by their rules, as laid down by Dionysius the Carthusian, in his dialogue between a monk and a merchant?† or by Ratherius, that monk of Lobbes, whose work is so curious, as showing what it was to be considered a good Christian in the time of Charles the Bald. How many in the country did the monk edify or reclaim? "He came to the lone fir-tree on the rock, and with his sweet and mighty eloquence the hearts of those who watched it did unlock, and made them melt in tears of penitence." Wild ferocious men, who stood near him, marked and never forgot his words. Let us hear Orderic Vitalis: "A certain man of Brittany, named Goisfred, had been a robber in his youth, but subsequently, by some such inspiration of God, he amended his life, married a legitimate wife, separated himself from his barbarous and murderous satellites, and labored with his hands to maintain himself. He now even made alms with what he thus laboriously gained, and distributed to the poor, to clerks, to hermits, and monks. Above all, he

* Lib. viii.

† Dion. Carthus. de Justo Pretio Rerum.

sought the society of the monks of Ouche, and became their brother in Jesus Christ, observing all the rules of the fraternity, and coming to the abbey at all the chief festivals, and making his offering, leading his horse, loaded with bread, for the monks, though he had sometimes to cut his way through the snow, and to pass swollen torrents."*

Monks could detect the need of inward purification at the first glance, on meeting with a stranger. When the holy Joseph of Cupertino received a letter from the Cardinal Fachonetti, he said to the youth who brought it from Senigaglia, "My son, you serve a noble master, and are you not ashamed to go forth with an unwashed face? Go wash yourself, that when your master shall see you he may not be displeased!" The poor messenger, who knew that he had washed his face, was all confusion at such a rebuke; but when the friar, smiling, proceeded to explain that it was the heart which was yet to be made clean, he was so astonished and moved, that he would not return to his master until he had made a general confession.†

St. Honoratus, whose monastery was near the summit of the Alps, directed all the people of that region to serve God. "Whoever desired Christ," says St. Hilary, "sought Honoratus, and whoever sought Honoratus certainly found Christ; he invited all with outstretched arms to embrace the love of Christ."‡ Nor was it only as a fortuitous event, on rare occasions, that monks exercised this influence; they knew that they were at all times bound to do so; for as the universal Doctor taught them,

> "Non minus hic peccat qui censum in agro,
> Quam qui doctrinam claudit in ore suam,
> Absit commissum sine lucro ferre talentum,
> Nec servos nequam vos vocet ira Dei.§

Hence we read, that they were continually seeking to impart to others the peace of their own hearts, "Walter, the tenth abbot of Villars, that venerable father," says the historian of the abbey, "all wonderfully inflamed with the fire of charity, and all absorbed in God, desired nothing else in the world but to lead men to religion."‖ St. Columban, in his three monasteries on the border of Lorraine, gave instruction during twenty years to the surrounding people.¶ St. Lye, abbot of the monastery of Saints Gervaise and Protaise, in the diocese of Troyes, in the time of Childebert, when going to work with his own hands in the vineyard of the abbey, on the hill of Massey, used to take bread along with him to give to poor people, that, while they eat near him, he might preach to them on the fear and love of God.**

St. William, abbot of Hirschau, in the eleventh century, going to visit a cell

* Lib. vi. † Goërres Christlikhe Mystik. ii. 103. ‡ Hil. in Vit. S. Honor.
§ Alani de Insulis, Lib. Parabol. ‖ Hist. Mon. Villar. 5. ap. Martene, Thes. Anecd. iii.
¶ Jonas in Vit. S. Columb. ap. Mabil. ** Desguerriois. Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes. 119.

on the banks of the Danube, on his way came to a mean hut, which he entered with one of his companions, leaving the rest to walk on. On entering he perceived a very poor woman, and, without ceremony, he sat down by the fire. Casting his eyes around, and observing the extreme poverty of the hut, he asked how she and her husband contrived to live. "Their life," she replied, "was one of misery; bread and water being all they could procure by the labor of their hands" The husband soon arriving, was asked about his religious faith and practice. Both he and his wife were too far distant from any Church or oratory to assist at the public worship; and, in addition, they were grossly ignorant of the first truths of Christianity. They knew not even what the Gospel meant, nor whether a revelation had been made to man. "In the bosom of a German forest, such deplorable ignorance need not surprise us," observes a modern historian who quotes the passage; "it exists at the present day in the most populous parts of England." The abbot, however, was deeply affected. "What wonder," he observed; "that, as you know not God, who alone is able to supply you with the necessaries of life, you should be thus abandoned." He began to inform them, enjoined them to follow him the next day to the cell, and made them continue their visits till they were sufficiently instructed in the truths of religion, having meanwhile amply relieved their temporal wants.

The influence of the Mendicant orders has come before us in so many forms in the course of the preceding books, that it may seem superfluous to dwell upon it here. "Father Francis," exclaims the annalist of his order, "thou art made a seal of divine similitude. Many struck with amaze at thy children, have honored God. In the nations of Europe, in the vast provinces of Asia and America, they led the blind into the way which they knew not, and caused them to walk in paths that were unknown to them; they changed their darkness into light, and made their rough ways plain."* The seraphic founder endeavoring once to persuade a poor man to pardon his master who had refused to pay him his wages, at length took off his mantle and gave it to him, as a compensation for the loss, asking him only in return to pardon that master for the love of God.† It is no marvel, as friar Antonio de Guevara says to the count of Miranda, that "more persons were converted to God by such sermons than by books." "By means of the friar Savonarola's sermons such numbers went to confession, that every day of the week seemed to be Easter."‡ These results were immense, no doubt, to all classes of society; but in relation to the poor especially it would be difficult to form an adequate estimate of their value. There is one title which must ever belong to the monks and friars of every order, and distinguish them in the judgment of the wise above all other benefactors of the human race. They were universally the friends of the poor, not in theory, and semblance, but in

* An. Minor. tom. xvi. † Diego de Navarre, l. 47.

‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. D. iii. 23.

deeds and in truth. Whoever possesses the happy recollection of having seen them in the exercise of their ministry, instead of questioning their right to this title so well becoming the lovers and dispensers of peace, will only heave a deep sigh for the peasants of lands where it is unknown, and exclaim with Dante—

"O thou northern site! bereft
Indeed, and widow'd, since of these deprived."*

Yes, a Catholic population of its friars may well be ever joyous. Their intercourse with the poor is characterized by a manner which no one can mistake or misinterpret. For see how they receive the rustic group before their gates; kissing the white hairs of the old men, caressing the children, catechizing the barefooted stripling, with as much care and tenderness as if he were the son of a prince; giving the dowry for the maid, paying the debts of the indigent, sending provision to the house of the infirm, and filling the hearts of all with gladness. Evidently the strongest monastic sympathies were with the people, with the majority, as was natural. The Spanish saying, "Viva la gente morena!" would be a cry consonant to their feelings; for the brown or sun-burnt sons of the poor were naturally most dear to those who wished to be themselves poor, and to be treated as the poor. Ælred, abbot of Rievaulx, always styled himself brother of the poor of Christ that are in Rievaulx; and the poet who best knew them, styles him whom the angel from the east marked with the sign of the living God, "The glorious poor one of Christ." Nevertheless, the illustrious author of the Legislation Primitive, in tracing to some of the religious orders the rise of the democratic spirit which gained such an undue ascendancy in later times, ought not to have forgotten that their influence was expressly directed to produce peace and love between the different classes of society; to induce the poor to respect the great for conscience sake, and to beware of judging them, or of murmuring against the institution of property.

But now retracing our steps to earlier times, let us observe how the mitred abbots were practically the poor man's friend. Let us hear an instance recorded of St. Wandregisile, abbot of Fontanelle.

"One day as he was going to visit King Dagobert, at the moment when he was approaching the palace, there was a poor man whose cart was overturned before the king's gate. Many persons were entering and going out, but the greatest part passed by and scorned him. The man of God arriving, saw the impiety which these children of insolence were committing, and immediately alighting from his horse, he stretched out his hand to the poor man, and they two together set the cart up again. Many of those who were present seeing him defiled with mud, began to laugh and to insult him; but he paid no regard to them, following with humility the example of his Master; for the Lord himself had said in the Gospel,

* Purg. i.

"If they have called the father of the family Beelzebub, what will they not call his servants?"*

It would be endless to commemorate the abbatial solicitude in providing for the wants of the poor. A few characteristic instances may be added, however, to those we have seen in a former book.

"He had his hand always open for the poor," says a monk, speaking of Lord William, the eleventh abbot of Villars. "It is above our simplicity," he adds, "to describe how solicitous and benign he was. We can judge of the temperance and sobriety of his table and mode of life from examining the ancient registrar in which formerly all the expenses of the abbots were written down; for there we find that he expended scarcely twelve pounds in the whole circle of the year, and yet, though so sparing in his own food and raiment, thus was he bountiful."† Robert Champeaux, or Campbell, abbot of Tavistock, with the consent of his convent in 1291, appropriated for ever the whole profits arising from an estate called Westlydeton, granted two years before to his abbey by Sir Odo le Arcedeakne, to the providing of the poor with clothes and shoes; the annual distribution of which was made in the cloisters on the day of All-souls.‡ We have observed elsewhere, that, above all in times of scarcity, the monastic resources were placed at the disposition of the poor; but what was, perhaps, most singular on these occasions was, the skill with which the monks administered to them. During the long pestilence and famine in France, from the year 1348 to 1350, the historian of Soissons says, "that the abbey of Nôtre-Dame in that city gave prodigious alms, and nevertheless suffered no notable diminution in its revenues."§ So general and unremitting were the liberalities of the monks, that all infringement of their rights was felt to be an immediate act of oppression of the poor. The English thus complained in the time of Henry VIII. of "the dissolution of the monasteries, and of the consequent destitution of the pooreality of the realm." From that time, in fact, the office of the poor, whom St. Odo, the abbot of Cluny, used to call "the porters of heaven," was permitted to become a sinecure, and men could only associate charity with ruins, saying with him who sung of Rokeby—

"When yonder broken arch was whole,
'Twas there was dealt the weekly dole:
And where you tottering columns nod,
The chapel sent the hymn to God.
So flits the world's uncertain span!
Nor zeal for God, nor love for man,
Gives mortal monuments a date
Beyond the power of time and fate."

But the monks were not content with affording relief at their own doors, or

* Acta Sanct. Ord. S. Ben. tom. ii. 528. † Hist. Mon. Vill. i. 6. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii.
‡ Oliver, Historical Collections rel. to the monasteries of Devon. § Martin, ii. 211.

sending assistance to the houses of the poor. In the annals of Corby, in Saxony we have this significant notice. "This year, 941, a small hospital was built at Wisarah with a chapel of St. Lazarus, in which sick, and pilgrims, and poor people, are sustained by the monastery."* Muratori, in his dessertation on hospitals, so many of which were founded by the monks, acknowledges that in regard to such manifestations of charity, our times can hardly be said to equal those ages which he is fond of designating as iron.† The monks also studied with a singular acuteness of discrimination to provide measures for the improvements of the condition of the poor. Thus it was Barnaby of Terni, a friar minor, who first thought of a mount of piety to preserve them from usurers. He made the experiment at Perugia, which succeeded, and then Leo X. authorized the institution which has been so much favored by succeeding popes. But the beneficial action of the monks in regard to the poor was far from being confined to their personal exertions. What they accomplished themselves was much; but what they taught and caused others to perform was still more; for in ages of faith the monastic influence had, in some measure, anticipated the future judgment, when the first shall be last and the last first. The act of St. Germain, when he gave to a poor man who asked alms the horse which king Childebert had given him, "ayant plus chèire," as say the chronicles of St. Denis, "la voix du pauvre que le don du roy,"‡ can only be appreciated by considering the effect which it much have produced on the public mind. "Amicitia pauperum," says St. Bernard, "regum amicos constituit; amor paupertatis reges. You see the dignity of holy poverty."§ The monastic influence made honorable both him who gave and him who received alms, even though the latter was the *πτωχὸν πανδήμιον*, for he too was taught by monks as by Ratherius, that he might be a good Christian if it was not sloth or avarice, or a neglect of the apostle's precept, "Qui non vult operari nec manducet," which had made him become a beggar.‖ In modern times a race like the suitors of Penelope has returned, armed with the same old pagan maxims, as in Homer's time, to justify their neglect and abhorrence of the poor, men who can truly boast, like Antinous, that no poor man ever hears their conversation—

——— *οὐδέ τις*
ἡμετέρων μύθων ξείνος καὶ πτωχὸς ἀκούει.¶

When Ulysses proposes to apply in the disguise of a mendicant, Eumæus bids him beware of the rich inmates of the palace, and of their well-dressed pampered servants. In the middle ages there would have been no such young domestics to revile one so roughly clad—

πτωχῷ λευγαλέῳ ἐναλίγκιον ἠδὲ γέροντι,
ὀκηπτόμενον,

* Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. iii. † Antiq. It. D. xxxvii. ‡ [illegible]
§ Epist. cili. ‖ Præloquior, Lib. i. ¶ xxi. 201

The monk or friar had been in that house teaching better things to young and old, having ever on his tongue the line of St. Columban—

"Divitis opprobrium gemitus est pauperis ingens."*

No one would have dared, therefore to tax the poor wanderer with laziness and with being good for nothing, or to style him—

πτωχὸν ἀνιηρὸν, δαιτῶν ἀπολυμαντῆρα.

repulsing him for the reason urged by the proud Antinous, that there were already near them enough of insufferable poor, the disgrace of a festivity. Homer represents the richest of the suitors as the most insulting. It was Ctesippus, ἀθεμίστια εἰδὼς, trusting in his immense treasures, who joined mockery to cruelty, and was the first to assail the poor stranger; but even the most friendly and benign urge the unreasonableness of supposing that any one could be guilty of such folly as to invite a poor man to approach unless he was either a physician, or a maker of spears, or a minstrel who could give pleasure by his singing; and adds, that a poor man, merely as being poor, no one would ever think of calling in.† If we look back to a former book, we shall see what a contrast all this presents to Catholic manners during ages of faith; but here it should be observed, that it is in a great measure to the monastic influence that this prodigious change was to be ascribed; for the monks, by their sermons and by their example taught rich men to respect the poor, and held up charitable men as an eternal example; as at the monastery of Renty in Artois, where, on the festival of St. Bertoul, the steward of Count Wambert, who expended all the revenues of the estate of Renty, which his master gave him, in works of charity, one thousand loaves used to be distributed to the poor in memory of his charitable administration of the count's property. The monks were not afraid of displeasing rich patrons by placing before their eyes continually the wants of the poor. The effects of their intercourse with the great may be estimated from hearing the monastic maxim which Petrus Sutorus thus lays down: "To be acquainted with a rich man is a talent for which an account must be given, if it has not been employed in advising him to give alms."‡

In the chronicles of St. Denis the monks complain that rich men sometimes provide for themselves habits and robes of feast, which cost as much as twenty or thirty marks of silver; and that, after wearing them only five or six days, at the first request they give them to a minstrel; which, say they, is lamentable; for the price of such a robe would nourish twenty or thirty poor persons for a year. Philippe Auguste having heard some monks complain of this abuse, resolved thenceforth to give all his old robes and vestments to the poor, as an alms

* S. Columb. Carmen, ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. I. † xx. 287.

‡ De Vit. Carthus. il. t. ii. c. 4.

that would give him confidence in God.* But it was not alone by giving and inducing others to give alms that the monks proved their friendship. They evinced it also by constantly endeavoring to infuse greater mildness into the laws, which they stigmatized often as cruel and unjust. They would not have the punishment of death inflicted for offences that even still incur it from our English tribunals.† They remind the great that with God poverty is an excuse for crimes which He declares to be hateful in the rich. The Franciscan, Diego Murillo, reminds the people of Saragossa that it is a rich man and liar who is pronounced to be hateful to God, to show that regard should be had to the miseries and necessities of the poor. One meets with continual proof too of the care which was taken by the abbots to abolish every evil custom that had been drawn into oppression of the rustics dwelling near them.‡ A charter of Gotescalch, abbot of Nonantula, in which he grants lands and privileges to the people of Nonantula in 1058, begins with these words: "Our omnipotent Lord and Redeemer always invites men to salvation; therefore I, Gotescalch, humble abbot of the monastery of St. Silvester in Nonantula, with the counsel of the brethren of this monastery, on account of God, and for the utility of the said church, and for the remedy of our souls, provide to ordain things good and useful to all our people now and hereafter dwelling in Nonantula."§ In fact, the joy of the people, so invariably evinced on the foundation of a new religious house, arose in some measure, no doubt, from their knowing that they were to be no longer under the fisc, but under an abbot.

But to return to the influence of the religious orders in regard to the spiritual interests of society. Here it is obvious they could have but few rivals. Their habits of amiable familiarity with the people, and systematic condescension to men of low estate, alone must have given them pre-eminence. The Franciscans, indeed, were expressly enjoined to take a pleasure in conversing with poor and mean persons, and such as are despised by the world.‖

Friar Francis of Soriano, a celebrated preacher of the Capuchins, used to avoid great cities and places where he would have noble auditors, and choose villages and little mountain-towns, and obscure places, saying that he always found more fruit produced by the word of God in such places than in great towns and cities.¶ The monastic solicitude for the spiritual interests of the poor, is indicated, too, by material monuments, attesting the care they took to furnish all places near them with proper objects to fill the minds of the illiterate with what their Saviour had done for them, and to excite the people to the practice of frequent prayer. Hence those crosses and stations and inscriptions, which announce the neighborhood of a convent. "This year," (934,) says the annals of Corby in Saxony, "a little chapel on the way-side was built in the fields of Lüre, for the devotion of pas-

* Ad an. 1186.

† Pet. Bles. de Institut. Episc.

‡ Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 86.

§ Muratori, Antiq. Ital Dissert. xxxvi.

‖ Diego de Navarre, les Chroniques des frères Min. Lib. i. c. 9.

¶ Annal. Capucinorum, 1567.

sengers."* The institution of laical confraternities for prayer, which produced such fruits of piety among the people, is attributed to St. Bonaventura.† The country round a monastery was never left without spiritual culture; and affecting examples are not wanting of the devotion of the monks in supplying it. Thus we read that every morning a monk used to be sent from Croyland to Spaldyng, to say mass for the people there. It happened once, on the festival of St. Lucy, that very early a dreadful tempest arose, and the boat which carried the monk was lost; and the venerable man, by name Manerius, and greatly religious, was drowned at Wodelode.‡

Matthew de Bassio, first general of the Capuchins, applied himself with great diligence to animate youth to piety. When himself a boy, it had been his custom to excite other boys to praise our Lord; and when a friar, and an old man, this was again his favorite employment. He established at Forli certain societies of boys, who assembled for instruction in the Christian doctrine. The boys loved him; for he used to make them little presents, so that they used to follow him in troops whenever he went out through the fields or villages. Having preached once to a crowd of boys in a field near Senigaglia, and seeing them exhausted with heat and thirst, he begged a pitcher of wine from a woman; and it seemed as if each boy was able to have a drink from it. At first this institution of boys was laughed at, for this was in 1552; but when the good effects were felt, the people became of a different opinion. On the festival of the Ascension, he led a multitude of them to the top of a high hill, and preached to them in few words. "On this day," said he, "the Lord Jesus ascended up to heaven, that he might bless us from heaven. Above,—above is paradise, where our Jesus dwelleth. I will serve the world no more: I will rise with Jesus: Jesus is my love, my inheritance, and the God of my heart."§ The few words of such a monk, coming from a peaceful breast full of truth, produced effects prodigious and durable. Nor can one wonder at it; since, independently of every thing else, few could be insensible to that attraction of the uncommon, that influence of the solitude which encompassed the monk, coming forth from his impenetrable retreat as from a sanctuary of peace, to speak to the multitude with the courage and independence of a celestial messenger. Wherever he appeared, discord and enmities, rivalries and heart-burnings, gave way, as if by a secret charm, and devout people would endeavor, if possible, to pick up some thread from the hem of his habit.

The crowd that followed St. Vincent Ferrier, to receive his benediction after preaching to them on Good Friday, at Tortosa, was so great that the bridge of boats sunk under the weight but no one perished.‖ "Experience proves," says a monastic writer, "that those who despise this world are the objects of love: for

* Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. iii. † Annal. Min. iv.

‡ Hist. Croylandens. Rer. Ang. Script. p. 72.

§ Hist. Croylandens. Rer. Ang. Script. ad an. 1552.

‖ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. D. v.

humble men are no offence to any one; and, therefore, much peace and charity accrues: for the humble heart has an invincible power over human wickedness, and hence it is that humble monks in cloisters are so loved by all men."* When St. Serein, after passing the Alps, had returned to his little monastery in France, all the neighboring country was filled with joy, which the people testified by hastening to visit him, and lighting fires on the night of his arrival.† When an abbot of Cluny died, it was always necessary, for some days after, to admit the people of the surrounding country, who thither flocked to kiss his feet and his vestments.‡ When the people of the town knew of the death of St. John of the Cross, they flocked in such multitudes to the monastery where his body lay, that there was danger of its being injured by the press. What true honors were these! Therefore Cardan the philosopher says, that if you desire durable glory, there is no need either of riches or of the favor of princes. Witness Benedict, Francis, Bernard, Dominic, Albert, Thomas, Bonaventure, and Bruno, not alone poor, but mendicants.§ Such was, as the unhappy poet too acknowledges,—

> "The glorious doom of those who struggled to keep alive
> The lamp of hope o'er man's bewilder'd lot."

But it was not alone over the poor that the peaceful influence of the monks extended. Charlemagne loved the abbey of St. Denis more than the city of Paris. The monks of St. Gall used always to style him "our Charles,"—so familiar was he with their community‖ There were few monasteries which did not possess some hooded man whom the great and powerful of the world venerated, so as to desire to serve him with their own hands,—as did the wife of the Emperor Maximus, waiting on St. Martin, ministering as Martha while listening as Mary.¶ "He knew how to accommodate himself, and condescend to all men," says the chronicler, speaking of Charles, the eighth abbot of Villars in the seventh century; "so that he converted from the vain conversation of the world both nobles and plebeians. An eminent grace did God confer upon him, causing him to be so loved by great and small, by princes of the earth and their subjects; for princes wished him to be present in their councils, though he never attempted to further their interests whenever any thing was to be done contrary to God and to the honor of holy religion."**

Of St. Maiolus, the fourth abbot of Cluny, we read as follows: "He was dear to God and to men. Many Catholics and honorable clerks, holy monks and reverend abbots, venerated him as a father; bishops treated him as a most dear brother; by emperors and empresses, by kings and princes of the world, he was called 'lord;' and he was honored by pontiffs of the apostolic seat. The great Cæsar

* Joan à Jesu. Instruct. Novitiorum. † Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 161.
‡ Bibliothec. Clun. § De Utilitat. ex Advers. Capiend. Lib. iii. c. 2.
‖ Eckehard, Min. de Vita Notkeri. c. 29. ¶ Sulp. Sever. Dial. iii.
** Hist. Mon. Villar. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii.

Otho loved him from his heart. The wife of the same emperor, Adelaide, loved him with a sincere and devout charity. Their son, the Emperor Otho, loved him with humble devotion. Chuonradus, the noble and pacific brother of the same empress, loved him equally. The more they beheld his face, the more they increased in his love. What shall I say of the most noble Henry, duke of Burgundy! What of Lambert, the most illustrious and noble count! What of William, what of Richard, the brave dukes of Aquitaine and Normandy! What of the Italian princes and marquisses!—Thus was he magnified and glorified by the Lord in the sight of kings, and before all the people."* Of Erluin, abbot of Gemblou, it is recorded that "many who were high in secular power judged him worthy of their friendship, on account of the reverence of sanctity which shone forth in him."†

"One asks," says William of Jumiège, describing Boson, Abbot of Bec, "whether he became so illustrious, in consequence of his great ability for temporal affairs and for those of religion, or of his exemplary submission to the laws of the monastic life; for many powerful men, shining in the dignities of the world, or in those of the church, lived in intimate familiarity with him; respecting him as a father, fearing him as a preceptor, and loving him as a brother or a son."‡

"Our Prior Nicholas," says a chronicler of the thirteenth century, "had such grace from the Lord that every one loved him. The count and countess always desired his company; so that when they walked forth they did not wish to have a band of jesters and actors to amuse them; but, sending for the prior, they made themselves glad with listening to his sweet talk."§

Conrad I., who, by the advice of St. Bernard, was elected abbot of Fulda, was the perpetual companion of the Emperor Lothaire, on his journeys through France, Italy, Germany, Campania, and Apulia.‖

The influence of the monks was extended also, by means of their occasional perambulations through the country, which they always took care to make subservient to the good of those with whom they came in contact, an end which was not difficult to obtain; "for," as Pope Pius II. said of St. Catherine of Sienna, "no one could approach them without departing better than when they went to them." Most beautiful is that passage in the life of Bourdoise, where he describes the mysterious and indelible impression he received in his youth on a journey, when, arriving where the roads of Laon and of Paris separate, he met at eight o'clock in the morning two friars of the order of St. Dominic, who seemed to him like angels, so heavenly was their discourse as they walked by his side. They soon parted; and he never saw them afterwards; but during that conversation he gave him an advice, of which he used to speak to his dearest friends with great reserve, as if he feared to reveal it; such a mysterious impression did it leave upon his soul.¶

* Bibliothec. Cluniacens. † De Gestis Abb. Gemb. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. vi.

‡ Lib. viii. c. 24. § Hist. Monast, Viconiensis, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.

‖ Cornelii. Monach. Breviar. Fuldense Historicum. ¶ Vie de Bourdoise, liv. i. 20.

These journeys were instrumental to the formation of that familiarity with the great which contributed so much to extend the pacific influence of the cloister.

Many Castellains had chambers in their castles, which they used to call the chambers of the Minors, so accustomed were they to receive friars. Of the close intimacy in which many monks and friars lived with princes, there are curious instances related.* John, duke of Brittany, had brother Peter Lenet in his council, and Francis, count de Montfort, had always with him another Minor. Henry VI. of England obtained permission to have four Minors always in his palace, and in 1441 many great men had similar permission granted to them.† Matthew de Bassio and his companions, who were the first to revive the ancient hood of St. Francis, and to return to the strict practice of his rule, being received into the palace of John, duke of Camerino, whose wife was their great protectress, we read that every day they celebrated mass in the chapel of the palace; and that it was with such gravity and devotion, that all who assisted were elevated to contemplation. The palace itself was to them a desert, in which, remote from all tumult of secular affairs, they contemplated God: so carefully did they avoid the sight and conversation of the courtiers, that no one ever saw them, excepting at mass.‡

The influence of such guests may be easily conceived. In general, when monks addressed themselves to the great, their object was to give them religious counsel or consolation. Thus the Abbot John sends a little book of prayers, compiled from the fathers, as a present to the widowed Empress Agnes, and addresses her in these terms in the prologue.

"Accept then, O pious soul, excellent exemplar of holy widowhood, the little work of flowers which you sought from me, in which you will find sweet words of celestial contemplation, which are to be read with reverence, and to be meditated on with due fear, lest, perchance, he who should approach lukewarm and indevout, might be condemned of temerity. For you must know that the reading of this book is especially for those who do not suffer their minds to be darkened by earthly concupiscence. But when these are read with tears and great devotion, then the mild reader tastes on the palate of his heart, the sweetness which was hidden within. It being so then let not the proud and fastidious mind presume to touch the secret and sublime words of the divine language, lest it should fall into error, for light cannot be seen when the eyes are blinded. But for you who converse well in this life of action, it is just that you should take here the wings of contemplation, and flying on high, draw from the fountain of supernal sweetness. St. John, the last of the servants of Christ, and the brethren who are with me, salute your beatitude in Christ, pious mother of the poor, and noble ornament of widows. Farewell."§

It is a curious fact, which ought not to escape observation, that science itself

* Annal. Min. v. 1281. † Id. tom. xi. ‡ Ann. Capucinorum, 1527.
§ Ap. Pez Thes. Anecdot. tom. iii. p. 111.

owes much to the influence arising from the monastic intercourse with the great. The learned geometricians of Spain and of all Europe, laughed at the project of Columbus, while a poor Franciscan friar, John Perezio de Marchina, guardian of the convent of Arabida, a few paces distant from the town of Palos de Moguet, alone judged otherwise, encouraged him, and gave him letters to the queen; and had it not been for this friar, and his friend, a Dominican, Diego Deza, confessor of the king of Castille, who recognizing the merit of the applicant, obtained from the king the three ships in 1491, Columbus would have been obliged to abandon his enterprise.* On his return, he took Franciscans with him, who were the first to announce the gospel in the new world. This John Perez de Marchina accompanied Columbus in his second voyage, and on landing in the island of Hispaniola, he constructed a hut, in which, after saying the first mass that new world ever witnessed, he placed the holy Eucharist. This was the first church of the West Indies, and the second he built in the town of St. Domingo, both of which Columbus, to show his love and gratitude to the Franciscans, afterwards rebuilt with polished stone in a sumptuous manner.†

Here one might speak of the prodigious exertions of the Dominicans in behalf of peace and mercy, while protecting the Indians, but our limits will not permit us to pursue this theme, which would lead us nearer to the manners of later ages. The choice of monks by princes, as their spiritual directors, was productive, no doubt, of great results. Thieri, king of France, had for confessor, Ausbert, abbot of Fontenelle, in 683; Charles Martel had for confessor, Martin, a monk of Corby; Count Walbert had St. Bertin, of Sisthiu; Richard, duke of Normandy, had the abbot of St. Peter, of Chartres; the Emperor Otho III. confessed to St. Romuald; and the Empress Agnes had the blessed Peter Damian for spiritual director, Henry III. of England, had for his confessor, John of Darlington, a Dominican of great sanctity and erudition.‡ We must remember, that the relation between kings and princes, in ages of faith, and their confessors, was not exactly what might be supposed, if we were only to judge from the conduct of some sceptical Catholics at the present day, who live only for themselves, without either praise or blame. "The honor St. Louis showed his confessors was such," say the chronicles, "that when he used to be sitting in their presence, if any window or door happened to fly open or shut by the force of the wind, he used to rise and shut it gently, or place it so, that it should make no more noise to disturb them."§

Some modern historians have the candor to acknowledge the immense moral benefit which the world derived from having kings thus in contact with the monastic action. "Witness," says Michelet, "Louis-le-Débonnaire and Louis IX., educated by monks, living with monks, governed by monks: and were there ever

* Wadding, xv. Touron, iii. 24. † Vol. xv. ‡ Touron, i. 4.

§ Chroniques de St. Denis ad 1256.

men more profoundly impressed with a desire of performing all the duties of their state with a clear conscience? What profound justice characterized their actions!" "It may be asked," says St. Bonaventura, "why do monks and friars honor rich men more than poor, serving them more promptly in confessions and other things? God has care of all men alike, therefore we ought certainly to love all men alike, and seek with equal solicitude, to promote the salvation of rich and poor, according to their respective wants. If the poor man be better than the rich, we should love him more, and yet we must honor the rich more for four reasons. First, because God in this world has given pre-eminence to the rich and powerful; and, therefore we conform to his ordination in honoring them so far as relates to this order. Secondly, because of the infirmity of the rich: who if they are not honored, grow indignant, and so become more infirm and worse, and a burden to us and other poor. Whereas we ought not to be a scandal to the weak, and a cause of their becoming weaker still: but should rather provoke them to good. Thirdly, because a greater utility results from the correction of one rich man than of many poor; for a rich man's conversion is of advantage to many in several respects. Fourthly, since we receive more corporal support from the rich, it is but just that we should repay them spiritually. Besides, the affairs of the poor are more easily expedited, because they are not bound by so many ties, or involved in so many perplexities which require counsel oftener." *

In fine, the monasteries possessed the natural influence of all great properties which brought with them powerful connections and honors. When abbots were princes of the empire, and peers of parliament, when abbeys had for their protectors and stewards such men as the counts of Hapsburg, Rapperschwil, Werdenberg, and Toggenburg, who were bound by those offices to defend the abbey of Einsiedelin,† when even the superiors of mendicants, as those of the Franciscans, weregrandeesof Spain,‡ when kings, as Henry and Sancho, of Castille, were so affectionate to the same order, that the one surrounded the royal arms with the cord of St. Francis,§ and the other desired that he might be buried in the royal chapel at Toledo, wearing the habit of a Franciscan,‖ it is clear then the pacific must have been also in a temporal sense, very influential men, enjoying a position in the state which gave them means of imparting a direction to the spirit of the whole community. Accordingly, their labors and plans were those of men conscious of their own power: but what could be more magnificent or more noble than their projects? Cluny, that immense confederation, demanded the freedom of ecclesiastical elections. Cîteaux gave to the defense of Christendom that wondrous and sudden creation, the military orders. When was influence more glor-

* S. Bonavent. Determinationes Questionum circa Regulam S. Francisci, c. 23.
† Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik.
‡ Annal. Min. tom. xvi.
§ Id. tom. ix. 1407.
‖ Id. v.

iously employed? Truly it was well for the social order, and the happiness of the world, that the ignorant should be excited by the external display of power to respect men who entertained and realized such views, to whom the wise and learned were constantly repairing for advice in all their proceedings, whom theologians, jurisconsults, physicians, philosophers, historians, orators, poets, and professors of all noble arts were extolling as the most virtuous of the human race,* and addressing in words like those of Plato to Æschylus.

———χώρει,
Καὶ σῶζε πόλιν τὴν ὑμετέραν
Γνώμαις ἀγαθαῖς, καὶ παίδευσον
Τοὺς ἀνοήτους· πολλοὶ δ' εἰσίν—†

CHAPTER XIX.

NEAR upon the close of our sojourn in this house of blessed peace, it may seem late to ask now why such riches were bestowed on monasteries since that is a question to which every thing we have seen and heard under its roof must have supplied a sufficient answer. Nevertheless, it may be well to return once more to the treasury, to cast a glance over the old charters and diplomas, with a view to this specific object; for there is much to learn from them; they will enable us, as it were, to hear the reply of the founders and benefactors, who can best explain their own motives; and the result will not prove irrelevent matter to insert in a history of these pacific institutions.

The Roman pagan laws prohibited the bequest of property to communities, or to any sort of collegiate bodies, and allowed only of legacies to individuals. These laws were formerly abrogated by Constantine, but, in fact, the giving of estates to the Church had been a practice of the first Christians, from the time of the Apostles. "The pagans," as an old Spanish writer observes, "spent their riches in erecting baths, colosseums, pyramids, arches, and those insane edifices

* Pet. Sutorus de Vet. Carthus. Lib. ii. t. iii. 2.

† Ranæ, 1525.

which antiquity celebrated. Christians raised monasteries, hospitals, colleges, and cathedrals."*

"Gold," said Columbus, "is an excellent thing. With gold one can do every thing—can even cause souls to gain paradise."† He alluded to such foundations, so rich were the returns to heaven from the cloister. Not riches, then, but the abuse of riches are a blemish to the Church, as John Polmar said, in his speech before the council of Basilea; and even the state, so far from suffering by the wealth of religious communities, as John Marianat seems inclined to grant, gains from them in every respect prodigiously. As for these institutions in particular, it is evident that if the monasteries had not been well endowed, their inhabitants could not have fulfilled their mission, in regard to the interests either of religion, of charity, or of learning; and in the middle ages, as at the present day in Spain, we may be sure that the wealth of the monasteries was not a subject of regret to the district in which they were placed, when every peasant knew what was the life of abstinence, which was led within the walls, while the poor had a right to profit by the endowments, either in receiving relief or in sharing the cells of the monks, if they chose, like them, to renounce the world.‡

We need not cite many instances to prove the liberality of kings, nobles, and people towards the religious orders in ages of faith. Its mode of communication was often singular. Clovis gave to John, abbot of Reomans in Burgundy, as much land as he could ride round on his ass in one day; to St. Remi he gave as much as the holy man could ride round on his ass, while he took his meridien. "How long and how wide is the tract you give me?" asked St. Florent to Dagobert; who replied, "All that you can ride round on your little ass, while I am bathing and putting on my clothes." Louis-le Débounaire built and repaired twenty-six monasteries, which are named by the anonymous author of his life.§ During the government of William in Normandy seventeen monasteries of monks and six of nuns were built and sumptuously provided with all things necessary for the pompous celebration of divine worship every day.‖ Duke Richard built the abbeys of St. Peter and St. Ouen at Rouen, and another on the hill in honor of St. Michael. King Henry, the husband of Matilda, who built so many abbeys, insisted on constructing, with his own hands, the dormitory for the monks of Tours.¶

Orderic Vitalis says that the barons of Normandy imitated the pious liberality of their princes, in making holy foundations for the good of their souls. "There was no powerful man who would not have deemed himself worthy of derision and of contempt, if he did not entertain suitably in his domains, clerks or monks,

* De Academiis et Doctis Viris Hispan. Narrat. Alfonsi Garsiæ Præf.
† Lett. to Ferd. and Isab. Navarette Hist. iii. 152.
‡ Henningsen's Campaign.
§ Vita et Actus Lud. Pii, Duchesne, ii.
‖ Orderic Vit. Lib. vii.
¶ Will. of Jumiège, viii. 32.

to form the host of God."* The same feeling is ascribed by a monk of Mount-Cassino to Count Roger; for when he came in possession of all Sicily, we are told that he saw in one place "most grandiose palaces of Sarassins, amongst which the church of St. Mary appeared like a cabin; and the count sighed that the palaces of the Sarissins should be so high, and the court of the Virgin Mary so low. So he ordered it to be rebuilt on a noble scale, giving much money to purchase marble and cut stones."† I repeat it, such details might be interminable. Who could enumerate all the noblemen who gave towns, and forests, and chases, and mills, and rivers, and riches, and themselves and their sons to the monasteries and churches of God in the diocese of Salzburg alone ?‡ The donations of one individual would often be multiplied for enumeration here. Sir William Vavasour of Haslewood, in the thirteenth century, besides legacies, not only to the poor of the district and to his friends, leaves to the Friars, Preachers of York five marks; to the Friars Minor of the same city five marks; to the Augustinians of the same city forty shillings; to the monks of Mount Carmel forty; to the Preaching Friars of Beverley forty; to the Friars Minor of Pontefract six marks; to the Friars Minor of Beverley forty shillings; to the Dominicans of Scarborough forty; to the Franciscans of the same place forty; to the Dominicans of Yarm forty; to the Franciscans of Richmond forty; to the Franciscans of Doncaster forty; to the Augustinians of Tykhill forty; to the nuns of Sinningthwaite ten marks; to the nuns of Apleton, Munketon, St. Clement's York, Arthington, Essbold, Kirkeleys, Wilberforce, each convent forty shillings. "Giroie de Courserault," says William of Jumiège, "possessed nobility, lands, and riches, and did not the less love God, who gave Him all these goods; honoring His ministers, and building six churches."§ Rudolph, count of Rapperschwil, in the twelfth century, a devout and valiant knight, has immortalized his name in the monastic records, not only by his defending the rights of the abbeys of Einsiedelin and of St. Gall, but also by his immense donations to those of Fax, Pfeffers, Ruti, St. Gall, Bollingen, and Warmspach. In fact many families owe their earliest titles to such acts. The Abbé Lebœuf says, in his history of the diocese of Paris, "That the names of the ancient lords of Chauvry had been chiefly transmitted to us by means of their donations to some neighboring monastery."‖

The gifts of these ancient benefactors, even when of little intrinsic value, indicate no less an affectionate attention to the peculiar wants of the monks. Thus, Hugues, viscount of Meaux, gives to one monastery a part of the dead wood in the forest which belongs to his castle. Philip, count of Flanders, gives to the monks of Clairvaux, two sacks of dry peas every year. William of Breteuil gives to the monks of Ouche one hundred sous, to purchase fish every year at the beginning of Lent.¶ "Every where, I remark," says Monteil, "that in rich and

* Hist. Normand. Lib. iii. † L'Ystoire de li Normant, vi. 23. ‡ Germania Sacra, ii. 13.
§ Lib. iii. ‖ Tom. iv. ¶ Order. Vit. v.

pious houses, the best dish on the table is sent to the Capuchins."* We often hear of the donations of the barons on setting out for Palestine, which testified how much they valued the monks on their estates; but we should be reminded also, that the same disposition urged them to perform every good work, and in particular to promote the freedom of the people. Thus, Philip, count of Flanders, on this occasion, while making donations to the monks of Clairvaux, with the same pen was confirming the customs of the citizens of Arras; as if he felt that he could not confer favors on the monks without also extending them to the people, to whom they were such true and constant friends.

The accounts of expenditure made by the provost of municipalities in the middle age, evince the same generosity to monks. Thus in the reign of Philippe-Auguste, in the records of Orleans, we read of a certain sum having been given to the monks, and then conjoined with this notice, there is an entry made of the money which was laid out in reparing the city walls; as if the magistrates wished to indicate their solicitude to defend the citizens by prayers as well as arms. In 1308, during a scarcity in Dublin, the prior of Christ-Church, desiring to purchase corn, sent to John le Decer, Mayor of the city, a pledge of plate to the value of forty pounds, which that magistrate immediately returned, with a present of twenty barrels of corn. In 1283 the priory of the Blessed Trinity in that city, having been destroyed by fire, along with the street in which it stood, the citizens agreed to make a collection for repairing it, before they would rebuild their own dwellings, which had suffered in the conflagration. From the thirteenth century, when they arose, the Mendicant orders experienced that the old liberality in this respect was not exhausted. What generosity and zeal were evinced by the inhabitants of the plain of Spoleto, Perugia, Foligno, and Assisi to St. Francis and his brethren coming to them with their horses, mules, and waggons loaded with bread, wine, oil, cheese, flesh, fowl, eggs, butter, poultry, linen, cloth, and whatever they could want! Then one might have seen knights and other lords spreading their own mantles on the ground, to honor these poor of Jesus Christ. Every landlord desired to erect a convent for them on his estate: princes expended their treasures in multiplying them. The Empress Ann, wife of the Emperor Matthias, founded four convents of Capuchins, at Steyer, Regensburg, Budweiis, and Vienna.† How far, it may be asked, were the religious orders active in promoting this spirit throughout the world? Modern writers would induce us to believe, that the monks were ever craving after donations, and that liberality to their order cancelled every crime in their judgment of the donor's character; but they know little of the middle ages who suffer themselves to be imposed upon by such representations.

The monastic spirit in this respect breathes in the peaceful but magnanimous reply of Guitmond, monk of the abbey of the cross of St. Leufroy to William the

* Hist. des Franaçis, viii. 250. † Heumann, De re Diplom. iii. p. 380

Conqueror, on being invited by him to repair to England for promotion, "I leave the spoils of England," said the monk, "to the lovers of this world; I prefer the free poverty of Jesus Christ, which St. Anthony and St. Benedict embraced, to all the riches of Crœsus and Sardanapalus, which, after a miserable death, they left to their enemies."* "You have built monasteries," says St. Jerome to a rich nobleman, "and a great number of the saints are supported by you in the islands of Dalmatia; but you would do better if you yourself would live holy among the holy. Sancti estote quoniam ego Sanctus sum," said the Lord.† So, while relating the desire of King Dagobert to enrich and adorn the church of St. Denis, the monks of that abbey, in their chronicle, fail not to expose the crimes of his subsequent life, saying, that he changed his graces and his virtues into vices.‡ Of Clothaire III. they say, "Of this king we have more of evil than of good to relate: he was, indeed, to a certain degree, devout to the churches of the saints: but, nevertheless, he had so many vices, that they extinguished his virtues, if there were any in him. He was a despiser of women, and history does not record that his life was worthy of praise or of memory, but many authors consign him to damnation."§

A late editor of these chronicles complains that the monks who compiled them treat Brunehaut too severely. They record, however, that she founded and enriched many churches and abbeys, but they style her, "femme exercitée et usée en la mort de ses prochains."‖ Wadding the Franciscan gives the same lesson to the great, when speaking of the sumptuous church of his order at Rimini, the front of which is formed of cut stones of wondrous magnitude, without any cement or ligature. "The chief founder of this convent," he says, "was Sigismund Malatesta, a man to be commended more for the gifts of body than of mind, eminent for military glory, rare eloquence, and corporal strength, but of manners and conversation little Christian. He adorned the church with figures of gentile fables and profane emblems, placing in it his own mausoleum, on which he inscribed a pagan epitaph."¶ St. Francis, indeed, counsels his friars to ask alms confidently, and to feel no shame, not on the ground urged by Telemachus,

αἰδὼς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι,**

but "because our Lord made Himself poor for us:" but how little the love of property could interfere with the peace of his order may be gathered from the fact that the Minors cannot use any thing of right—all their convents, furniture, books, and utensils belonging of right to the pope, the brethren only using them as his guests, having only the usufruct and not the possession.†† "A thousand times I have wondered," says Stephen Pasquier, "why Guillaume de Sainct

* Hist. d'Evreux. † Epist. xcii. ‡ Lib. v. c. xi. § V. 23. ‖ iv. 21.
¶ Annal. Minor. tom. v. 1292. ** xvii. 347.
†† Louis de Paris, Expos. de la Regle des FF. Min. 6.

who made such donations to the monks. Nothing can be more mystically high, and at the same time more solid and faithful to the spirit of the book of God than the arguments employed by the founders and benefactors of monasteries, in the middle ages, when explaining their intention in the prefaces to their charters of foundation, privilege, and endowment.* Many motives are alleged in the diplomas to religious houses as having influenced their authors. The first and most general cause which determined them, seems to have been a profound sense of the sanctity of the community to which they made these grants. Thus one diploma begins, "I, Higmar, in the name of God, considering the purity of the innocence of the Abbot Olger and of his monks in the service of God, and considering that by serving them I can please God, give such and such lands to them." The chronicles, moreover, are before us to corroborate such statements. "At this time," says the chronicle of Melrose Abbey, "many rich men came to us. The king of the land, Alexander, was buried in the church; and many others also, through veneration for the sanctity of the abbot, demanding eagerly that he would accept whatever he pleased of their goods: of which offer he would rarely avail himself; yet sometimes he would accept a few of their cows that they might minister milk to the needy who came to them. He had two cows belonging to the monastery to furnish himself and a companion with milk: but the reason why the rich men of the earth came to him was, that they might confess their sins to him and receive his holy benediction, which they believed would greatly profit them."† "Duke Robert," says a monk of Mount-Cassino, "so loved the Abbot Desiderius, that he revered him as if he were St. Benedict, and he did not wish to be without the presence of the abbot—who was no less loved by the duchess; and the duke gave rich palls to the monastery, and gold, and silver, and cloth for the monks, and fish for their provision, and on solemn feasts sent them vessels of gold and silver."‡ "Father Dosithée, relating that the alms of the citizens of Manzere and of the peasants in the neighborhood to the barefooted Carmelites were so abundant, that sometimes the monks felt bound to refuse them, adds, "This teaches us that a great exactitude in the fulfilment of duties moves seculars much more than all the other means which human prudence could suggest."§ Stephen Pasquier, who was advocate for the university of Paris against the Jesuits when the latter sought to be incorporated in it, furnishes a striking instance; for he says, writing to a friend, "It would be hard to tell you how they increase from day so day, and how the troubles have contributed to this; for having by their ceremonies brought reformation into the ecclesiastical order, and being vowed to maintain the authority of the holy see against the Calvinists, those who are frank Catholics, seeing that from their shop religion and erudition both come forth,

* Vide Baluze, Miscellan Diplom. et Epist. tom. iii. passim.

† Chronica de Mailros, Rer. Anglic. Script. i. ‡ L'Ystoire de li Normant, Lib. viii. 35.

§ Vie de St. Jean de la Croix, Liv. ii.

given them great alms to found seminaries."* The holy solemnity of the offices in monasteries no doubt induced many to be generous to them. Thus annals of Corby, at the date of 1019, we read, "The festival of St. Vitus blendidly celebrated, and great alms were collected: the very beggars were l."† Free men, with their wives and children, used, out of devotion, volly, by solemn acts, to make themselves serfs of abbeys in which were emiaints; for whose sakes avowedly they made this extraordinary offering. in 1039, Reinald, a free man, having been nourished from a boy in the abf the Holy Trinity, at Vendome, and having gained all that he possessed its dominion, offered to God himself, choosing rather to be for ever its serhan free in the world, and firmly believing that to serve God is to reign; act he fulfilled according to form, placing the cord of the abbey bell round ck, to signify that he would be always ready to answer that call. Many r acts are found in monastic documents.‡

ain, donations often followed from men having heard the sermons of the s: they thought nothing afterwards too great or too good for them. Durcertain feast St. Francis preached at Monte Feltro standing upon a wall. heme was the virtue of endurance; and the Seigneur Orlando, count of i, was so moved at the sermon, that he went to the holy man and immey offered to give him the mountain of Alvernia, which was his property, in that the saint might live there in retirement and contemplation. The holy ccepted the offer, and sending there two of his disciples, they built a chapel monastery, in which they established themselves, being welcomed to that le, as we are told, by the cries of the birds who came forth as if to greet § Generally, after the sermons of St. Francis, the people of the town or e went about and offered to build a convent for his friars on their grounds. hing at Poggibonzi, and being favorably heard by the people, he asked them ld a house for the brethren, which they did near the Church of St. Mary. nus saw the table containing the gift in these words, "Concedimus nos— n Fratri Francisco de Assisio qui vocatur Sanctus ab omnibus." The town stood on a high mountain, but being besieged by the Florentines when it with the Gibellines, it was destroyed and rebuilt in the valley; the convent ning in solitude on the heights.‖ In later times the same cause operated e read that Lorenzo de Midicis built a monastery near Florence for brother no, of the order of St. Augustin, merely because he was an admirable ier.¶ Personal intimacy with the superiors of religious houses often led to ions. This was the cause at the abbey of Villars in the seventh century; consequence of the great friendship which the nobles bore to the Abbot es, many vineyards on the Rhine and the Moselle were given to the abbey.

ttres de Pasquier, liv. iv. 24.
squier, Recherches de la France, iii. 41.
n. Min. an. 1213.
† Ap Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. iii.
§ Les Chroniques des FF. Min. liv. ii. c 37.
¶ Machiavel, Hist. of Florence, viii.

"This is to be admired in him," says the chronicle, "that he should have enjoyed such incomparable favor with all, when he was so tenacious a preserver of the things of his abbey, and always desirous of acquiring more; for he obtained great additions to the property of the abbey, and during his rule not a hide of land nor a cart was ever sold, for he judged it to be a sacrilege if any thing belonging to the church was alienated from it. By the grace of God he kept the house free from all debts, and was able to give as much as 600 marcs to other churches; yet the rich gave him largely, while he had always closed hands for soldiers and tyrants, and a purse ever open for the poor and desolate." *

Indeed, the well-known charity of the monks for the poor was another prolific source of wealth to their communities. A charter of Louis-de-Débonnaire to the abbey of St. Medard at Soissons, begins thus: "Although the offerings of the faithful to venerable places, where the bodies of saints repose, cannot in any way serve to increase the glory of the blessed, it is, nevertheless, certain, that the said offerings conduce greatly to the salvation of those who make them in memory of the martyrs; because, by means of such gifts, the poor and indigent are nourished, who would not otherwise be able to live."† So close was the connection between monastic charity and monastic wealth, that Cæsar of Heisterbach lays down a general rule for all monks, saying, "If you expel brother Date from the monastery, you cannot prevail on brother Dabitur to remain."‡

In the eleventh century, tithes were generally given to monasteries, "in usus pauperum et peregrinorum;" but there are examples in a much earlier age, some of which, produced by Mabillon, prove that the care of the people, even in the administration of the sacraments, devolved frequently upon monasteries. In the time of Louis-le-Débonnaire, some laymen desired to redeem the tithes, but the emperor forbad them, by the third capitulary.§ Petrus Damianus uses these words: "In order that they might furnish more copious provision to the poor, tithes were given to monasteries, not only of cattle, but of fowl and eggs."‖

But the secret of munificence to religious houses lay often deeper still than might be inferred from any of the considerations hitherto alleged. Lucas Tudensis relates, that, in the time of Alphonso III., when Cordova was occupied by the Sarassins, the Mahometan king one day taking repose in a beauteous field, sweet with roses and trees of various kinds, one of his soldiers said to him, "O how beautiful, sweet, and delightful, would be this world, if men were not to die!"¶

This reflection throws light upon the intention of Christians in ages of faith, when they endowed monasteries so abundantly; for one of the chief motives which actuated them in doing so,—which, indeed, was never separated from ony other inducement,—was the desire to secure for themselves a permanent possession, and a durable felicity. "My lord," said St. Eloy one day to Dagobert, desiring

* Hist. Mon. Vill. ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. iii. † Martin, Hist. de Soissons, i. 307.
‡ Illust. Mirac. Lib. iv. 69. § Præf. in 4 sæc. cap. 7. ‖ Opuscul. xxxfii. c. 7.
¶ Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. p. iii. c. 17.

to found in the Limousin the abbey of Solignac, "grant me this gift, in order that I may make a ladder by which you and I may mount to the heavenly kingdom." Let us hear a charter from the manuscripts of the abbey of St. Martin at Tours. "Multifariously does the multiplied mercy of the omnipotent God wish to honor the human race, in deigning to grant to every faithful mortal, that, from his own temporal goods, he may be able to purchase and provide a celestial kingdom, and, in exchange for frail and transitory things, receive from the Lord an eternal recompense: for so declares the angelic voice,—'Fiducia magna erit coram summo Domino, eleemosyna omnibus facientibus eam;' and the Lord himself promised in his Gospel, 'Quicumque alicui aliquid dederit, vel calicem aquæ frigidæ tantum in nomine meo amen dico vobis non perdet mercedem suam;' and again He says, 'Date in præsenti quæ possidetis, et dabitur vobis in futuro præmium et regnum æternæ beatitudinis;' and again, 'Quicumque dimiserit et pauperibus erogaverit agros, domos, vineas et mancipia propter me, centuplum accipiet et vitam æternam possidebit." Therefore, in the name of the high Saviour our Lord, I Garnegaud, considering with a devout mind this great and ineffable reward of Almighty God, and knowing that what the Lord hath promised is more certain and firm, and meditating daily within myself the measure of human fragility, how no one knows the day and hour of his death, and fearing at the same time the day of last judgment and the Judge who is to examine my sins, and remembering the piety of out Lord, saying, 'Date eleemosynam, et omnia munda fient vobis,' therefore, that I may be a partaker of eternal happiness, I give and grant to this monastery such and such lands."*

The charter of the foundation of the abbeys of St. Stephen and of the Holy Trinity, at Caen, expresses a similar motive: for the words are, "Whoever makes a donation of any thing to God, or for the love of God, does not alienate it from himself, but rather preserves it for himself, and keeps it to be multiplied at a future time, with hope of eternal life. Thus acteth the benign liberality of the Creator towards his creatures: and, though He hath no need of our goods, since to Him appertains the earth with all that it contains, yet He requires to be honored by our means and substance, and that the sacrifice for praise should be offered to Him for our salvation."†

Amongst the Norman princes who accompanied Roger to Sicily was Bartholomew de Lucy, count of Montecava. He speaks as follows, in a diploma, dated 1193, to the Cistercian monastery of St. Maria Roccæamatoris, near Messina: "The Creator of all the word inspiring. I have considered that temporal goods have been committed to me in this life, as to every other mortal man, in order that by them, charitably and discreetly dispensed in divine worship, and in assisting the servants of God and the poor, and in salutary works of mercy, I might

* Bernier, Hist. de Blois Preuves, i.

† De Bourgueville, Les Recherches et Antiquitez de Normandie, 21. 1.

acquire eternal possessions and the joys of celestial life, prepared for the faithful of Christ from the beginning of the world by the providence of his goodness; and because, from the liberal goodness of God it is, that His own gifts which He commits temporally, afterwards from the hands of His creatures doing well He rewards eternally; and from the terrestrial Church, if any thing be offered to Himself and to His ministers, He assumes afterwards to Himself; moved by this consideration, I, Bartholomew de Lucy, to the honor of the eternal God, and under the name of the most glorious Virgin Mary, have founded an honorable mansion of the Cistercian order, with the intention that lauds, sacrifices, and pious ecclesiastical exercises, may be for ever offered to Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, day and night; and that it may conduce to the support and comfort of His servants, of pilgrims, of sick and weary people, and of all the miserable."*

The donation of Arichis the Longobard, duke of Beneventum, in the year 758, to the monastery of St. Sophia, expresses the same intention. Thus it begins: "In the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,—riches began to increase to me, while divers kinds of gems and metals abounded to me, and many other treasures, whatever Indus or vain Crete bears, whatever soft Arabia or black-skinned Ethiopia furnish. Considering then all these things, from the beginning to the end of the world, what are past and present, and what will be in future, I deemed all things under the sun to be vanity, of which the essence is birth, experience, labor, and death. 'Nil ergo rerum copia proderit nisi Deo possessori oblata.' We remember our fifty years past; scarcely can we expect sixty years; for, if some have reached a hundred years, they may ardently desire the night of repose; if some possessed the sweets of riches for a season, now they weep to feel bitter poverty. The world, contracted and bankrupt, flies from the dying. By the Saviour's voice heaven and earth are said to pass away. The life of mortals is like a flower which withers, and like a lamp which is extinguished by the passing wind. Nothing is more useful—'nihil utilius,' nothing more profitable, than to remember the future life; and, by anticipation, to offer to the Lord our goods, that we may have true and durable riches, and blessed peace, in eternal life in heaven. Moreover, for me did the Lord of Majesty and King of Angels become poor, descending upon this earth clothed in a servile form; and for me did He suffer. Therefore, I, who am a fragile creature, the illustrious Prince Arichis, meditating on the fate of frail life, and desiring to gain the riches of immortality, have consecrated these walls under the name of thy holy wisdom, O Christ, who art the true wisdom of the Lord."†

But Scriptures, new and ancient, propose the mark at which these founders aimed, whether they held unceasingly their view intent upon such glorious ends, or sought to realize some temporal object which was not at variance with them. Aystulphus merely wishes to obey an apostolic precept, when, in 753, he grants a

* Sicilia Sacra, ii. 1287.

† Italia Sacra, tom. viii. 26.

privilege to the monastery of Nonantula; for in that he says, "What else means he admonition to provide good things both before God, and also before men, but hat we should love all men, and assist venerable places and wise men with our iches?"* Monasteries being deemed a source of honor to the state, all true lovers of their country wished to favor them. Aristippus remarked that the Athenian people nourished Socrates, enabling him to live splendidly; and, partly from a similar motive, monks, as true philosophers, were now nourished.†

Again, what will surprise some readers, men gave to monks sometimes as to he poor, knowing that they were really in want of support. "We are reduced o such distress," says Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, "that this year we have scarcely orn for two months: our servants are almost naked, and our brethren are mostly clothed in rags; we are obliged to diminish our hospitality to the poor." So writes this illustrious abbot to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims.‡ In another etter he says to him, "It is not that we lament being deprived of heaps of gold nd silver, and other precious things; but that we want the necessaries of life, uch as food and raiment."§ In a letter to Charles the Bald he says, "During he last four years, since I have been elected by seventy-two monks to preside over them, we suffer incredible want."‖ In another letter to Charles, remonstrating on his cruelty in retaining possession of what belonged to the monastery, he ays, "Do not suppose that they jest; for our old men declare they speak from ong experience, and from what was delivered to them when they were boys, when hey say, that whoever inflicts any great injury on our monastery, unless he repent quickly, is sure to incur some great peril, either of health or of life."¶ It was not marvellous that such appeals should have been answered by a society hat had faith. In 1218, the monks of Monte Sereno often wanted bread, and ometimes they went without any food.**

The Carthusians of Paris, commemorating as one of their benefactors Peter Travet, a citizen of Lagny in the reign of King Charles V., record that he supplied the necessities of thirty monks of the house. In fact, the gift of a basket of provisions would be recorded in the diary of a religious house as a great present. There was a poor convent of Capuchins in Romagna, say the annals of that order, far remote from any town. During a great fall of snow, all the ways being nearly impassable, lo! one evening the gate bell was rung, and a youth appeared with a basket of bread, which he gave to the porter. The youth refused o tell his name; and when the porter begged him to take a night's lodging, as he snow was still falling and the night drawing on fast, he declined; and while he porter went to inform Denis of Spoleto, who was then vicar in absence of the guardian, the youth departed, nor could they see the prints of his feet on the now, so that the good father believed it was an angel.††

* Id. i. 86. † Cardan de Consolatione, ii. ‡ Lupi Epist xlii. § Epist. ‖ Id. lxv. ¶ Id. liii. ** Chronic. Montis Sereni, ap. Menckenii Script. †† Annal. Capucinorum ad an. 1576.

The greatest monasteries were sometimes reduced to the same distress. In his charter to the abbey of St. Maximin at Treves, Dagobert assigns as his motive, "the excessive penury of the monks serving Christ there, on account of the ravages of pagans and unbelieving Christians." Peter, bishop of Verona, being surprised at the poverty of the monks of St. Gall when he visited that abbey, desired them, on his going away, to send after him to Verona six brethren, two by two, and by three different ways. "Let them come to me only two at a time, and, bending the thumb on the hand, let them ask alms. Then I will, as usual, lead them into my private chamber, where I will tie gold bandages round their legs, and then send them away. So let them return to you as they came." Thus it was done, and so a large quantity of gold was brought to our abbey from Verona.* Sometimes it was an aspect of total desolation which excited generosity. Herbert, count of Champagne and of Brie, had been moved at the sight of the ruins of the monastery of Lagny, formerly a nursery of saints, having been founded by St. Fursy, which lay on his road when he used to come to Paris. It had been reduced to this state by the Normans. He applied to King Robert, who granted him the place, and then restored the monastery, causing a Monk Herbert, disciple of the famous Gerbert, to be made abbot. Count Stephen, having obtained from the same king confirmation of this establishment, invited the archbishop of Rheims, and the bishops of Soissons and of Teroenne, to assist at the solemn dedication of the new church, by Sevin, archbishop of Sens; and, at his entreaty, these bishops brought holy relics to enrich it. King Robert and the duke of Burgundy assisted on this grand occasion, the king following the procession bare-footed.† But let us look at other characters; for the reasons which called for liberality were many.

Thibaud, count of Blois, in a diploma of the year 1142, to an abbey of Cistercians, states his motive for giving it certain lands and boundaries to be a wish to promote its peace. "Since I know," he says, "that quiet is useful and necessary to the monastic life, I have determined upon extending the boundaries of that monastery, and marking them with certain signs, lest the monks of that house should be in the least prevented from serving God in peace, or disquieted by the tumults of secular men."‡

Sometimes donations were made through desire of delivering a friend from danger by means of the monastic prayers. Thus when the news of the deposition of Louis-le-Débonnaire came to Brittany, Nominoe, his general there, evinced his affection by going immediately to the monastery of Convoïon, and giving great possessions to the monks, specifying that they were to pray to God for the emperor's diliverance.§ At other times there was a ratification of ancient grants to monasteries through gratitude to the monks for favors that had been received

* Eckehard, Minim. de Vita Notkeri.

† Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xv.

‡ Bernier, Hist. de Blois. Preuves, 20.

§ Lobineau, Hist. de Bret. i.

from them. Thus one charter, of the year 1226, begins, "I, Jane, by the grace of God, countess of Flanders, make known, that when my lord and husband, Count Ferrandus, was captured in open war, the abbot and convent of St. Vedast at Arras, to redeem him, through love, and by no law or violence compelled, gave assistance to me out of the goods of their church mercifully and benignly. I wish, therefore, that the aid from the abbot and convent to redeem my husband, so liberally extended, may not be to the prejudice of the charters which they have received from me and my ancestors."* Gratitude to God actuated many founders and benefactors. The annals of Corby relate, that in 1303, Helena Vechert, for the happy return of her only son from the Holy Land, ordered the church in Luchtringen to be repaired: and again, that, in 1094, Herman de Sichelsten sent three fat oxen to the abbey on the recovery of his son, granted to the prayers of the monks.†

Men also gave to monasteries because there they knew that their donations would be well employed and multiplied, as at that Dominican convent in Cesena, where the slice of pork in sculpture attested what great things might be done with a widow's mite and good men's prayers.‡ Naturally they presented libraries and treasures of art to monasteries rather than to presbyteries, for the very substantial reason that in the former there was much greater probability that there would be always some persons competent and willing to make use of them. Thus the inducements to evince liberality to monasteries were many, but the main object, as we find expressed in the ancient diplomas, was to please God, to avert his anger by means of holy prayers and sacrifice, and to give form to the wishes of a pious heart. So we read of Henry, duke of Saxony, in 1191, the husband of Matilda of England, and father of the Emperor Otho IV., that his generosity to monks was the consequence of his becoming convinced of the vanity of all things but the desire of pleasing heaven. "Seeing that with all his efforts," says the chronicles, "he could not bend the emperor to benevolence, and desiring to please the celestial king, he applied himself to amplify the house of the Lord, and especially the monastery of St. John the Baptist and St. Blaze, which he constructed with great pains, and enriched with costly images and works of gold and marble; and though laboring under severe infirmity, which would have prostrated any other man, he spared not his own person. He ordered, also, the ancient writings of chronicles to be collected, and written out, and recited, and in this occupation he often passed the whole night without sleep."§

Odelirius, counsellor of Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury, concludes his eulogium on monasteries, in the year 1083, with these words of admonition: "While you can, therefore, O glorious Earl, I exhort you to construct for God a monastic for-

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. i. p. 1205. † Ap. Leibnitz, Script. Bruns. iii.

‡ Leand. Albert, Descript. Ital. 460.

§ Chronicon Stederburgense, ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. i.

tress, that the soldiers of Christ may there combat perpetually against the devil in favor of your soul. Behold here on the river Mole is a house which you have lately given me. I have already begun to build a church of stone near it in pursuance of a vow which I made last year at Rome before St. Peter's altar. I offer it with joy, as well as all that I possess, to the Lord. Rise up then, and begin the work of God manfully. You will not want fellow-laborers. As soon as the first stone shall be laid, I will offer fifteen pounds sterling. I will give, besides, my own person, my son Benedict, and all that I possess, provided that under the patronage of the monks the half may pass to my son Evrard. Orderic, my eldest son, has been educated under a liberal monk, and I have procured for him an asylum in the abbey of Ouches. Thus for the love of our Redeemer I have parted from my eldest son, and sent him beyond the seas, that as a voluntary exile he may contend for the celestial King."* Similarly the motive of Dagobert, expressed in his charter to the abbey of Maximinus, at Treves, is the desire that there may be a continual remembrance of him and of his parents in the holy prayers of the said monastery.

Such, then, in general, are the considerations which we find expressed in the ancient charters and diplomas as having influenced men when they gave to monas- their riches, their dearest treasures, and themselves. But there remains still unnoticed a powerful motive which actuated many thoughtful and acute lovers of the great Christian family in the ages of faith to found and endow monasteries, the consideration of which will bring us back more immediately to the point of view from which we set out in this examination of their history; for it is certain, that much of this zeal in their favor arose from the habit of regarding them as strictly institutions of peace, calculated to extend that inestimable gift of God to their neighborhood, to their country, and to the human race.

In developing the justice of this observation, it would be impossible to neglect remarking, in the first place, that they were endowed with a view to the attainment of that primal and true Christian peace which is wholly spiritual, belonging to the soul, either in connection with the body during the present life, or separated from it in the intermediate state, when it is purified from all that could disturb the joy of heaven. Of their efficacy in regard to the attainment of spiritual peace on earth, we have an effecting example, which will show that even the mere knowledge of there being such pacific communities existing could tranquillize the minds of sufferers, and appease their troubled state. Such is the letter of the Empress Cunegund, widow of St. Henry, to the convent which she had founded in Hess, beginning, "I, Cunegund, by divine dispensation, alone in name empress, to her beloved congregation in Confugia, whatever belongs to just love;" for she says, "I think I should bear more easily the load of my own adversity if I should see your affairs safe and prosperous. For although my mind

* Orderic. Vit. Lib. v.

is shaken on all sides by the flood of cares, yet the anchor of your remembrance is not loosened from the depths of my heart; and though you are far removed from my eyes, yet you are never absent from my mind. Who shall separate us from the charity of Christ? Shall grief or distance? If the use of our lost riches were restored to us, our will should be manifested by our deeds."* But it was for peace after death that so many hands were raised in supplication before singing the charters that are now before us. The requiem aeternam was on the lips while the fingers held the pen. However insecure in some instances might be the hopes of those who made these foundations, their thoughts were of the soul—of the soul's eternal rest. "Pie Jesu, Domine," they said from the bottom of their hearts; "dona eis requiem. Amen."

Thus our poet, with eyes intent upon the realities of history, represents King Henry V. endeavoring to tranquillize his mind before the battle of Agincourt, by recalling to it the foundations which he had made in England of the Carthusian monastery of Bethlehem and the adjoining monastery of Sion, which he had founded to compensate for the fault of his father in compassing the crown.

> "Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay,
> Who twice a day their wither'd hands hold up
> Toward heaven, to pardon blood, and I have built
> Two chantries, where the sad and solemn priests
> Sing still for Richard's soul. More will I do;
> Though all that I can do is nothing worth,
> Since that my penitence comes after all,
> Imploring pardon."†

Of citing historical and diplomatic testimonies of course there might be no end. Count Joseph Erzterhazi, founding a monastery of Camaldolese on his estates in Hungary, declares that he does so to honor God, to benefit his country, and for the good of his own soul. I the more willingly select this instance, because nothing can be more affecting than his devout letter in 1747 to Ladislaus Rodossany, the superior of these hermits, in which he speaks of his own approaching death, and of the consoling peace which he derives from having established hermits of Camaldoli in Hungary.‡ But let us read some of the charters, for they are deeply affecting, and capable of awakening the most thoughtless men to a remembrance that the dead need prayer.

"I Roger, count of Calabria and of Sicily for the love of God and the remedy of my soul, and for the soul's sake of Robert Guiscard, my brother, the glorious duke of Apulia and Calabria, have wished to dedicate the church of the desert in the territory of Squillacum, which I have given to the blessed Father Bruno, the master of the said hermitage, and to his successors for ever."§ Now hear his words when founding the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul, at Messina, "These

* Heumann, De Re Diplomatica, iii. p. 152.
† Hen. V. iv.
‡ Annal. Camaldul. Lib. lxxx.
§ Sicilia Sacra, ad an. 1094, i. 5.

things we propose to do with full deliberation, that the multitude of religious men may be united and assembled in this place; and that the place itself may be illustrated by them and supported as is fitting, that these religious men may be suppliants with the divine clemency for the whole Christian people, and for me, a sinner, that the omnipotent God may loose me from my sins."* Here follows the testament of William the pious, duke of Aquitaine, concerning the foundation of the monastery of Cluny, in the year 910. "Considering that from the things which are transitorily possessed, if well used, there may result a durable reward, I, William, by the gift of God, count and duke, desiring as is lawful to provide for my salvation, have resolved to employ what has been entrusted to me for a time to provide an emolument for my soul. Therefore to all who live in the unity of the faith, and demand the mercy of Christ, be it known now and to the end of the world that on account of the love of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, I, William, and my wife Ingelberga, give to the holy apostles Peter and Paul the land of Cluny, which is on the river Granna, and the chapel which is there in honor of holy Mary, the mother of God, first for the love of God, then for the soul of my ancestor, King Odo, of my father and mother, for my own soul, and for that of my wife, as also for those of my brothers and sisters, and of all my relations, and for those of all my faithful servants who adhere to my service; and also for the state and integrity of the Catholic religion; and, lastly, for all Christians in the bonds of one charity and faith, both of the past, present, and future times. I give them in order that a regular monastery may be constructed there in honor of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to be subject to the rule of the blessed Benedict."†

But the peace, with a view to which so many monasteries were founded and endowed, was not alone of this high and spiritual kind, relating to the interior world, of the soul in its present and future state. It was also an earthly and external peace; for these institutions were known to conduce to social and political tranquillity: and that many abbeys were erected for this express end is clear from an inspection of the charters which proclaim their origin. The conviction that such was their tendency arose not merely from considering their direct spiritual operation, as when the Carthusian order every day and at each canonical hour prays for priests, for kings and people, that all may have peace,‡ though this was not overlooked in the middle ages, as may be witnessed in the words of the emperor Lothaire III. to the monks of Mount-Cassino.—"From ancient times your church has the reputation of religion, and given the example always of holy conversation, for which reason we trust to obtain by your prayers to God, that quiet may be restored to the universal Church, and peace granted in our times;" and in the acts of King Robert and of the emperor of Constantinople, sending to

* Id. ii. 1034. † Bibliothec. Cluniac 3

‡ Pet. Sutorus, De Vit. Carthus. li. ii. 2.

commend themselves and their dominions to the prayers of the same monks;* but also from an observation of the fact formerly notorious, and which has not escaped the notice of modern authors, one of whom remarks, that "no association gives such extensive guarantees of order to the state as religious communities." He might have added, too, that nothing tended more to the peace of the world, by counteracting the warlike tendencies of a national feeling, or of a mistaken and pagan patriotism. The practical experience alluded to by the bishop of Sens, in his passport to a monk who was going to travel, "by a divine instinct," that "wherever he finds the Christian religion, he ought to find as it were his country."† must in a great degree be attributed to the influence of the religious orders, which had spread their branches through all lands, uniting multitudes of men of different countries in the closest ties of a domestic interest, and even attaching them to localities far removed from the limits of their own nation. Thus a modern traveller, on occasion of his visit to the Grande Chartreuse in France, says that those monks, hearing that their ancient monastery of Withem in England was then in his possession, "beseeched him almost with tears in their eyes to revere these consecrated edifices, and to preserve their remains for the sake of St. Hugo." Certainly I have nowhere found the memory of England's former sanctity so fresh as in the secluded cloisters of Italy and Germany.

One evening I left Florence and walked to that Carthusian monastery which stands, like a huge castle, on a lofty hill three miles from the city, on the Roman way. In the cloisters I was presented to a venerable father, who addressed me in English, and invited me into his cell. We sat down and for a time silently surveyed the lovely prospect from his window. We then conversed, and I learned with some surprise that he had visited England and Ireland, and had frequently been in London and Dublin. I confess my veneration for him did not keep pace with my astonishment, when I found that from his paradise of peace, he looked back to his travels through these regions of discord with so much pleasure; but my distrust was quickly dissipated when he proceeded with a smile to undeceive me, saying, "Yes, I have been to London and to Dublin often in mind with my wishes, my admiration, and my prayers for your glorious country, but with my body I have never left Italy, the land of my birth." At these words he arose to obey the bell, which summoned him to vespers. I need not say with what reverence I kissed the hand which then conveyed his parting benediction.

But let us observe in how many ways the monastic orders contributed to bind closer the religious bonds of the great Christian family, which, since their suppression, seem to be every year growing weaker and weaker, so that now the descendants of those who once submitted to the spiritual sway of an Italian or a Frenchman would regard a fellow countryman, who comes from a country only a few miles distant from their own, with eyes of jealousy as a stranger, so forgotten

* Hist. Cassinens. Sæc. 7.

† Lupi Epist. cvi.

and obsolete have become the supernatural manners of faith, where there are no monks to teach them. In the first place, monks of one country were received as brethren in the monasteries of another. Many Englishmen were monks in the abbey of Mount-Cassino in all ages; of whom were Aufredus in the eleventh century, and in later times Gregorius Sayr, Thomas of Preston, Michael, and Bernard. An Irishman, Rachisius, was in that monastery at the time when the chronicles were last edited.* Similarly there were many Irish monks in the abbey of Fulda, and some of them recluses.

The remembrance of having owed their noblest institutions to foreign monks was well calculated to nourish a friendly feeling towards the land of their birth. The Burgundians were indebted to the holy monks of Ireland for the abbey of Luxueil, to whom also the Italians owed that of Bobbio, the Lorrainers that of St. Mansu at Toul, and the Germans that of Wirsburg, not to mention many others. The Irish founded so many churches in Europe, that a monk of the abbey of St. Gall has met with a sufficient number wherewith to compose a large volume of their foundations. The memory of foreign monks as that of benefactors could not have been wholly unproductive of the fruits of international affection. Ireland, which gave Columban to Italy, Gall to Helvetia, Kilian to Germany, and Virgilius to Carinthia, must have been regarded with gratitude by the people, who regarded them as their apostles and fathers. Blessed Cataldo from Ireland was venerated among the early saints of Tarentum in Calabria,† and the patron of the great Benedictine monastery of Mœck in Austria was from the same country, St. Colman of the eleventh century. The memory, too, of having conferred benefits on other countries by founding and enriching religious houses there must have operated in opposition to all jealous and malignant feelings towards them. The alms of an Alfred, after enriching the poor monasteries of his own kingdom, to those of France, Brittany, and Ireland, and the grant of lands in Oxfordshire to the abbey of St. Denis in France by King Edward the Confessor, were not only signs but pledges of a peaceful union among nations. And here we owe it to truth and justice to remark, that from the moment of the conquest of Ireland till the fifteenth century, while the English continued to be Catholics, we find continual notice of their charity in founding or endowing monasteries in that country. William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, founded some of almost every order, as did also Walter Lacy in the time of Richard I., and Richard Strongbow, also earl of Pembroke. The Dillons, the Digbys, the Fitzgeralds, the Butlers, the Tyrells, the Devereuxes, the Carews, and the Prestons, were all founders of religious houses in Ireland. Maud de Lacy, Gerard de Pendergrast, John Decer, an English chief-justice in Ireland, and Geoffrey Fitz-Robert, were eminent in this track. Henry II. founded the great abbey of St. Thomas at Thomas-

* Chron. Cas. iv. c. viii.

† Joan. Juvenis, De Antiq. et Fort. Tarentino. rum, Lib. viii. 2. Thes. Ant. It. ix.

town near Dublin; Philip of Worcester, constable of Ireland, founded Kilcumin Abbey, dependant upon Gla-tonbury, and John de Courcy, earl of Ulster, general of the English, founded others dependant upon English abbeys. Hugh de Lacy founded the priory of Ardes in 1218, and made it dependant on Louley of the same order in France. The abbey of little Tintern of the Vow, on the coast of Wexford, daughter of the great Tintern in Wales, was founded by William Marshal. These English noblemen, in making such foundations, were providing better for the social and political tranquillity of Ireland, than if they had been legally commissioned to preserve its peace by means of the halter and the sword, like the over-weening brood that have come after them under the banners of reformation—upstart lordlings, who blush to hear their grandsires' avocation named, and who love to play the dragon over the flying poor.

The alien monasteries, which were numerous throughout Christendom, by producing a constant intercourse between the most learned men of different countries, must have powerfully contributed to the same pacific end. The English Benedictines were naturalized in France. In consequence of the number of Irish monks who had passed into France and Germany, many monasteries of the order of St. Benedict in those countries were built in favor of monks of that nation: such was the monastery of St. Martin at Cologne, and similar houses of Irish or Scotch monks were at Vienna, Ratisbon, Erfurth, and in many other places,* some of which, as that at Erfurth, had been founded by bishops of the diocese. Fingen, an Irish abbot, in the tenth century, the friend of the Empress Adelhard, widow of Otho the Great, bound himself and his successors to receive no other but Irish monks, as long as any such could be found; and the charter of the Irish monastery at Vienna, founded by Henry I. Duke of Austria, supplies this curious explanation for a similar ordinance, "We ordain," it says, "that only Irishmen be received into this monastery; eo quod relatione Religiosorum et de certa scientia novimus ipsorum laudabilem simplicitatem."†

But if the influence of monks was extended thus to the promotion of peace in regard to foreign countries, much more was it efficacious at home in conducing to that of their own nation, and to the stability of the government which protected them. Emperors and kings were not long in making this discovery, as their charters can bear witness. Dom Martene calls attention to those solemn exordiums of the diplomas of the ancient kings, which show how they considered monasteries as instruments of peace. "If we attend to the petitions of the servants of God, which relate to the securing of their quiet, we trust that it will conduce to the praise and stability of our kingdom." Such are the words which continually recur in the charters.‡ Charlemagne, thus magnificently styled, Charles, most serene august, crowned by God, great, pacific emperor, governing the em-

* Mab. Præf. in III. Sæc. Ben. I. † Ap. Pez. Rer. Script. Aust. I.

‡ Martene, Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Historicor. tom. i. Præfat.

pire of the Romans, and by the mercy of God king also of the Francs and Longobards, is far from relying upon the strong arm of power for the maintenance of peace. His words are, "Whatever we grant to venerable places, for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, we trust will conduce without doubt, to the stability of our empire."* His son Louis holds the same language in his charter to the monastery of St. Maximin at Treves; for it begins thus, "If we provide for the quiet of the monasteries, this will conduce to the long stability of our kingdom, and to our obtaining the recompense of the blessed poor in spirit."† Again, Charles the Bald says, in his charter to the monks of St. Martin of Tours, "If we confer honors on places dedicated to God, and provide for the peace and tranquillity of those serving God in them, we trust that it will tend to strengthen the state of our earthly kingdom, and promote the work of our eternal safety."‡

Boso, king of Burgundy, thought that by alms and oblations wars might be prevented; for in an instrument granted to Asmundus, who sought redress when his Church had been repeatedly devastated by armies, the king having called his counsellors, began to consider, as he says, "Qualiter remedio eleemosynæ cessentur bella injuste insurgentia."§ Charles the Simple, in his charter to the Elnonensian monastery, in 921, says, "If we confer necessary things and consolations on the servants of God, we believe that it will both conduce to the salvation of our soul, and also that the state of the kingdom will be longer maintained in peace, and with greater solidity secured."‖

The diploma of Conrad II. to the monastery of Corby begins thus: "If, with pious solicitude, we provide for the peace and tranquillity of the churches of God, we hope that in return we will receive from our Creator the grace of being able to hold the helm of the kingdom, committed to us by God, with peace and tranquillity."¶ The diploma of King Zuendebold, in 898, contains these words: "If, following the pious manner of the glorious kings our ancestors, we preserve the state of the churches inviolate by the rigor of royal authority, and consult with provident disposition for the utility of the servants of God; this, we firmly believe, will conduce to the tranquillity of our kingdom, and to our obtaining eternal beatitude."** The diploma even of Frederic I. to the bishop of Torcellano, in 1177, recognizes the same principle; for the words are, "If we clemently hear the reasonable petitions of the illustrious persons relative to the increase of the commodities of the churches of God, we believe that it will conduce to our eternal salvation, and the augmentation of our temporal glory.†† So also the calamities and disturbance of kingdoms are ascribed in diplomatic acts to the oppression of monasteries and churches; as by Charlemagne in his capitularies.‡‡ Cardinal Humbert§§ advises princes to consider that external war, internal seditions, nation ris-

* Id. p. 59. † Heumann. De Re Diplom. ii. 422. ‡ Id. p. 105.
§ Martene, Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Historicor. tom. i. p. 221. ‖ Id. i. 278.
¶ ii. 607. ** Gesta Trevirensium Archiep. id. tom. iv. p. 147.
†† Murat. Antiq. It. Dissert. ii. ‡‡ Lib. vii. c. 104. §§ Lib. iii. Advers. Simoniac.

ing against nation, and kings against kings, are the penalties of having violated the monastic peace. When Charlemagne was asked to seize the goods of a church, he replied, "I trust that God can assist us more by the merits and prayers of His saints, than by all the military force of the world."* When such views prevailed, one can understand the strong language of kings to express their sense of the importance of monastic foundations; as when the Emperor, Otho IV. says, in 1210, in his diploma to the Church of Camerino, "From the first day in which the most high Creator, from whom all good proceeds, chose to raise us to the height of imperial dignity, it has been our full vow and intimate desire to promote religious places and persons with appropriate benefits;"† that is, with security for the exercise of their peaceful, holy labors; for we see by these examples that the protection of the liberty and peace of monasteries was considered after all as the most signal donation that the great could bestow upon them.

Hence those charters of emperors so multiplied to monasteries, in order that persons dedicated to God might hold and dispose places according to their rule, "longe remota contradictione, inquietudine, vel contrarietate," as Lothaire says in his diploma to the monastery of St. Saviour and Julia at Brescia. "The sublimity of royal prudence," says Henry IV. king of the Romans, in 1065, "ought in every way to provide for the peace and quiet of those who serve God."‡ The diploma of the Emperor Lothaire II., in 1137, to Wibald, abbot of Stavelo, in the Ardennes, begins thus: "Since the imperial solicitude and power ought to consult for the peace and quiet of all the churches of God, especially should it for those of our own dominions."§ The diploma of Conrad II. to the same abbot began with the same words;‖ all which decrees were only in accordance with the vows, and charges, and examples of the Holy See, as when Pope Alexander III. said, "It is necessary that we diligently attend with pastoral solicitude to the peace and quiet of religious men;"¶ for rest of mind and quiet of body were not only delectable but necessary to be servants of God, as both science and experience, to use the expression of Ives de Chartres, convinced every community in ages of faith.** Each founder felt himself bound to procure these advantages for the community he instituted; and hence, as Orderic Vitalis says, "The valiant knight, William Giroie, in refounding the monastery of St. Evroul at Ouches, expressed himself in these terms: 'Let these monks be established in such liberty, that henceforth neither we nor our descendants may ever demand any other retribution but their prayers; and in order that at no future time we may be able, by the instigation of the demon, to disquiet them in any manner, let us place the said monastery wholly under the protection of the duke of Normandy, to defend it against ourselves, our descendants, and all mortals; that if we should ever pretend to require by force any service or contribution besides the spiritual benefit, we may be

* Lib. i. cap. tit. 83. † Italia Sacra, i. 553. ‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 70.
§ ii. 98. ‖ Id. ii. 103. ¶ Id. ii. 885. ** Iv. Car. Epist. 164.

salutarily repressed by the severity of the prince, and forced, even in spite of ourselves, to cease from molesting the knights of God.' "*

This conviction respecting the immense security for peace which resulted from the institution of monasteries, was not confined to the breasts of kings; it was the universal opinion. Speaking of the priory of Leeds, Lambard, as cited by Weever, says, "That in ancient times the greatest personages held monks, friars, and nuns in such veneration and liking, that they thought no city in case to flourish, no house likely to have long continuance, no castle sufficiently defended, where was not an abbey, priory, or nunnery, either placed within the walls, or situate at hand, and near adjoining."† And thus Robert Fabian, in his commendation of London, written in the reign of King Henry VII., says, that Christ hath ever preserved that city "by meane of divine servyce; that in contynual wyse is kept in devout guyse wythin the mure of yt. As houses of relygyon in diverse places of thys towne, whyche in great devocyon ben ever occupyed: when one hath done another begyn, so that of prayer they never blyn such order is these houses wythin wyth all virtue allyed." We may remark, too, that many monasteries were founded with an express view to make compensation to the people for the formed miseries of war. The peaceful foundation of Camaldoli in Poland was made shortly after the country had been ravaged by the incursions of Tartars, Muscovites, and Transylvanians, and by the intestine discords of the great; to repair which horrors, pious men sought to establish the pacific family of Romuald on the mountain to which they expressly gave the name of Peace. Similarly the Scotch monasteries of Kelso, Melrose, Holyrood, Jedburgh, Newbottle, Kinloss, and Dryburgh, were founded by King David expressly to compensate for the sufferings of the people from the border wars to which they were continually exposed, and to serve them as places of shelter, since the sacred territory of the religious houses generally escaped these ravages.

It may be observed also, that the introduction of new religious orders into countries or cities which had not before received them, was always the peaceful result of a conviction of the utility which would result from them to society. The Capuchins were introduced into Avignon, in 1576, by a nobleman of that city, who, hearing of their great virtue, wrote to the general, and offered to build them a convent at his own expense. They were called into Spain without their having taken any measures for that end; but God inspired a certain apothecary of Barcelona, named Michael Quirolio, with a strong desire to procure their reception into that city. This Michael was a good man, so respected by the consuls, that they acquiesced in his demand, and wrote to the general of the order inviting him there.‡

In conclusion we should observe, that all these motives conspiring, contributed to impress many kings and men of power, in ages of faith, with an intimate con-

* Lib. vii. 23. † On Funeral Mon. 287. ‡ Annal. Capucinorum, 1576.

viction that it was impossible for any occasion to arise when it would be lawful to alienate the good of the religious houses. The Emperor Otho I., being in great straits in his war against Henry, his brother, and Gilbert, duke of Lorraine, a certain count, who had followed and served him faithfully in all his wars, prayed him by letters to give him an abbey, which was then vacant, that he might employ its revenues to pay his soldiers. The emperor, with a smiling countenance, told the gentleman who brought the letter that he wished to give the count an answer by word of mouth. The count on hearing this was overjoyed, supposing that his request was granted; and, accordingly, coming to the emperor's presence, he found him in the midst of the people; and the emperor replied in presence of them all, "We must obey God rather than man. For who is so blind as not to perceive that the request which you have now made me is not a request but an open menace, in the necessity to which you see me reduced? But it is written, Give not that which is holy to dogs: which passage, being taken by doctors in an allegorical sense, I should esteem it giving it to dogs if I should give to him who follows secular war a monastery, which is intended for monks who militate under the standard of God alone. For this reason I wish you to learn, before all this people, that you ask from me with such arrogance a gift so unreasonable, that you shall never obtain it from me, nor any thing else that you may ask from me in future. Therefore, if you wish to take flight to the side of these rebels, the sooner you depart the better." These magnanimous words of so great an emperor produced such an effect on the count, that he threw himself on his knees, and implored forgiveness of the fault into which he had inadvertently fallen.*

The charters have detained us long; yet we ought not to close them without observing, as a corollary, that not alone the monks were blessed as the true pacific, and that the monasteries were instruments of peace to diffuse order and tranquillity through the world, but also that a vast majority of the innumerable men who founded religious houses have an unquestionable title to be ranked in the same happy number; for such is the conclusion that we deduce from them. In the beginning we find that Christian women who, by nature and grace, are so essentially peacemakers, came forward as the first founders. Paula, that noble Roman lady, built four; Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius the younger, and Eudocia, his wife, many monasteries. Then who were the princes and nobles that followed in that track? Precisely those who were most eminently pacific in desire; such as Charlemagne, who built so many, and his devout son Louis, who was so enamoured with peace that he wished to devote himself to it in a cloister. Historians tell us that when he was proceeding on the expedition against the king of Bavaria, he passed by Soissons, and went to pray in the abbey of St. Medard. It was with a profound sadness and presentiment of death that the old emperor took leave of this moûtier, which he had so loved, and where he had so much suf-

* Pasquier, Recherches de la France, Lib. iii. 12.

fered. Many times he turned his head towards it and shed tears, when the towers disappeared from the horizon. Theuther, provost of St. Medard, a man faithful in all things, was riding at his side, and endeavored, while weeping himself, to console his emperor, and asked him why he was so much afflicted? Louis, knowing that these words issued from a faithful heart, opened his own to Theuther. "You know," said he, "how much I have loved this place, which I shall never see again, as the holy martyr has revealed to me. I vowed him a vow, the effect of which the troubles of my empire have prevented; and if I did not think that my enemies would impute it to fear, or rather, what is more to be dreaded, that the Almighty would disapprove of the execution of my vow, I would have laid aside my arms here and my imperial purple. What ought I to do?" "Your vow is good," replied the monk, "glorious Cæsar, but the will of God is better. It is a great thing to renounce the world for thy salvation: but it is still greater to watch over the safety of all. What was the most admirable in Christ was His dying for His servants. It will be glorious, then, for you to combat, if it must be so even to death, for the flock which Christ has confided to you." Louis, strengthened by these words, took leave of the provost and of the brethren who had escorted him, and departed by the road to Aix-la-Chapelle and the Rhine.* The adieu, as he foresaw, was for the last time. In a few months after he died in an island of the Rhine near Mayence.

Another great founder of monasteries was the King St. Louis, so eminent for his love of peace, who built in Paris, besides the Holy Chapel, the Church of the Holy Cross; the hospital of the blind; and the Hotel Dieu; the monasteries of the Quatre Mendians; of the Chartreuse: the Blanc-Manteaux; and the Filles Dieu; in the diocese of Beauvais, the abbey of Royaumon; and in Rouen, the abbey of St. Mathew; besides the hospitals of Compiegne, Pontoise, and Vernon.† Among the feudal nobility, the founders of monasteries were similarly the same men who have already, on so many occasions, passed before us as the meek of the earth, the just, the merciful, and the pacific. Does history commemorate an "indefatigable protector of the poor" as Richard, duke of Normandy, is styled by William of Jumiège? The same is also sure to be designated as "the faithful servant of Christ, and the tender father of monks."‡ The great and good, whose memory is in benediction, the hero-like Winrich von Kniprode, grandmaster of the Teutonic order, in whose praise no contemporary is silent, will leave it impossible for future ages to question his attachment to the religious orders. "It was a natural consequence of his piety," says Voight, "that he should have been inclined to favor monasteries. How much he loved them, Oliva and Pelplin, and many other religious houses, can bear witness. He built or promoted the Augustinian convent of Heiligenbeil; the monastery of Konitz; that of the Holy Trinity at Grosswaldeck, on the spot where the heathen Prussians

* Liber de Translatione S. Sebast i. † Pasquier. lii. 22. ‡ Lib. v. 17.

used to sacrifice to their gods ; the convent of St. Mary in Königsberg ; that of the Minors of Wehlan ; and the Carthusian monastery in Dantzig, which was completed a year before his death."* The humble and pacific man who, like the Marquis Leopold of Austria, refuses, as being unworthy, to lay the first stone of the monastery which he himself founds, as was seen when that of Newenburg was to be built, of which he said that a clerk or monk should place the foundation,† is sure to be one of the foremost to protect and favor whatever belongs to the monastic state.

Accordingly we find that the monks were always conscious of the peaceful character of those who encouraged and protected them. Thus we read in the annals of the abbey of Mount-Oliva, "Here lived Mistwinus, a pacific and devout prince, who enrichened and favored this monastery."‡ Where they could not praise their founder for other virtues, they evince delight in being able to proclaim with enthusiasm his love of peace. Thus on the tomb of John Galeazza Visconti, in the Carthusian monastery which he founded at Pavia, we read these verses—

"Cujus pietasque, fidesque
Sacraque justitia et clementia sanguinis expers
Innocuam fecere animam. Nec dulcior alter
Eloquio, nec magnificis præstantior alter,
Nec fuit in totis Europæ finibus unquam
Aptior imperiis princeps, nec sanctior auer
Relligione fuit, nec pacis amantior illo :
Ipse graves, populis cruda de sede tyrannos
Dejecit, fregit tumidos, stravit que superbos.
Hic erat unde quies magnorum certa laborum
Italiæ speranda foret."

The tenant of this tomb has been confounded by some authors with his successor, John Maria Visconti, whose effigy is in the same monastery, and who, as a most cruel prince, is generally represented with two bulldogs at his side, which he used to let loose upon the people : but the founder had many qualities of a great man. It was he who, when a child, being invited by his father, Galeazza, to point out who was the wisest of the company, which consisted of many grave and robed men, after considering a little in silence, went up to Petrarch, whom he had never seen before, and took him by the cloak, and led him to his father. Through life he evinced the same judgment, for he never was deceived by men or events. "This is less strange," says Paul Jovius, "when we consider his inveterate custom of walking and meditating alone, of seeking examples from old annals, and studying the institutions of the fathers. No hunting, or gambling, or dissolute pleasures led him from business, but always he exercised his mind in

* Geschichte Preussens, v. 390. † Chronic. Claustro-Neoburg. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aus[illegible]
‡ Annal. Mon. Oliv. 8.

solid studies. He founded many noble libraries, and chose the wisest men for his council. There was a crowd of writers in his palace, who took down notes of every thing relative to the government; for he regulated even the number of dishes for solemn feasts. No prince of Italy, from the time of the Goths, flourished in greater power or splendor of life, and no one was comparable to him, if we regard his innate gravity and prudence, his dignity of form and countenance, or his study of virtue. The Florentines objected to him diverse lusts, but," says Paul Jovius, "they only sought to blacken their enemy." Admitting, however, that he had many faults, the monks believed that he was a lover of peace, while Italy acknowledged him as one of her greatest men.*

In conclusion we may observe, that even some features in the material construction of monasteries bear witness to the existence of desires in the men who erected them which are intimately connected with a love of peace. Such are those secret chambers and tribunes, expressly provided in order that the founders might assist at the solemn offices of the choir. Of these we have seen many instances. Thus in the Franciscan convent in Cork was an apartment built by the founder, Mackarty, surnamed the great, expressly for himself, to which he used to retire on the great festivals; and similarly in the upper story of the abbey of the Celestins, at Marcoucies, there was a little lodging, called the founder's rooms, where John de Montaigu used to make occasional retreats, and assist at the offices, there being a window in it which opened over the sanctuary of the church. It would be but fair to conclude also that men who could agree together to make such foundations in common, must have had many qualities analogous to the object which these were intended to answer. Men who were not pacific, could hardly have acted thus in concert for a holy end, which might so easly minister to the secret purposes of egotism. The Cistercian Abbey of Ebrach was founded in 1126 by two brothers, Berno and Richwin, noble lords of Ebran, with the aid of their sister Bertha. The great abbey of St. Urban, of the same order, in a forest in the canton of Lucerne, was founded by three brothers, Lutolph, Wernher, and Ulrich von Langenstein, whose castle was in the neighborhood at Roth.†

Lastly, the affection expressed for monasteries by their founders proves that they could appreciate with peaceful hearts the good of such pacific institutions. Hartmann, count of Kyburg, the successor of Berthold, founder of the city of Friburg, in his letters of protection to the monastery of Hauterive, expresses himself in these remarkable terms. "I command and I humbly ask you to honor and love the religious house of Alteripa, and whoever wishes to love and serve me should love it, and avoid doing it the least injury. I take it under my protection. Let every one know that whoever offends against that house, or injures it, offends against my person. This is my command to all our citizens of Friburg, that whenever they hear or know of any injury being committed against it,

* Græv. Thes. Antiq. It. iii.

† Jaeck Gallerie der Klöster Deutschlands, i.

they should so act towards the perpetrators as if the injury had been inflicted on my person."*

The monastery of Swethl, or Claravallis, in Austria, was founded by Hadmar de Cüopham, a rich nobleman, in the year 1135. Godeschalcus, abbot of the Holy Cross, at Ratisbon, at his request, sent to him Hermann, to be abbot, with twelve other brothers, whom he received with all veneration. Having been determined as to the site for this foundation by a dream, he had the spot cleared of trees, and the walls marked out; then mounting his horse, with Hermann, he gave for the monastery all the territory that he could encompass in one ride, whether in woods, waters, marshes, meadows, villages, towns, or churches. After many years the pious founder took the cross with Leopold VIII., duke of Austria, and departed to Egypt for Palestine.

Before he set out, he came to the monastery with his two sons, Henry and Hadmar, and asked permission to enter the chapter, which being easily granted, he took leave of them all with many tears, saying to the brethren, "I know truly that I shall never again see this house while in my mortal body." Then he exhorted his two sons to love and defend it, telling them that otherwise they would incur the divine vengeance. So saying, he took off his belt, studded with silver and gold, and gave it to his eldest son Henry, saying, "Behold! I exonerate myself from the care of this holy house and congregation, and on you, beloved son, do I impose the burden of defending it, because, alas! I am compelled, unwilling, with death before me imminent, to desert this house which I have loved, and ever shall love, with all my strength. Love it as your heart and soul; and take this belt as the token of that love, and wear it next your heart, that you may never forget how it has been commended to your love, and that you may enjoy an eternal peace with all the saints." Then turning to his younger son, Hadmar, he gave him his best ring, and said, "Lo! beloved son, you have my name, you are my flesh and bone. I commend to you this house and congregation, that faithfully embracing and serving it you may possess an eternal mansion. In sign of the love that you ought to have towards this house, I deliver to you this ring, the sign and pledge of love." Then turning to the monks, who were all weeping, he said, "Beloved fathers and brothers, I commend to you my soul, that if perchance you cannot have my body, at least you may never forget my soul on account of God." Finally, calling into the chapter some of his secretaries who were to go with him to Jerusalem, he said, "O most dear and beloved, who for the sake of the kingdom of heaven are about to go with me into long banishment, and who perhaps are to behold my death, I abjure you by the tremendous day of judgment, that if you cannot bring back my body to this place of my foundation, at least you will bring back my heart and my right hand to this beloved house: for I know that after my death this house can hardly have so cheerful a giver, or so

* Fundatio Monast. de Altaripa, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vi.

benevolent and faithful a protector." Then bidding farewell to all, both old and young, he went out of the chapter, and entering the church, threw himself on his knees before the high altar, offering the secret prayers of his heart to God. Then proceeding forth, turning back repeatedly and sobbing, the abbot, monks, and lay brothers all accompanied him as far as the exterior gate. He wept aloud, and ejaculated, commending himself to God and to the Blessed Virgin. Then mounting his horse, he rode slowly on, but on coming to high ground, to a place called Gaisrueck, whence he could contemplate the monastery in the valley below, he paused awhile. Resuming his course, still he turned round his horse frequently, casting back looks of sorrow, till at length, when the monastery could hardly be discerned any longer, he alighted a second time, and prostrating himself on the earth, with many tears commended again and again the monastery to God and to the Blessed Virgin. When he reached the sea the weather was tempestuous. The sailors inviting him to embark, he besought them to wait till midnight, for he said he knew for certain that the Lord would still the waves at that hour, when his monks in Zwiethl would rise for matins and intercede for him. The event seemed to verify his words, for the wind fell at midnight, and the ship had a happy passage: but no sooner had he landed than he fell sick, and then being duly fortified by the sacraments, he rendered up his spirit to God on the vigil of St. Mary Magdalen in 1217. His servants, preserving his heart and right hand, brought them back with his bones to the monastery, and buried them in the chapter. Ebro, the abbot, described these scenes after what he had heard from those who were eye-witnesses.*

But we are taking scholar's road, not seeing the shortest way, but exploring every by-path, like boys who seem searching for an excuse to prolong their walk. The guide who is to conduct us on our return from the abbey waits however at the gate. Yet we have culled some fruit that may please well from this delay; for even to this last moment our researches, how-ever indirect, into the history of these institutions, have added confirmation to our first statement. After so general and faithful a perambulation of the monastic state, we may confidently rest in that conclusion. Its identity with peace and all pacific interests may be to other observers a matter of theory; to us it must ever be henceforth a matter of fact. Peaceful was its object, peaceful even the locality it required, peaceful the origin of all its creations, peaceful the employment it enforced, peaceful the rule on which it depended, peaceful the wisdom which characterized it, and peaceful the discourse and manner of its children. Attached to their cells and to their own congregations, they were at peace with themselves, with their brethren, with every other order in the Church, and with all mankind.

Peaceful was their influence; they conciliated rich and poor; their monasteries were founded as instruments of order and stability, as places of rest for the

* Gasp. Jongel. Notit. Abb. Ord. Cist. Liv. iv. 24.

people, and as fortresses for the state; their founders were eminent for qualities analogous to such institutions, being themselves men of meekness and peace. If the monks whom they endowed so richly might be said to reign, the world should remember that they displayed at least the treasures which Plato required in those who ruled over mankind,—goodness and wisdom. Others might serve society by defending with arms its material interests; they sought to establish its happiness by diffusing tranquillity, and cultivating all the arts which can adorn the human existence. Theirs was a glory which never cost any one a sigh or a tear. Other reigns, as Tacitus remarks, are always pacific in the commencement; theirs was peaceful to the end. What more can be added? You may easily banish monks from your courts and from your parliaments, from your universities and your palaces, but not from the hearts of men: for, thanks to these holy champions of the Spouse, who came thus to her succor, whose fame yet lives, and shall live long as nature lasts,—

"——The world has seen
A type of peace. And as some most serene
And lovely spot to a poor maniac's eye,
After long years, some sweet and moving scene
Of youthful hope, returning suddenly,
Quells his long madness,—thus man shall remember thee."

CHAPTER XX.

SO now we are to take leave of the good monks, whom perhaps we shall never behold again. We must depart · "our lives flow in different directions," as Poujolat said, on a similar occasion, to a Friar Antonio; and probably we shall not see each other more in this world. "Ah, Signor!" methinks I hear the monk reply, "it is even so. we are used to this. We see men whom we love for a day, and then it is finished. May the will of God be done. Take these flowers, these rosaries, these pictures, for my sake." "We must separate," the departing guest says to him again. The monk lifts up his head, and a smile of indescribable melancholy and tenderness lights up the countenance which that dark hood overshadows. The father accompanies him to the abbey gate. After making ten or twelve steps, the

traveller turns his head to look back, and there is the monk still standing, with tears in his eyes. "No!" exclaims one who has witnessed such a scene; never shall I forget him. This meeting has been one of the sweetest impressions from my journey to Italy's delightful land: it will ever constitute one of my fondest recollections."

Our course to the monastery was enlivened by discourse concerning the origin of different abbeys. Our return through the forest may be rendered profitable by turning aside a little to visit the hermits who lived solitary within a short distance of the monks. As Sordello says to Dante,—

"————————To the right
Some spirits sit apart retir'd. If thou
Consentest, I to these will lead thy steps;
And thou wilt know them, not without delight."

This excursion will introduce to us a distinct branch of the pacific family that we are leaving, and enable us to complete, as if from personal observation, our history of those who inherited the beatitude of the peaceful, and well pleased methinks one ought to be at any invitation that will keep us longer under the leaves, inhaling the sweet mountain air, that will give us a few more breezes in the morning,—a few more wanderings, as if guided by the spirit described by Shakspeare "through bog, through bush, through brake, through briar," hearing the chiming of angelic bells, interrupted only by the murmuring of a river that doth fall from rock to rock transpicuous. Besides, who that is now bent on view of novel sights will be slow to turn from his road, when the allurement is to see a hermit well living in solitude remote, like him who for a dance was dragged to martyrdom? The heart, even in its blithest mood, cleaves to such an image, as poets well discerned, who so often chose it for their song: as in the lines,—

"A little lowly hermitage it was,
Downe in a dale, hard by a forest's side,
Far from resort of people, that did pass
In travaill to and froe: a little wyde
There was an holy chapell edifyde,
Wherein the hermite dewly went to say
His holy things each morne and eventyde:
Thereby a christall streame did gently play,
Which from a sacred fountaine welled forth alway."*

And in the next,—

"Thence forward by that painful way they pas
Forth to an hill, that was both steepe and hy;
On top whereof a sacred chappell was,
And eke a little hermitage thereby,
Wherein an aged holy man did lie,
That day and night paid his devotion,—
Of God and goodness was his meditation."†

* Spencer, i. 1.

† Id. i. 10.

Never did any with more speed haste to their profit, or flee from their annoyance, than would a youth in days of yore, when such a father was described, spring upon his horse and ride to visit him. The race of hunters who find delight in piercing through the woods can still be found. Let there be then also those who, as the poet says, "chase through the forest of the pathless past these recollected pleasures." The very intimation of a course through deserts to the hermitage, which would have charmed those dames and knights of antique days, renews the joy I felt when first I did inhale the Tuscan air.

This mode of life dates from the earliest age. We read that Elias and Elisha, and the sons of the prophets, dwelt in the wildernesses, and built themselves tabernacles near the banks of the Jordan. Similar men were described by Moses, as the sons of Seth, who separated themselves to the service of God.* Hence we read, that the missionaries of that order which took its name from Mount Carmel, where Elias dwelt, and to which Pythagoras repaired to enjoy the solitude of its temple,† found a great advantage in Persia from their character as children of the prophet Elija, whose authority is so great throughout the east.‡ In the constitutions of the blessed Rodulph, the fourth prior of Camaldoli, given in the year 1080, we find cited the examples not only of David and Elias, of Elijah and St. John the Baptist, of our Saviour and the ancient fathers of the desert, but also those of the Gentile philosophers, "who, though they followed other camps, are not to be despised," adds the holy man, "since they made philosophy consist in the meditation of death, and in the renouncement of pleasure: they despised riches and fled the world, saying that it was difficult to be rich and wise. And they, indeed, were not instructed by doctrines, or excited by examples, or won by promises, to choose such an admirable life; and yet some of us Christians are more tepid than they were; and, for an eternal reward, have less fervor than these men evinced for fame and glory. O shame, to be more indifferent than infidels! Whence is this? Is there not a country in exile, a feast in the desert, pleasures in penitence, joys in the place of horror and of vast solitude?"§ In fact, to show that our Lord Jesus demonstrated the similitude of all ecclesiastical professions in Himself, the author of an ancient manuscript, found in the abbey of St. James at Liege, observes that Christ proposed Himself as a model to hermits, as well as to monks; for when they sought to make Him a king, we read that He fled to a mountain alone; and elsewhere, that He walked no more openly with the Jews, but withdrew into a region near the desert to the city of Ephrem, where He remained with His disciples; and again, that in those days He went to a mountain to pray, and was all night in prayer to God.‖

How soon the Church reckoned hermits among her visible children, may be

* Middendorp, Originum Anachoreticarum Sylva, Præf. † Jamblich. de Pyth. Vit. 3.
‡ Dosithée, Vie de St. Jean de la Croix. § Annal. Camaldul. tom. iii. App.
‖ Liber de Diversis Ordinibus quæ sunt in Ecclesia, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom.

learned from the histories of the fathers of the desert: but indeed, in all regions, they seem to have followed the first preachers of the faith. During the persecution of Aurelian, we find an anchorite in Gaul, St. Parre, whose hermitage was near the city of Troyes. The emperor, when this holy man was brought into his presence, addressed him in disdainful mood, "I hear that your are of a noble race, and yet you pass your days like a wolf in solitude!" After the time of St. Jerome, when it became the opinion of holy men that generally the life in community which supplied examples of every grace, and delivered each member from all personal cares, was preferable to the solitary life, there still continued to be hermits, who either wandered through the deserts, living upon roots, and having no fixed habitation, or built huts for themselves under some rocks, or in forests, where the peasants supplied their necessary wants. All through the middle ages, however, such a life was deemed fitting only for men of great perfection, so constituted as not to brook transporting from that cloudless air: "for solitude," says Peter of Blois, "endangers many. They wandered in the desert, saith the text, and perished by serpents. I consider serpents the viperous thoughts which encompass you in solitude."* Moreover, a life of this kind in the woods was not wholly without danger. In the vast solitudes of Palestine the hermits were sometimes killed by the Sarassins; and even in Europe, from impious Christians they used to suffer violence and death. Hence, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, hermits began after the example of the recluses, to live two or three together. Thus Ascelin, seigneur of Marly-la-ville in the twelfth century, retired into the deep solitary valley where stood the abbey of Herivaux in after time, and there led a secluded life of devotion for thirty years, with some companions, hermits, whom he had assembled round him. In 1160, with their consent, he obtained leave from Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris, to unite the little community under the rule of St. Augustin.†

In many places of Switzerland and Germany these wood-brothers lived thus a godly life, and revived the habits of the primitive hermits. Thus brother John, called of Rutberg, in the wilderness of Sedel, near Ganterschwil, is described as resembling those in ancient times. After the manner of the holy fathers, with his brethren, he so devoted himself to God, under a strict eremitical rule of life, that he drew not a few to piety, by the mere force of his example.‡ Some priests of St. Gall lived with him; and multitudes, great and low, came to be edified by the spectacle. Count Frederic of Toggenburg bestowed upon them and their successors the ground, on which they might build their houses and chapel; and Henry, bishop of Constance, took them under his protection, and confirmed their hermitage. Others gave them such large alms that they were able to buy some other land from the convent of Maggenau. Similarly, in other places, hermits were fixed; the priests of the parish sometimes setting apart for them whatever

* Contra Depravat. † Lebœuf, iv. ‡ Confirmatio Episc. Constant. 1375.

was collected at certain masses. The most celebrated of the German wood-brothers was Bernard, who, in 1400, lived in great holiness at Pfanneregg. Generally they supported themselves by working with their hands, and by casual alms. They belonged to no order; but, like the anachorites of Thebaid and Syria, remained in solitude as long as they wished, and where they wished.*

This vocation to a solitary religious life being not limited to any age, the Church expressly provided a manner of fulfilling it that would suit all times, and be exempt from dangers and inconveniences; and accordingly, in the Carthusian order, which was a re-establishment of the eremitical life, solitude was enjoyed without its perils, and combined with the advantages of a life in community.† The institution of the hermits of Camaldoli was established with the same view. Those belonging to the latter order, who lived in the wood of Gros-bois, in the diocese of Paris, are thus described by the Abbé Châtelain, who visited them in 1675: "They have nine cells, forming two little streets; and in each cell there is an oratory for mass. They say matins at one in the morning, thrice before mass, sextes immediately before dinner, nones at two, vespers before supper, and complin on retiring to rest.‡ In deserts of this kind men used to make retreats for a season. Thus Ugolino, bishop of Ostia, cardinal, and afterwards Pope Gregory IX., withdrew into that of Camaldoli, on the Tuscan mountains, along with St. Francis of Assisi, where his cell is still shown, with a chapel at the end of the desert, immediately adjoining that of St. Francis. Still, however, the ancient and original life of anachorites without such resources and security, was perpetuated in the Church throughout the middle ages. Then, as we find from the life of St. Wulstan, the vast wood of the Malvern Hills contained the holy hermits Aldwin and Guido.§ Then St. Guthlac followed the same peaceful life in the fens of Lincolnshire, making his hut of reeds from the oozy bed around some islet, that far-beneath where the wave beats it, produces them in store; on which solitary tract the effigy of a hermit still recalls him before the lonely hostels, that for many ages have not seen sailing on those waters a living man that contemplates. Then, as in the eleventh century, there were in Italy solitary hermits, Andreas Zocrard; John Vincent, who had been archbishop of Ravenna; and Bononius, who had penetrated into the centre of Egypt, before fixing himself in the solitude of Pereus. Then, in almost every extensive tract of desert country, whether forest or bare stony ridge that rose still higher than the thunder's voice, some holy anachorite, unguarded and unaided, save by casual charity, was known to dwell,—

——— οἵτ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται,
καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίδεα ποιήεντα.‖

In the middle ages such men could easily choose and construct their own abode.

* Ildefons von Arx, Geschichte des S. Gall, ii.
† Pet. Sutorus, De Vita Carthusiana, Lib. i. 19. ii. iii. 1.
‡ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xiii. 41. § Rer. Angl. Script. ‖ Il.

The ancient laws allow a common traveller, passing through the forest, to light a fire, to let his horse graze, and to pull down branches; if he perceive the trunk of a tree that may be of service to his cart, he may cut it down for the purpose.* Under the forest laws, hermits, by a general tacit understanding, were privileged persons, and might remain in the woods unmolested. Frequently their hermitages were however often built, or at least kept in repair, by the peasants and poor villagers, who used also to charge themselves with supplying the holy man who chose it for his abode with food, which was the same as that which they gave their own children,—cheese, and milk, and fruits; for the little garden adjoining supplied roots. They would also at intervals furnish him with a new hood, and with skins for his bed :† for—wiser than some minute moralists, who, now perplexing others as themselves, accuse him of neglecting duties—they knew that his heart, ever bent on working good, responded in every pulse to the common heart of humankind: and that he only followed meekly his vocation, diffusing his good influence to bless the earth. They had often proof, besides, how much he loved them. One old hermit at Cuziba used to go by night and sow the fields of such poor persons as had not the means of procuring seed. Whenever he saw any one weary with a burden, he would assist him to carry it: he would even mend the shoes of the poor, and carry water and provisions for them.‡ Pambus, another of the ancient anachorities, said in dying, "From the time when I first came into this desert place, I never spent a day without doing something with my hands." The affinity which seemed to exist between solitary religious men and certain localities might suggest a reflection on the œconomy of the Church, which never permitted that any thing should be lost or thrown away; for as in the natural world the process of decomposition conduces to the life of animals, so in the spiritual order deserted edifices—as ruined monasteries—used to be selected by hermits for their abode, that there might be no waste of such precious fragments. Thus at Châtres, in the diocese of Paris, the church of St. Germain, of Auxerre, standing solitary, serving only to the devotion of a few scattered houses at a distance, in the seventh century St. Corbinien availed himself of the solitude, and, building a cell near it, lived there as a recluse, until the people flocking to him—great lords, and even Pepin, mayor of the palace, sending to desire his prayers—the holy man was troubled, and after fourteen years departed on a pilgrimage.§

The abbey of Hiverneau becoming uninhabited about the year 1560, some hermits repaired there, and took up undisturbed possession. One of these was Brother Remounet d'Arces, of the ancient house of Arces, in Dauphiny, who was instructed in letters in his youth, and suffered himself to slide into the heresy of these times, which began in his day, in which he remained during twenty years,

* Michelet, Origin du Droit, 411.

‡ Sophron. Pratum Spirituale, 24.

† Monteil, Hist. des Français, tom. iv. p. 320.

§ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, x.

and bore arms for them. At length, after hearing the sermons, and frequenting the company of great preachers and doctors, he gave himself to prayer and study for four years, comparing the books of the heretics with those of the Catholics, and in the end recognized his error, abjured it, and as a penance came to this hermitage in the year 1588, where he spent the rest of his life. After giving all his goods to the poor, he built himself a little lodging in this place, and devoted his whole time to prayer, to assisting the poor, and consoling the afflicted. He even began to write certain works of morals, and others on the mysteries of religion against heresies: but his labors were interrupted by death in 1508, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, to the great grief of the nobility and of all the people," — this is the substance of his epitaph. He used to be called Brother Marcian or Raimond. He had remained there two years unknown. Henry IV. visited him calling him his carabine; and when he heard the news of his death he said, "Voilà, comme Dieu attire à soi les bons."*

In general, however, the spot chosen by such men for their habitation was near some monastery, which supplied their wants; where, as Dante says,—

> "So firmly to God's service they adher'd,
> That with no costlier viands than the juice
> Of olives, easily they pass'd the heats
> Of summer, and the winter frosts, content
> In heav'n-ward musings."

In the eleventh century, the abbey of St. John the Baptist, at Tourtal, in Suabia, attracted many hermits, who selected the desert valley around it for their abode. "In that vast wilderness," says the chronicle of Berthold of Constance, "as if in an uninhabitable place, inaccessible from the density of the forest and the snow-capt precipices of rocks, they militated for God." Thus St. Benedict, after remaining three years unknown to men, and known only to God,—as St. Bernard says,†—became a cherished neighbor of monks at Subiaco. There being no path from the cell of the monk who supplied him with provisions to the cavern, which lay at the bottom of a precipitous ravine, this good man, standing on the brink, used to let down the food into the deep abyss by a long cord, to the end of which a little bell was fastened, in order that the hermit might know when it arrived.

The Benedictines commemorate these first years of their founder in their hymn for vespers on his festival,—

> "Ille florentes peragebat annos
> Cum puer dulcis patriæ penates
> Liquit, et solus latuit silenti
> Conditus antro.
> Inter urticas, rigidosque sentes
> Vicit altricem scelerum juventam;

* Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xii. p. 98.

† De S. Ben. Abb. Serm.

Inde conscripsit documenta vitæ
Pulchra beatæ."

Similarly, near the abbey of Croyland, where was the wooden cell of St. Guthlac, dwelt certain hermits, in holy familiarity with God. One was a nobleman but lately converted to the Catholic faith, and named Cissa, who having left all, followed Christ. Another was Bettellinus, a third Egbert, a fourth Tatwinus. The fame of St. Guthlac, in the time of King Ethelred, gave a great interest to the monastery of Croyland, near which he lived. He was descended from Icles, lord of the Mercians. Tecta and Penvald were his parents. Felix the Burgundian, says Orderic Vitalis, wrote the gests of this holy hermit, but in a prolix style. "I undertake," he adds, "to speak briefly of his life, at the prayer of my brethren, with whom I spent five weeks at Croyland, by the benevolent order of the venerable Abbot Goisfred. Doubtless the recital of the holy deeds of the Saxons, or English beyond the sea, will not be less useful to faithful Cisalpines than the history of the Greeks or Egyptians, concerning whom one reads such long and profitable narrations, collected by the zeal of holy doctors."* Some men lived as hermits within the very walls of the monastery. Thus Dungal, an Irish recluse, resided within the abbey of St. Denis, where he wrote a book in the year 810. Sometimes men passed from the eremitical to the monastic life. The humble and blessed James, a religious man of the order of the seraphical Father St. Francis, had lived some time in his own country, Andalusia, as a hermit, near a certain old solitary church, in the company of a devout priest, who was a hermit, wearing the same habit with him, and employing himself in the holy exercises of prayer and meditation. They had both one garden, which they cultivated, as well to shun idleness, as to sustain their poor life. They also employed themselves in making spoons, dishes, and such like things, of wood; which they either gave to the poor, or else sold them, that they might give alms with the price of them.†

But now, eager to discover one who in his life revives the saintly anachorite, let us bend our thoughts exclusively to find him: though, when we shall succeed, I scarce can say: for how shall the wish that takes us over the mountain be fulfilled, if there be no clue to guide us beside this most remote, most wild, untrodden path? How shall we discover the hermitage, riding thus at a venture, beneath green leaves and gloomy branches, that often overbrow a bleak and alpine cliff? Hermits were so free from what Montaign terms the cowardly ambition of wishing to draw glory from their concealment, that they acted like the animals which efface the track at the entrance of their den. This could not, however, always be effected. The Père Sicard followed long that road of the angels composed of a number of stones, for many days' journey, through the desert, which used of old to direct the steps of the anchorites.‡ What may excite surprise is

* Hist. Lib. iv. † Ribadineira Novemb. ii. ‡ Let. Edif. v. xxix.

the circumstance that some paths through places now most populous were first made by hermits, who little could foresee what men would in after ages tread them. Thus, in ancient times, there was a causeway from Highgate, made by a hermit who lived on the summit, leading to the village of Islington. Even where faith and innocence prevailed, they shunned the neighborhood of a thoroughfare; in that respect alone like Sarpedon :—

ἦτοι ὁ κὰπ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήϊον οἶος ἀλᾶτο,
ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων.*

In 1213, Pope Innocent sent letters to Count Guido, complaining of his having made a public road through the desert, near the hermitage of Camaldoli, on which not only armed men, but actors and actresses pass; thus disturbing the peace and tranquillity of these holy men serving God in solitary meditation. He entreats him to consider his old age, and how his life cannot be long, and that after death only his works can follow him; and adds, that, if he refuses, he will order his brethren, the archbishop of Pisa, and the bishops of Florence and Arezzo, to stop that public way by censure ecclesiastic.† After St. Romuald had constructed the cells on the mountain, perceiving that the silence of the desert was interrupted by the crowds of strangers who came to visit them, in order to remove from the hermits all secular sounds, he built lower down, at a spot most agreeable for its beauty, a large hospice to receive the strangers; and there he left one monk, who was a priest, and three lay brethren, to receive strangers with all the sweetness of holy charity. This hospice became the monastery which was so celebrated.‡

Perhaps a description of some favorite haunts of hermits will serve to direct our steps in quest of them; for we find that, in general, their predilections in this respect were very similar. With this view it will be needles to speak of islands to which we cannot now pass over, though we should be sure to succeed in our search upon them, however savage they might be. When St. Fulgentius, meditating flight into Egypt to escape the incursions of the Vandals, arrived at Syracuse, having conversed with Eulalius the bishop, he passed the sea into an island called the Isle of the Cyclops, in which he found a blessed hermit, Ruffinus, living in great austerity.§ At present our research must be confined to woods and mountains, or at most the shore.

At the foot of a desert rock, at Cape Matapan, in Greece, Michaud found a hermitage, and he takes occasion to observe, that Piety, which flies from the troubles and vicissitudes of life, is pleased at contemplating the stormy seas, and the asperity of solitary mountains. Elsewhere, during his travels, where his countrymen were living, he says he was struck with the melancholy fact, that in modern times corruption and solitude were united, and that the very sacred spots which

* Il. vi. 201.

† Annal. Camald. Lib. xxxvii.

‡ Annal Camald. Lib. iv.

§ Sicilia Sacra, i. 592.

were formerly reserved for the devotion of hermits are now soiled by some seductive spells and pleasures vain.*

In the middle ages there were few places peculiarly remarkable for natural beauty, for the repose of a sublime solitude, in which one was not sure to find a hermit, who often served the pilgrim as his guide, or gave him warning in such words as, "The sun hastes and evening comes. Delay not, while there is nought to hinder, down this rock thy safe descent; for it is so steep that nimblest steps to tread it are required. Ere the western sky is hung with blackness, strive ye for the pass." An ancient forest of chesnuts, whose huge gnarled interwining trunks might so easily be converted into a cell, under the dark curtain of their foliage casting heavy shades, or the side of any mountain near the rills that glitter down the grassy slopes, making fresh and soft the banks through which they glide into the forest lower down, were sites which well suited him. Thus on Mount Ezel, where St. Meinrad led an eremetical life in the ninth century, I found, while thunder roared, one night a hermit at his prayers; and until the revolution there was always a succession of such men upon Mount Valerian on the Seine, which commands that beautiful view over the forest of St. Germain and the French capital, on which three crosses stood, which had been erected in the thirteenth century.

In the reign of Charles VI., Anthony, a solitary hermit, lived on this mount; for whom Gerson, chancellor of the church of Paris, prescribed a plan of life, which begins with these words: "Johannes Cancellarius indignus Ecclesiæ Parisiensis Antonio Recluso in Monte Val, fructum eremicolæ solitudinis adipisci." In 1556, Guillemette Faussart became a recluse on this mountain, where she built a little chapel with the alms of Henry Guyof and of Gilles Martine. While this was building, every night, after her prayers, she used to go down to the river and carry up as much water as served the masons for the whole of the next day. She closed her penitential life in 1561, at the end of five years. After her death, John de Houssai came here to be a hermit in her cell, having received the habit from the Carthusians. He lived chiefly upon roots and bread and water, rarely eating eggs or fish: his whole time was spent in prayer and reading, and in consoling such persons as came to him with permission from the bishop of Paris, or from the Penitentiary. He slept in his white robe; and there he lived during forty-six years, excepting for an interval, on the occasion of the civil wars, when, being troubled by the armed men, he retired to the college of Montaigu at Paris, among the poor scholars. He died in his 70th year in the year 1609, and was buried near sister Guillemette on the mountain, in presence of the clergy and of many great lords. He was honored during his life, and frequently visited by the Kings Henri III. and Henri IV., to whom it is said that he even predicted the manner of their death. The inhabitants of Surenne and the neighboring vil-

* Correspondence d'Orient, 41.

lages used to have recourse to him in public calamities, and begged his intercession. In 1574 Thomas Guygadon, a native of Morlaix in Brittany, obtained leave to inhabit the cell of this holy hermit; and after him Pierre de Blois lived there fifty-one years and two months, till his death in 1639. In 1638, brother John le Comte, native of Mans, died on this mountain, after having lived there as a hermit during forty years. Seraphim de la Noüe, having taken the habit of a hermit in Italy, in the bishopric of Viterbo, came here, and was supported by the alms of Queen Marguerite de Valois. In the middle of the seventeenth century the hermits on this mountain formed a community, which existed till the revolution. They had all one superior, who was to examine their vocations to an eremitical life, and without whose consent they could do nothing extraordinary. They fed upon vegetables, worked to till the ground, maintained silence, and prayed often. They had each a separate cell and a common chapel, in which mass was daily said. They were laymen, who took no vows. The last of these hermits whose name was recorded was Nicholas de la Boissiere, who had exercised the profession of a surgeon.*

Who has not heard of the hermits of Mont Serrat? Let me record a narrative respecting these rocks, which I should not have repeated if the venerable and learned traveller from whose lips I heard it had been living still; but now, without offence, I may the name of Chevalier with the rest enroll. He had visited them shortly after the revolution, and, on my questioning him respecting their picturesque beauty, for that benign old man condescended often to converse with me, he replied as follows: "I knew them well; for I once spent fifteen days and nights in the cell of the hermit, which is on the highest peak of the saw'd rock, for the purpose of making trigonometrical observations, by order of the French government. Two months before I arrived, the hermit who had inhabited that cell was murdered by a man, who mounted up the front of the rock, grappling each splinter as he pushed from crag to crag. His books of devotion, his crucifix, a skull, and his wooden bedstead, were all still preserved there with religious respect. At that time there were twelve hermits living on the mountain, the nearest of whose cells was at a quarter of a league from mine lower down. Some of these hermits had been officers in the cavalry of Spain, and others were priests. They all seem to me to be men of ascetic devotion, profoundly convinced of the vanity of human things, and yet nothing could be more sweet and gentle than their manners. But they were only reviving here; for we can still read in the Moniteur, during the previous war, how the French soldiers had seized the hermits, and hurled them from the rocks, in places where the noise made by their reaching the ground could not be heard. That was now partly forgotten; other hermits had supplied their place, and only the late murder had left one cell deserted. I put my mattress on the very planks which had served him

* Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, vii. 129.

for his bed. As the observations were made in the night by means of concentrated lamps, I used to go down in the day, and spend my time on the roads and in the fields adjacent; and I used often to converse with the peasants in their dialect without their discovering who I was. What devil is that on the rock's point, whose flame we see every night? I used sometimes to say to them, 'What is he doing?' 'No good, seignior; no good. It is a preparation for fresh wars, and the next time we shall not escape.' In fact, the atrocities of the French soldiers had been horrible: they used to fasten the Spaniards to the trees, and then set fire to them. I was sometimes alarmed for my own safety; but the curate of the parish, who was an excellent and a learned man, gave me confidence. Upon my asking him whether he had ever heard his parishioners threaten me, he said that some had used high words, but that he had preached a sermon to them in my behalf, telling them that I was there only for the interests of navigation and commerce, which was for the good of all men; and that I was myself a good Christian, and that every day I used to assist at his mass. The brave peasants afterwards used to come to my cell and bring me game, for which they would take no payment. I used to amuse myself on the mountain with botanical researches. For one reduced like me now to lean upon a staff, that were no ground. Often, with breath exhausted from my lungs, I could no further mount, but did seat me. The life I led there was something paradisiacal; and even now, at this distance of time, its remembrance sweetens my old age, as my gray hairs are descending in bitterness to my grave."

The crags and splinters of the rocks that surround abbeys, along which one coasts as a man walks near the battlements on a narrow wall, are generally associated with the memory of hermits, though to reach them, feet avail not without help of hands. At Vallombrosa I saw the chasm in the hard stone where a hermit had made his bed for forty years; and when I visited the abbey of St. Maurice, in the Valais, I was directed to visit the hermit who lived in a cavern on the side of the precipice which adjoins that house. Rugged was the rock and steep; a path not easy for the clambering goat to mount. There I found that old man, hoary white with age, blind but cheerful. He refused to cover his head with his cowl, though it was the season when the sun least veils his face, and the fly gives way to the shrill knat; and on my urging him, he replied, as if he saw, saying, "Since a youth has not declined enduring the fierce heat to ascend my scorching rock, I at least, a poor old man, long withered, need not fear it." Near Fribourg, in the rocks which overhang the river Sane, cut out of the cliff, a suite of solemn rooms, through which its dark waves resound loud roaring, so as to stun the ear, still recalls the hermit who once inhabited them. His hands had wrought them. It was with some difficulty that I waded across that bellowing stream, which in 1708 proved fatal to some poor scholars who were passing it in a boat, on the festival of St. Antony, intending to visit the hermit. In the chain of Apennines, through which you travel going from Piceno into Umbria, there is a

wooded valley, having Sentino Nova on the right and Fabriano on the left, which shut in with vast rocks, from which a river falls precipitously, causing a murmur of waters to complete the charm of that vale. Beneath the rock there is a cavern, which was a den of wolves, where they used to bring forth and rear their young; so that the valley received from the country people the name of Pascilupi; and there dwelt some hermits, to whom fled for refuge the first friars, who revived the habit and the life of blessed Francis; for this desert of Pascilupi was accessible only by one path, and that most steep and rough; so that the tumult of men seemed completely cut off here, as if to verify the promise, "Abscondes eos in absondito faciei tuæ et conturbatione hominum."*

The Creator of the world seemed to have provided such shelter expressly for the hermit; and such men loved it with a poet's love. "There is a cave," says one, who would have lived happier in such a dwelling,

"All overgrown with trailing odorous plants,
Which curtain out the day with leaves and flowers;
And there is heard the ever-moving air,
Whispering without from tree to tree; and birds
And bees: and all around are mossy seats;
And the rough walls are clothed with long soft grass—
A simple dwelling, which shall be our own
Where we will search
For hidden thoughts, each lovelier than the last;
————and, like lutes
Touched by the skill of the enamored wind,
Weaves harmonies divine, yet ever new,
From difference sweet, where discord cannot be."

Such were those caves on the mountain over Parma, in Calabria, of which the entrance is so covered with aromatic plants, where blessed Helias, Abbot, and St. Nilus, lived a solitary life.†

Arriving at the noon-tide hour, where one of these old caverns seemed yet to keep the moonlight of the expired night asleep, through which the awakened day can never enter, the traveller of the middle ages often found at the entrance sitting its inhabitant, the hermit. Thus on the mountain of Bruncaberg, near Holme, in Denmark, there was great cavern, in which hermits used to live who gave salutary advice to persons passing out of the city.‡ After all, however, there can be no certain clue to guide us; for often hermits had no fixed residence. Marinus had probably no certain seat at first, but, like the ancient anachorites, went here and there either to avoid the multitude, or in quest of the necessaries of life. It was not till later that he and St. Romuald made themselves a hermitage in the island of St. Michael, near Venice.§ Through this ancient forest then, whose thick

* Annal. Capucinorum, 1526.

† Gabrielis Barrii de Antiq. et Situ Calabriæ, ii. Thes. Antiq. It. ix.

‡ Olai Magni Septent. Hist. ix. 11.

§ Annal. Camald. i. 3

shade with lively greenness the new-springing day attempers, let us roam and search its limits round. Here, when we least expect it, the hermit may come suddenly upon us; as those of Camaldoli appeared once to me, descending from their desert to the monastery to hold a chapter there. I shall never forget how all my sense in ravishment was lost, on beholding them emerge from amongst the rocks in the dark pine forest in which I was wandering. Their long white habits, flowing beards, and sweet calm countenances, with eyes bent downward, formed such a picture among the crags and trees as Titian and Zurbaran never traced. I stood immoveable, and I believe should have fallen on my knees, but for the suddeness of the vision, which, ere I could collect my thoughts, was past.

Count Roger, hunting in the desert of Squillace, in Calabria, experienced amaze like mine. His dogs barked at the entrance of a cave; and within it he discovered Bruno, the son of a noble house of Cologne, whom the love of solitude had conducted there, after spending his youth in the school of Paris. In the year 1117, some boatmen on the river Athesis, penetrating into a certain wood called Saturius, near Verona, discovered a hermit who had lived there unknown in solitude twenty years. He was a German, named Gualfardus, who in 1097, left his native town of Augsbourg, and had travelled to Italy. These boatmen led him into the city, where he was received into the monastery of the Holy Saviour in Curteregia.*

Milton met a hermit when he was travelling from Rome to Naples, and he is obliged to record the service he rendered him in introducing him to John Baptiste Manso, marquis of Villa, to whom Tasso addressed his book on friendship.†

But now, supposing ourselves in presence of the hermit, let us with due reverence salute the man of holy solitude, who makes the forest thronged with visitants. In his visage glows a benign joy and a paternal love, which may embolden the most diffident to accost him. He will forgive our curiosity if we inquire who he is, and what has induced him to embrace so extraordinary a mode of life. Let us meekly entreat him to reveal it, though we cannot always reckon upon obtaining a satisfactory reply; for some kept their secret.

The convertite of Classe, who excited Romulus to become a hermit, when he used to converse with him while he was doing penance in that monastery, is called by the ancient writers "the blessed unknown;" and always addressed with the title, Beati incogniti.‡

Brother Ulrich was a hermit in Switzerland, of great renown, and no one could relate who he was or whence he came. All that was known respecting him was his first coming to the wood in the year 1473. He appeared then to be a rich nobleman, about fifty years of age, who travelled with five horses, and came to Unterwalden, in order to see the hermit, Nicholas Von de Flue, of whom he had

* Annal. Camald. Lib. 23.

† Second Defence of the People of England.

‡ Annal. Camald. Lib. ii. 56.

heard much. The conversation of the blessed man made such an impression on him, that he resolved on the spot to remain all the rest of his days in the wilderness, and to follow him. Nicholas, after proving him a long time, gave him a small house, not far from the chapel at Ranft, where he might serve the priest's mass, and give an answer to the pilgrims. He passed under the name of Brother Ulrich, and led a most holy life, following the instructions of Nicholas. Afterwards he inhabited a wooden cell in the forest, wearing a brown habit, and beads at his girdle, and walking bare-footed. In 1486 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, to visit the holy places, in company with Lucas Kölblin, the priest of Muthathal; and though he soon returned, it was only in time to find his brother hermit, Nicholas, at the extremity, and to close his eyes. He followed him upon the feast of Corpus Christi, and was buried with great mourning in a side chapel in the church at Kerns. The inscription on the stone was,

"Here lies Brother Ulrich, who died blessed, in the year 1491."

No one ever knew his origin or family; some in modern times suppose that he was a Bavarian, from Munich, others a Suabian from Memmingen.* He was not the only one unknown among those who followed the instruction of this hermit: another was the holy recluse virgin Cæcilia, whose family name was never discovered. She inhabited a lonesome dwelling in the wood, a quarter of a league from Ranft, and near the chapel of brother Ulrich, where she led such an angelic life, that all the country was amazed. She died in the year 1565, at the age of more than a hundred, having survived Nicholas seventy-eight years. She also was buried at Kerns, and many miracles were wrought through her intercession.

Suatocope, king of Bohemia, having been vanquished by the Emperor Arnulph, retired into a desert, where he passed the rest of his days with some hermits, who never knew who he had been until the hour before his death, when he informed them that he had been a king, and that he had never found true happiness until he had joined their society.†

However, in the chronicles of the middle ages we find frequent mention of hermits, whose life and conversion were no secret. Some, like the last, had been sons of kings, who had exchanged their jewels for a set of beads, their gorgeous palace for a hermitage. The blessed Josse was son of Judicael, king of Brittany, and brother of another king. Being sought for to be made king, he set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, with eleven others, after giving up his studies in the convent of Lanmelmon. Seven years after, he served God in the hermitage of Braic, on the river Quantia, where he lived on birds and little fish. With his own hands he built in the forest two oratories of wood, enriching them with the relics which he had brought from Rome.‡

* Leben und Geschichte des Nikol. By Weissenbach, 271.

† Ord. Vit.

‡ Orderic. Vit. Lib. iii.

Many hermits in the middle ages had been great noblemen. In 1166, St. William, Duc de Guyenne, and count of Poitiers, retired to a hermitage, where he lived many years, till his death. His body was interred in a little garden, which he used to cultivate, and an oratory was afterwards erected over the spot. Guido, of the noble family of the Gherarde-ca, count of Donoraticus, in the fortieth year of his age, through the love of Christ, became a hermit in the desert of Camaldoli. Dying there, in 1140, all the bells of his former domains are said to have tolled, as Nicholas Brautius Sarsinas records in his poetical martyrology,

"Vasta virum clarum vivum celavit eremus,
Defunctum sanctum cymbala sacra sonant."*

Some anachorites, as in the first ages of the church, had been distinguished in the world by their crimes, for which they now were doing penance, but in a spirit very unlike that of Athæmenes, son of Catreus, king of Crete, of whom we read that having ignorantly slain his father, according to the predictions of an oracle, he fell into despair, and not being able to endure to meet men, or support their presence, turned aside and gave himself up to the desert, wandering alone until he died through grief.† The Christian penitent in solitude had peace, being ever fed with kindly hope.

Francis Sichichi, a youth, had been a celebrated assassin. Having cut off with a sword the arm of Leonard Cannizarins, his fellow townsman, he was punished with torture and prison. Thus his heart was changed; so assuming a hermit's dress, he inhabited a cave on the mountains near the monastery of St. Mary de Bosco, in Sicily, where in fasting and prayer, and other holy exercises, he lived a hermit, serving mass, and communicating daily in the monastery till his death, when he was buried as a friend of God in the town of Clusa.‡

Hermits there were, however, men of strong affections, who embraced the life of solitude through a sinking of the mind from sorrow, and a faintness that could have no other end but death. They were men who sought to hide from the world's eye a grief so profound and tender, that only He who made the heart, could sympathize with its sufferings. Spenser describes one of these as being so daunted, that no joy

"In all his life, which afterwards he had,
He ever tasted, but with penaunce sad
And pensive sorrow pind and wore away
Ne ever laught, ne once shew'd countenance glad,
But alwaie wept and wailed night and day:
Unto those woods he turned backe againe
And finding there fit solitary place
For wofull wight, chose out a gloomy glade,
Where hardly eye mote see bright heaven's face
For mossy trees, which covered all with shade,
And sad melancholy; there he his cabin made."§

* Annal. Camald. Lib. xxv. † Diodorus. ‡ Sicilia Sacra, ii. 890. § [illegible]

Some of the hermits, of whom there are such charming pictures in the old romantic fabling of Spain, who used to shelter knights, as when the old recluse in the landes of Bordeaux received Elie, Count of Thoulouse, had themselves been knights. Such in latter times was the celebrated Nicholas of the Rock, who had long been a soldier serving his country, but loving still more God, or as St. Jerome says, "sub habitu alterius alteri militabat."* He had been a perfect knight, defending widows and orphans, and all poor persons, preventing as far as he could, all plunder and excess, declaring that a soldier should be distinguished not more by courage than by mildness, and justice, and peace.† The abbot Blasius, his contemporary, says, "he is indeed in our times a wonderful hermit, living in the desert, and having fasted for twenty years: of whom more than a hundred thousand witnesses can speak, and not merely ordinary persons and his own countrymen, but pontiffs and princes, such as Pope Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII., the Emperor Frederic III., Archduke Sigismond of Austria, the bishop of Constance, and many others, so that posterity can never doubt respecting him. The Abbot Conrad von Wiblingen told me himself, that he had held a long conversation with him, and that the hermit in reply to his first salutation, "you are the man who has spent so many years without food," answered, "Good father, I have never said that I eat nothing."

John Molinet, of Valenciennes, says in one of his works, "that he had seen one of the wonders of his times, the hermit Nicholas of the Rock." Bonifacius Simoneta, abbot of Cornu, in Italy, another of his contemporaries, speaks also of having heard of his fasts; as does Cornelius Agrippa, saying, "this faculty of bearing hunger, is confirmed in our time, by the miraculous example of brother Nicholas, who had lived in the desert twenty-two years without food."‡ Petrus Canisius, who wrote shortly after his death, inserted him in his German Martyrology, and also wrote upon his gift of prayer. His portraits were multiplied through Switzerland, in imagery of every kind. The kings of France had the picture of this friend of God in their cabinets; the kings of Spain had it deposited in their archives; the Archduke Sigismond, of Austria, the duke of Savoy and Lorraine, Philip IV. king of Spain, Louis XII. king of France, the Emperor Ferdinand III., and many other great princes, took occasion to manifest their respect and esteem for this poor hermit. St. Charles Borromeo came to Saxeln, and remained for two hours on his knees at the tomb. Even the heretics of that age were awed by his austerity. Luther, in a letter to Paulus Speratus, mentioned the vision of the holy Trinity, which had been vouchsafed to this hermit, and added that he held him for an especial friend of God, entrusted with divine secrets. Within a short walk of Stantz, there is a deep narrow vale, richly wooded, through which a torrent bellows. At an enchanting spot upon the bank, is a small dwelling constructed with the brown walnut planks of the country, and roofed rudely

* Epist. 79. † Weissenbach. ‡ Corn. Agrip. de Occult. Phil. i. 58.

with wood and stones. Here did he live. This is his hermitage, still visited with such religious respect. In the rooms one can hardly stand upright; but from the bed on which he lay, the sylvan view is so delightful, that one might envy such a lodging. The door faces the chapel and the stream; the back windows open on a sloping lawn, which rises from the wall: the mountain tops are seen only at intervals through the immense trees, which shadow all the valley. Whoso has seen the spot, will pardon my wishing to describe it.

In the hermit, too, one might sometimes have recognized the renowned philosopher of the schools, the curate, or the sire that once waved the crozier over a numerous flock.

When Abeillard left St. Denis, he became so disgusted with the society of men, that in imitation of St. Jerome, he retired with one clerk, into a desert place, which was near Nogent sur Seine. There was a deep wood; there was a rivulet, and there were wild fruits. There he built a little cell and chapel, of wood and rushes, having obtained permission from the blessed Haton, bishop of Troyes, who moreover gave him the ground to do with it what he chose. In the chapel, he set up a carved stone, to serve as a symbol of the blesssd Trinity, so formed as to prove how Catholic was his doctrine on that head; a venerable monument of his faith, which was ever afterwards preserved in the abbey of Paraclet, where, till the revolution, it might have been seen placed honorably in the choir of the nuns, on a marble pedestal, on which was an inscription, stating its origin. There spending his time in holy exercises and in study, he derived such consolation, that he gave the place the name of Paraclet, having been able to build a fairer chapel, which was dedicated to the Holy Spirit, to mark that God had consoled him. When the place of his retreat at length became known, a multitude of scholars flocked to him, entreating that he would permit them to live there under his direction, and after great difficulty they obtained his consent. Then each scholar made a little hut for himself on the brink of the stream, and there they lived on coarse bread and herbs, and drank only water, sleeping on straw. They rose with the sun, and went to rest at its setting, they began each day with prayer; then they sung the Psalms, and went to hear his lectures on theology, which he delivered under a tree. It was there that he composed his treatise on morals, "Know thyself," which after being lost for many years, was at length found in the Bodleian library. There were more than six hundred of these disciples living thus more like hermits, than students of philosophy. A large church and additional buildings became necessary, which led some years later to the famous convent of Paraclet, in which Heloisa presided.

Parish priests became hermits through desire of peace. In 1196, Guy, the curate of Maincourt, in the diocese of Paris, gave up his charge and retired with some companions into a neighboring wood, given to him by Guy de Levy.*

* Lebœuf Hist. du Diocèse de Paris viii. 54.

To such a hermit, how true must have appeared the saying of Menander,

Ὡς ἡδύ τῳ μισοῦντι τοὺς φαύλους τρόπους
Ἐρημία, καὶ τῷ μελετῶντι μηδὲ ἓν
Πονηρόν, ἱκανὸν κτῆμ' ἀγρὸς τρέφων καλῶς.

In the transfer of property, it was often necessary to provide for the right of such men. We find Philippe-Auguste by an especial diploma, endowing the church of St. Evaste, near Orleans, with a little fief in the wood, which served as a retreat to a poor hermit; but the church was not to take possession of it till after the hermit's death, and then it was a condition that two priests should always live as hermits in this wood of oaks and birch.*

"There rests not far from this church of St. Martin," says St. Gregory of Tours, "a certain priest, John, a Briton by nation, who for the sake of the divine love, withdrew himself from the sight of men, and built a little cell and an oratory before the church of a certain village. There in a little garden which he cultivated with his own hand, he planted laurels and trees, which now are risen up to a vast height, affording the most delicious shade; under whose boughs the holy man used to sit, while he always read or wrote something. After his death, it happened that one of these trees decayed through age, and the person who had possession of the grove, dug it up by the roots, and made the trunk into a kind of seat, on which he used to take his rest when weary. Yet after two years he began to feel compunction for what he had done. "Woe is me!" he used to say, "because I have done wrong, in employing for such a purpose, as a common seat, a tree which had been planted by the very hands of such a priest!" So with these words he dug a hole in the ground, and placed the wood within it, and then covered it up. Strange to say, when the spring came back, and the other trees began to bud out leaves, this poor buried trunk sent forth new sprouts.†

Bishops, who often set an example in this respect, could not complain when priests retired thus. There is a village in the mountains of the Vosges, still called Bonhomme, from St. Dié, bishop of Nevers, who led a hermit's life there.‡ St. Taurin, bishop of Evreux, through love of heavenly contemplation, retired to a desert place, on the seat coast, near Coutance, where he built a cabin, and spent the rest of his days in the exercise of an austere life.§ St. Loyer, bishop of Séez, in the eighth century, some years before his death, resigned his episcopal functions, and returned to his original eremitical life. He died in his hermitage, and was buried in his little chapel, which became a parish church in after time.‖

The Camaldolese hermits received many bishops amongst them. In their hermitage on the mountains of Tuscany, I saw the tomb of Cornelius Francis de Nelis, bishop of Antwerp, who died in that retreat in 1798. Their annals commemorate the precious death of the hermit Bogumilus, in his solitude of Dobrowensis, in

* Gall. Christiana, viii. 522. † Mirac. 28. ‡ Voyage Lit. de Deux Bén. 1[illegible]
§ Hist. d'Evreux, 31. ‖ De Maurey d'Orville, Recherches Hist. sur le Diocèse de S[illegible]

Poland, in 1189, who had been archbishop of Gnesne. He abdicated in 1177, and continued here with a few hermits, dwelling in some poor hut.* In general, however, if we inquire into the history of the hermits whom we meet in the woods, we shall find that they had passed to that peace from long previous tranquillity in the cloister. The holy Amatus, after living for thirty years in the monastery of St. Maurice, in the Valais, led a most abstemious life on a solitary rock, to which a monk, Berinus, used to bring him food every third day. Valerius, a Spanish abbot, in the time of Wamba, who wrote De vana sæculi sapientia, lived for a long time as a hermit in the Asturias.†

St. Hospitius, after building a monastery of St. Honoratus, at Lerins, erected also on the summit of the peninsula, three thousand paces from Nice, on the east shore, a tower not many paces separate from the monastery, in which he lived as a hermit, devoted to prayer and meditation, from which he used to address the people, predicting the coming of the Langobards. When these invaders approached, he caused all entrance to the tower to be closed up, leaving only a small window, through which he used to draw up food and necessaries. So when the Langobards arrived, they thought to find treasure here, and mounted by ladders to the window; but finding only this hermit covered with sackcloth and chains, they supposed him a malefactor. He lived shut up in the tower till the end of his life, ruling his monks by deputy.‡

During the middle ages, it was not uncommon for men to set out on long journeys, with no other object but to visit some holy hermit, dwelling in the woods, or on the top of mountains, in order to adjure him to solve some knot which had involved their mind, or merely to listen to his hallowed words, and thus recover their tranquillity by witnessing a gleam of heaven in his peace; vainly sought for in most other breasts; for

> "Only the waters which in perfect stillness lie,
> Give back an undisturbed image of the sky."§

Thus in early times many learned pagan philosophers and great physicians used to repair to the desert, in order to take counsel of St. Anthony. St Augustin addressed himself to Simplicius, a hermit, as did St. Bruno to another hermit. St. Malachy put himself under the direction of a holy hermit named Imar, who led an austere life in a cell, near the great church of Armagh. Albert von Bonstetten relates, that a company of noble persons made a long journey out of Germany, in order to see and speak with the hermit Nicholas of the Rock, in the forests of Unterwalden, of whom fame had published so many wonders. The renowned Johannes Trithemius, abbot of Spanheim, who had lived with him, mentions in his annals, that a vast concourse of foreigners used to repair to the her-

* Ann. Camald. Lib. xxxiv. † Ant. Hispalens. Bibliothec. Hispana, Lib. v. c. 7.
‡ Petri Jofredi Nicæa Civitas illustrata, Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. tom. ix. § Trench.

John Moschus relates that a certain old man once came to a solitary hermit, and said to him, "Tell me, brother, in the long course of your solitary life and spiritual exercise, what have you gained? To whom the hermit replied, 'Depart, and after ten days come back to me, and I will tell you.' The old man went his way and returned at the end of ten days, and found that the hermit had departed to Christ, and had left a title, on which was written, 'Pardon me, O father, because while I performed the work of God, or sang the psalmody of my hours, I never suffered my mind to rest upon earth.'"* Thus the philosophy of the hermits in form of expression, to shun vain length of words, resembled the old Gnomic-practical wisdom of the first Greek sages and poets, conveyed in short, pithy sentences, or mystic symbols. Doubtless many hermits were divinely inspired and fitted for their peculiar ministry. Trithemius says, that he considered Nicholas of the Rock another Antony, who, without reading or study, had been taught all wisdom by the Holy Spirit "In the instruction of Christian morality," says this learned abbot, "he was a deep and efficacious counseller, who held to the Gospel, and with word and work brought many persons from an evil to a better life."† Freely the sage, though wrapt in musings high, assumed the teacher's part, and mildly spoke to all. "This man of God," he adds, "was in our times a real wonder; for he had never studied, and could not even read, and yet had he a wondrous insight into the mysteries of the holy Scriptures, and would give answers to all questions of the learned, that would have implied the deepest wisdom and learning." The chronicle of Nürnberg, by Johan Nauklerus, states that, "though his words were few, yet to all questions they were ever apt, and so full of comfort, that seldom any one departed from him without being edified. He was always cheerful and joyous, and ever the same, so that no one ever saw him with a sorrowful look." A pious pilgrim, who never disclosed his name, came to the holy man's cell, and held with him a long spiritual conversation. He broke out with the words, "How happy and blessed art thou, O Father Nicholas!" but the hermit instantly, with an altered countenance, replied, "God alone can be called happy, but a time will come when men will introduce a new faith, and he who will resist this as a wall or a rock may then be pronounced happy." These remarkable words were produced in the evidence brought forward in the process of his beatification. The accustomed prayer of this holy hermit was, "O God, take me from myself, and give myself all to thee!" The wondrous things related of him might almost inspire with a kind of dread the timid stranger. Thus, we read, that the holy hermit having sent his fourth son to study at the University of Paris, a certain German student, the friend of this young man, was returning home, to whom he had given a letter to his father, which he lost on his road through Burgundy; still being most anxious to hear somewhat the holy man, though he knew not how he durst approach him after losing the letter, he contin-

* Prat. Spirit. c. 98.

† Annal. Hirsaugiens. 505.

ued on his way to Sachseln ; and when he was not far from Ranft, the hermit, holding the lost letter in his hand, met him and saluted him most graciously, asking him whether he brought any other letter."*

The most secluded hermits had some who followed their instructions. Angelus Gualdensis hid himself at last wholly in his cell, and never went out ; but we read that the people of the neighboring towns and villages came in numbers to receive counsel from him in his desert. Through a little window he used to receive the bread and other provisions which they offered to him, and he gave them his benediction, and used to speak salutary words to them, as they stood without, that they might be induced to seek eternal life and peace.† Indeed, by the rules of their holy state, hermits were bound to study to assist all who came to them. "Piety," say the Camaldulese, "is essential to a solitary hermit, that he may be humane, benignant, merciful, and mild. Piety is a benignant affection of heart condescending humanely and mercifully to the infirmity of others."‡ How kind and gracious is their salutation of the stranger, "Wherefore delay, young traveller, in such a mournful place ? Art thou wayworn, or canst not further trace the path ?" He was often, truly, in a two-fold sense, wayworn ; and that benevolent sire often knew his meaning better than he could speak it. Instinctively men fled to them for refuge ; as in the beautiful narrative which tells of the noble youth of the princely house of Beneventum, who, when his father was slain by the Normans, stole away to the woods and repaired by night to the solitary hermit Santarus, with whom he remained till he embraced the monastic life, being first received into the monastery of Sancta Sophia, at Beneventum, where the Abbot Gregory caused him to exchange his name Dauferius for that of Desiderius, to express how all loved him, and afterwards elected abbot of Mount-Cassino, whence he passed to occupy the chair of Peter as Pope Victor III.§ But it was not always a holy innocent who knocked at the hermit's wicket.

What a scene must it have been when the terrible Merovingian kings used to penetrate into the forests to see these peaceful men of solitude and prayer ! St. Eusice, a monk of Micy near Orleans, retired to a hermitage in the country of Blois, and St. Gregory of Tours relates that Childebert, king of France, before setting out on the war in Spain, visited him in his retreat, and offered him 500 golden crowns, which he refused. After the death of this hermit, the king, who ascribed the success of that war to his prayers, caused a church to be built on the spot where he had died ; and by degrees houses being built round it, the town of Selles or Cells was the result.‖

In the sixth century, St. Victor retired into a solitary wood near the village of St. Saturnin in the diocese of Troyes ; but the fame of his sanctity rendered him the object of love and respect to the nobles and people of that country, who

* Leben und Geschichte des S. Nickolaus von Flue, p. 144. † Annal. Camald. Lib. xlvi—
‡ Ibid. Lib. xxxi. § Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. Lib. iii. 2. 5.
‖ Bernier, Hist. de Blois, 241.

admired in him the grace of Jesus Christ. It happened one day that the king of France, with his train of courtiers, and many gentlemen of the country, followed by hunting servants, came into that wood, riding along the banks of the river Aulbe, for the sake of hunting. The king, hearing that they were near the retreat of a holy anchorite, whom every one spoke of with great reverence, became anxious to know him; and so the whole company turned aside and rode towards his cell. The king was overjoyed at the thought of finding such a holy man in his little hermitage; but the saint came out on their approach and met them. The king seeing him advance, quickened his pace, embraced him, and gave him the kiss of peace. "What, my holy father and priest, are you thus retired from the world in penitence? It is I who should do this, and not you, who are so good a man; but I beseech you pray God that He pardon me my sins." "Sire," replied the hermit, "it is my obligation to pray for you, that God may bless you and your family and kingdom, giving you His Holy Spirit, and a prudent counsel, that you may govern with wisdom and justice. Sire, in this word every thing is comprised: but now may it please you to step into the cell of this poor sinner, and take a little refreshment?" "Ouy Dea," said the king, "and it will be a great happiness to me." So the saint called his boy to bring some wine, and the king entered and was refreshed.*

But they had more perilous visitors. Outlaws and robbers would sometimes repair to the hermit, seeking some assuagement of remorse. Many horrible tales from wretches who came to him for secret parley, who seemed hastening each step to the nether hell, the anchorite in desert places has endured. He, as one who listens, stood attentive, ruminating on the words which perhaps imported worse than might be uttered in their mutilated speech. If from answer he abstained, it was that his thought was occupied intent upon their error. When they were withdrawn from sight, his sense reviving, that had drooped with pity for the kindred creature, he would prostrate himself before his altar, and spend that whole night in prayer. These prayers of the recluse were those of the violent, who can by force take heaven. What might they not accomplish? St. Augustin appeals to their effects as proving the utility of the eremitical life. "These hermits," he says, "inhabit desert places, enjoying conversation with God, to whom they adhere with pure minds, most blessed in the contemplation of His beauty, which cannot be perceived unless by the intellect of the holy. They seem to some to have deserted human things more than was expedient, not understanding of what use to us is their mind in prayer, and how profitable as an example is the life of those whose bodies we are not able to behold."† Frederic Barbarossa, being told that the hermits of Camaldoli led a contemplative life in their cells, and offered prayers continually for the safety of the emperor and all men, sent a charge in 1164 to all the subjects of his empire, to

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 122. † De Moribus Eccles. Cath. Lib. i. 31.

respect their goods and possessions, and to preserve them from being oppressed.*

In estimating the use of such men, we must take into account also the extraordinary and prodigious power with which their words were invested when they exercised their pacific ministry, proclaiming in mortal ears the mysteries of heaven, with an authority almost visibly celestial. The old historians, speaking of the hermit St. Meinrad, who used to instruct the pilgrims who came to him, in the mysteries of the hidden life of Christ, and form them to sanctity, find no words so apt to describe his ministry as those of the Gospel, and say that he was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord."† No power, no authority could intimidate the hermit of the middle ages, or prevent him from denouncing evil with the force of that pure eloquence which brought to honor all who marked it well.

King Charles VI., returning from Languedoc, was accosted by an anachorite, who, with raised finger, bidding him take heed, proceeded freely and in great detail to expose the vices of the administration of his uncle: and the king listened to him patiently. But it was not only those who rule kingdoms, who might need the anachorite's reproof. There was another difficulty incident to the Church, which such men, perhaps, only could avert. For occasions might arise when the shepherd of the Church, amid the tangled labyrinth of civil broils, would lack a voice from the desert, to enable him to guide well the sheep and lambs. He who represents in synod high of ancient counsellors, under the Son of Mary, and of God, him to whom the keys were given first, in order to keep the bark in deep sea helmed to right point, riding triumphant through the shock of wars, might need confronting with one who had long taken his stand apart, who would not suffer any mind to subtilize with his, who so loved truth as to have left for its sake all the multitude admires; who ever in thought dwelt in Nazareth, where Gabriel opened his wings. The pontiff therefore might require the hermit. Then let the Vatican throw wide her gates, while kings and their embassadors, frustrated in their sinister ends, shall be excluded, use what arts they may. It is the poor solitary wanderer through desert wilds whose sentence is to judge them. Let none attempt to bar his passage: he has a purpose to fulfil, commissioned by transcendent wisdom. Nor will abjectness of heart weigh down his eyelids for being by them despised; but boldly will he pursue his hard enterprise, and leave not a thought unspoken. And now whoever wishes to be present at this strange audience, may have his hope satisfied by hearing what Bartholomew de Neocastro thus records: but I premise that it is a scene at which only the faithful should be present, whose eyes are fully ripened in the flame of love. Avaunt all others! They can comprehend it not.

"When it was proposed to the pope," says this old historian, "by some unworthy counsellors that Sicily should be recovered by the seizure of certain

* Annal. Camald. Lib. xxxi.

† Tschudi Einsied. Chronik.

towns, the advisers assuring him that the enterprise must succeed, and that it could be effected without effusion of blood, promising to accomplish it if only they were permitted to act in the name of the Holy See; the pontiff replied, 'Friends, it is neither in your nor in our power to effect such things; but it is only for the Lord to do it, by whose permission all that has occurred has been done. Your project we esteem vain and impossible; nor doth a conversation of sinners please us, by which, what heaven forbid, an effusion of human blood should pollute the See of our holy mother, the Church. But we commit all things to the disposal of our Creator. Therefore depart, for it is by pious prayers that He can be bent to convert the Sicilian sinners to the grace of the church and to peace.' Nevertheless, these counsellors did not desist from their undertaking. By their persuasion an armament was fitted out, and they advanced to the walls of Augusta, where the aged Pachius remained to defend the town for King James. When that hero demanded, 'Who are ye?' and received for answer, 'Brother, you see the standard of the Church, and, lo! the legate and the brother preaches who come for the salvation of the Sicilians,' he replied, 'We fear the holy Church, and as Christians revere it as our mistress and our mother; but as for pastors, who hate us without reason, through love of the French, we esteem them as our enemies. We believe that you are deceivers; for the arms of the Church are humility of head and the benediction of the holy cross. Therefore depart hence; for the angels of God, who love humanity and peace, will fight against you who bring war to a Christian people.' The pope, however, had espoused the cause of the French in Sicily, and as the king of Arragon had still possession, the prospect for the people was full of danger. In this crisis, on the 18th of September, 1288, Divine Providence visited Father Jerome, a venerable hermit, who had chosen to serve Christ in great asperity of life on Mount Ætna; to whom, when sleeping by night, He sent an angel, who said to him, 'The Lord commands you to take the staff of your old age, and proceed to the city of Syon, and there say to the chief pontiff, The Lord of thunders commands you to meditate on your ways, and to follow the God of virtues, lest the fury of the Lord should fall on you:' and he heard thunder, and the groans of mourners, and he asked him saying, 'What sounds are these?' and the angel said, 'I show you the rivers of blood which is shed on the earth, and the sheep which perish. That blood is shed contrary to the praise of God, and these sheep that cry cannot find their shepherd. Say to him that he must turn to the Lord, and not deny peace to those for whom the Lord shed his own blood.' And when the old man came to the city, he repaired to the pope, pale and in lowly guise, and said to him, 'Father, I am to declare to you what the Lord commands: lead me into your secret chamber, that I may say to you what no other ears but yours may hear.' And he had led him into it, he asked him, saying, 'Who and whence are you?' and he said, 'An hermit am I, and a Sicilian:' and the pope said, 'Does the land of Sicily yield its fruit, and does pestilence abound? For the Sicilians obey not the com-

mands of God; and I have besought the Lord that the rain and the dews may not fall upon it until they shall be converted from their perversity:' and he said, 'Father, if you reflect, you are not from God, for you are not with Him. If you were from God you would do what He did, for He made you his vicar to the children of men, but you keep not his commandments; and He being a good Father and the best Master, you are a wicked son and an evil disciple; for you do not the works of God. He loved the humble and the poor; you follow the proud: He preached peace, and gave it; you foment seditions and scandals, desolations and captivities: He loved the lives of men; you are a homicide, and cause groans and sorrows to the people of Christ. Therefore your prayers pass not the clouds. But Almighty God, looking down from on high, deserts not his Sicilians, but opens to them the treasures of his compassion and clemency, and saturates them with his graces. You know, father, that as often as arms have been taken up for the French, the invincible power of Christ has fought for the Sicilians. It is strange that having so often seen them conquer you should excite fresh efforts against them. When you shall come before the tribunal of Christ, what palm will you have to offer to God? Some fathers will have prudence, others humility, others mercy to the poor, but you, when you will stand in the sight of the Almighty, before his feet will flow rivers of blood, and swords will be moved by the face of your severity. Consider, father, that these are not the works of the Lord, who, putting on the robe of humility, suspended on the cross, washed away sins, and for the human deliverance endured death. Show, father, if you are from God, what black, what red standard you display for the people, as Christ; what pallid or white that you may vanquish the enemies of Christ, and save the just with an eternal redemption. Truly the Egyptians say, Cruel are to-day the rulers of the Church of Jesus Christ. But know that the providence of the pious Father, who holds the hearts of men in his hand, will renew his seat in the earth, where the Lord shall be glorified for ever; not in battles, not in camps: and the faithful people shall not perish from the face of the Lord. O how wonderful, how unsearchable, was the charity of the Lord God, who to redeem his servants delivered his only Son to death! Truly in all things you endeavor to destroy what He constructed. 'Convertere, Domine, convertere ad cor.' Make peace between discordant kings, and dispose all things that the Christian people may be saved.' The pope hearing these words with astonishment and admiration, interrogated him a second time, saying, 'My son, is it long that you have been in the desert?' and he said, 'Father, it is nearly sixty years since I commenced the eremitical life:' and he said, 'Tell me, what is your life?' and he said, 'Father, since the day I entered the desert I have never left the cave of my prayers, unless for the sake of searching out wild herbs, or fruits of trees, and water for my sustenance. Thrice a-week I eat only bread and drink only water; other days I eat fresh or dried fruits according to the season. I have a monk for my companion, who twice a-year begs bread for us both. The branches

of trees support my bed, and from November till the end of April, while the cold lasts on Mount Ætna, I sleep on straw, and the skin of a bear covers these old limbs. Day and night I adore God on bended knees, and with tears I pray the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost for all the Christian people, that He may rule our holy mother the Church, that He may give peace to kings and to all people, that He may give us the fruits of the earth, and may not desert our pontiff. I sing Gloria in excelsis Deo, Credo in unum Deum, Sanctus, sanctus, and Agnus Dei. I say with honor that revered salutation of the glorious Virgin Mary which the archangel Gabriel said to her. I say thrice each day, 'Miserere mei Deus, et confiteor;' and not being a clerk, I say always, 'Pater noster.' This is my life, father, and my rite; and because I think that what my simplicity has said must have displeased you, I beseech you, father, pardon me if I have sinned.' The pope, reflecting on all this, perceived that the hermit had been sent from heaven, and that the Holy Ghost spoke by the organ of the old man's simplicity. Then raising up his eyes to heaven, he wept, and after some space dismissed the old man benignly. Then he called the prelates and his counsellors, and after a solemn assembly he sent brother Raymund, a monk of Catalonia, to King James in Sicily, offering to the Sicilians the grace of the Church, and making him standard-bearer of the Church in the expedition which was to be directed to the defense of the Christians in the Holy Land. Shortly after he sent Benedict de Colonna and Gerard de Parma to arrange peace between the Apostolic See and the king of France on the one hand, and with Alphonso, king of Arragon, brother of King James of Sicily, on the other."*

Turning from this picture, copied faithfully from the life by a master's hand, we shall not be surprised to find these hermits addressing like words of admonition to the religious communities which their austere solitary lives had edified. Let us hear an instance recorded by Peter of Blois.

"In the year 1114," he says, "there slept in the Lord in the monastery of Evesham a venerable anachorite, St. Wulsinus, formerly a monk of Croyland, and in community with the chapter of Evesham, who, through dislike of the concourse of people to Croyland, and of his distractions at the time of the civil war between the sons of King Canute for the kingdom of England, transferred himself to Evesham, going all the way with a bandage over his eyes, lest he should behold vanity. The holy man coming into the chapel of St. Kenelm, which he had himself constructed in the seventy-fifth year of his retirement, spoke as follows to the assembled monks: 'My lords and dearest brethren in Christ, as well my venerable father and lord Maurice, as all my other fellow-soldiers in this monastery, let it not offend you that I who am a laic and illiterate should teach you who are so much more learned; for I being so much older, and now at the very gates of death, am drawn by the bonds of charity to attempt to give salutary coun-

* Bartol. de Neocastro, Hist. Sicilia, cap. 110.—112, ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. t. xiii.

sels to my youngers. Although, as you well know, I do not know letters, yet instructed in the book of long experience I know the commandments of God to be holy, I believe that mutual charity will be of great avail hereafter, I always teach patience in adversity, prudence in prosperity, I prescribe obedience, continence, I praise every good work, and I forbid all evil. And with you, my learned lords, it is of no consequence if the letters be written on goat-skin, or sheep or calf-skin, provided the doctrine of the letters be edifying and divine. So my fathers, as my learning is but simple and asinine, yet an ass carried our Lord into the holy city, and in so celebrated a triumph, God did not choose any other palfry. Thus those things which I have learned concerning the state of our monastery, from the experience of a long life, I have resolved to relate to you, seeing that I draw near the end of life, and that God being gracious to me, I may be admitted among our fellow-citizens the angels, where I hope you may all meet those who, for having well administered the mammon of injustice, may receive you into eternal habitations. I was born and educated in this country, but choosing banishment into a remote region for eternal life, I followed the circle of the rule of St. Benedict in the monastery of Croyland; but being a laic, and less skilled in letters, and altogether unqualified for the choir of the monks, and being ignorant even of the ministry of Martha, with many prayers I obtained permission from the venerable abbot of that monastery, by name Britmer, to lead the life of an anachorite, which I had always desired; and there I shut myself up in a cell, and day and night I prayed to God for the negligences of that whole congregation and for my own sins. Often, while thus employed, I thought as if I were present in the heavenly choir, speaking with the heavenly citizens, and comforted by the sweetest revelations from God. And now, behold, in the troubles which then afflicted the whole land, videlicet, after the death of the great King Canute, between Harold and Hardicanute, as to which of them should be the greater and more worthy of the paternal sceptre, such was the concourse of terrified people, who flocked to Croyland, and such was the crowd of native inhabitants, both men and women, who came upon me to consult me about their affairs, that there was as great a multitude of people daily sitting before the wicket of my poor hut as before the gates of a king's palace. Scarcely was I able to hasten over the divine office enjoined to me; scarcely could I hear one mass in the day; seldom, and not even in the night-time, could I observe my rule of silence: but I began daily to degenerate from ancient perfection, and, as if cast away from the face of the Lord, to be called the consoler of the poor, and now a most holy man. I should have sunk into the depths of evil, had not the Lord vouchsafed to send me the favor and counsels of Avicus, the prior of the monastery, who obtained leave for me to depart. With what tears I took leave of my holy abbot and of my other dear fellow monks, with what intimate sorrow I left that most beautiful place, is not now to be said; but at length departing, and coming hither, I have lived many years in this cell, a worthless and insignificant man, I confess, before the world as well as before God: never-

theless, perhaps, to the brethren, and neighbors, and people to whom I am known, considering my proportion, an example.'"*

But we must not linger here. The life and the discourse of the hermits proclaimed a lesson which might be expressed in these two lines—

"Nothing is true but love, nor aught of worth.
Love is the incense that doth sweeten earth."†

Thus we see what important purposes the hermits answered in the economy of the Church of God, "within the range of whose unerring bow all is as level with the destined aim as ever mark to arrow's point opposed."‡ And now if we accompany the hooded man back to his retreat, and remain with him after the visitors have all withdrawn, to observe him in his solitary hours in his leafy house in the woods, we shall find that there is yet much to learn which can yield mysterious views of the relations which are influenced by peace with God. For mark, what new subject of amaze! The hermit is at peace with creatures, and with universal nature: these trees, these birds, these reptiles, are all companions to him; the freshness of the morning air, the fragrance of flowers and plants, the solemn obscurity of the pine forest, the beauty of animals, wild to other men, all seemed to be the hermit's own by a peculiar affinity of a supernatural alliance. O how redolent of paradise is this peaceful pre-eminence of man! and then on the morning of that blessed day with which each week begins in gladness, and when the mystery proclaims that there is no longer death, what an afflation of eternal bliss pervades him! Who can describe the peaceful joy of Sunday to hermits in the desert of Camaldoli, or to those who passed it in the woods with St. Francis, or amidst the perfumed rocks of Calabria with blessed Nilus, under the pure firmament, all roseate or azure, one deep and beautiful serene, prepared as if a vault to crown "the wondrous and angelic temple that hath for confine only light and love!" Heaven seemed open above such men, and their song to be "who doth not prune his wing to soar up thither, let him look from thence for tidings from the dumb."§ Yet each day was bright and blessed; as it will ever be to all who follow their meek steps, though at a distance. Therefore, the hermit would advise every man to go out from time to time alone into the woods or deserts, and sit down calmly, with flowers to smile about his feet, exchanging rooms and books for the clear air and sweet face of nature, to enjoy the sights and sounds which have such power to cheer and to restore the mind. "Yes, my son, make the trial," he would say, "become a hermit, if not for a year, and month, and day, like the knight in Ariosto, who vowed to pass that space like an anachorite in lowly cell, at least for one day. Unless you enter the forest as the demon came into paradise, you will return from it a wiser and a gentler man; though you may begin with the frivolity of a child, solely attentive to the chirp and flutter of some

* Pet. Bles. Contin. ad Hist. Ingulphi in Rer. Ang. Script. i.
† Trench.
‡ Dante, Par. viii.
§ Id. Par. x.

single bird rustling in the brake, or to the game the busy mice may find among the withered leaves, or to the fairy circles on the grass, I shall not see cause to give up my hopes: only be still; caress the insects at your feet, for they have their little wants which a charitable hand may relieve; salute the birds as they alight near you, like blessed St. Francis; the play will end in reality; you will find what a new and marvellous felicity it is to feel at peace with all created things; you will love, you will see God."

Permit me, reader, to observe, that I, for one, have often sat alone in forests in France, Italy, and Germany, reclining on a mossy trunk, and though not skilled to trace the progeny of flowers, or to read nature with a scientific eye, always with fresh pleasure. How many little animals, never before remarked, have come forth to peep at me! how many strange, faint cries have then been audible! One cannot sit for an hour thus without observing something that seems new and admirable; how much store of this kind then must old hermits have treasured up who passed thirty and forty years in such a school? How intense must have been their rapture when this alliance with creatures entered even into their mystic visions! as when the old anachorite in the desert, falling into an ecstasy at the communion, saw two white doves with closed wings approach to drink from the chalice; to commemorate which dream the insignia of Camaldoli was adopted, which, in abbreviation, was borne by all its filial churches.* What an earnest of the future rest to issue out of this brief life, as many of the hermits did, while in the actual enjoyment of this universal peace without one tear being shed, but with all things smiling round them to the last! The poet seems to admire, but to tremble, thinking of their end; who thus—

> ———"in forests dwelt, prepared to try
> Privation's worst extremities, and die
> With no one near, save the omnipresent God.

Verily, so to live was an awful choice—

> A choice that wears the aspect of a doom;
> But in the mould of mercy all is cast
> For souls familiar with the eternal voice."

"I have read of no one," says Petrarch, "but Paul the first hermit, and Romuald, who concluded a life of solitude with a solitary end. Romuald, in his one hundred and twentieth year, perceiving that his last hour was come, ordered the brethren who were present to go out and return to him early the next morning, deceiving them by a pious fraud, that he who had served Christ solitarily might pass solitarily to Christ, unattended by men, but in the company of angels depart to eternal life." However, many hermits died thus. In the year 1000, John, who had been archbishop of Ravenna before becoming a hermit, made a sim-

* Annal. Cam. Lib. xxxiii.

ilar end, remote from human eye, near the monastery of St. Michael of Clusis; and in 1004 Venerius Tiburtinus, a disciple of Romuald, died in the same manner.* At Vallombrosa the death of the hermit who slept in the chasm of the rock for forty years was only known by the silence of his bell that morning. Thomasio de Costacciario, who lived for sixty-five years in a deep obscure wood and cavern, called after St. Jerome, on the mountain of Cacchi, in the second year of the fourteenth century, passed to Christ in solitude. So also died Adam, a monk of St. Justina of Padua, who had retired into the mountains of Venda, and constructed a cell for himself amidst vast rocks, where he lived with a certain soldier who, for the love of God, faithfully served him, but who died first. This was in the time of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, who destroyed Milan. More than eighty years after this hermit's death his bones were found in a cavern, where he had laid them down ere he departed solitary. A church was afterwards erected on the spot, under the title of St. Michael, by Gerard Pomedella, bishop of Padua, in 1169.† In 714, when the Moors overran Spain, some nobles of Castille fled to the mountains of Asturia, and many knights of Arragon to the Pyrenæans, where a good man, named John, in a cave in a rock, called Penna, built a little hut, as if in the wilderness, and dedicated it to St. John the Baptist, where he lived and ended his life in absolute solitude. Long after his death to this spot among the mountains came a certain good knight of Saragossa, by name Votus, while hunting a stag, who, piercing his way through the bushes, discovered the cell in which lay the body of the hermit, unburied, before the altar; and near it he found engraven, with an iron style, these words; "I, John, founder, and first inhabitant of this house, desiring to serve God as if in the wilderness, erected this chapel, and dedicated it to St. John the Baptist, in which I lived long, and now die to rest in the Lord." Votus, on deciphering the inscription, was moved to tears; giving thanks to God, he buried the hermit, returned to Saragossa, sold his goods, gave the price to the poor, and then, with his brother Felix, returned, and lived in great sanctity in this hermitage, multitudes flocking to them for counsel. It was by their advice that Garsias Ximenes was chosen general, who, at the head of not more than six hundred knights, gave many battles to the Moors, and at length rescued a great part of Navarre, restoring it to the Christian religion.‡ Whether it arose from their habits of long familiarity with all divine agencies, or from a particular inspiration of God, we cannot say; but the fact unquestionably is, that many hermits, so far from deprecating, desired this secret, solitary death. When St. Cuthbert felt that his end was approaching, he resolved to die in his beloved island of Farne, where he had been a hermit before being a bishop. As he stepped into the boat which was to carry him over, the monks, crowding around him, asked when he would re-visit his cathedral. When my corpse is brought to it, was his reply. This was soon after Christmas, and in about three weeks he

*Annal. Camald. Lib. xi. † Id. Lib. xxxi. ‡ Lucii Marinei de Rel. Hispan. Lib. viii. I.

was assailed by the illness which proved fatal. On the morning of that day the island was visited by Herefrid, abbot of Lindisfarne, who desired to profit by his exhortations and benediction, but who, at his request, returned to the abbey. So fierce a storm raged during five days, that the passage was impossible. No sooner did the weather permit than the monks hastily put out to sea. They found him at the point of death, ready to get free without a witness.

But let us now hear what history can attest respecting this peace and close alliance, in which hermits lived, with all created things. Here then, reader, be assured is a wondrous page; and philosophers themselves have studied it. Cornelius Agrippa, in his books on occult philosophy, attempts to explain the phenomenon of which he assumes the fact as beyond dispute. "It is proved," he says, "by experience, that there is in the nature of man a certain dominating and restraining power; for, as Pliny observes, all animals have an instinctive fear of him: so that a tigress having seen a man, removes her cubs. This character is impressed on men by his Creator; similarly he has been given a character to cause him to be loved: which was seen when all creatures came to Adam to receive names from him; but after his prevarication he lost that dignity, though not wholly: but only in proportion to the grievousness of his sins does a man lose those divine characters, and become himself afraid of creatures—which Cain experienced, saying, 'Omnis qui inveniet me, occidet me;' for he feared beasts and demons, not men, who were then few. Formerly, many men who lived in innocence enjoyed this power; as did Samson, David, and Daniel, Elisha, Paul, and many anachorites, living in the desert, in caverns and woods, not fearing wild creatures from the divine character being in part restored to them through their interior purification."*

There is, in fact, no reasonable ground for doubting the truth of the early relations attesting the intercourse between hermits and the animals of the desert. However extraordinary these may now appear, they rest upon the testimony of eye-witnesses. It is true that some of them admit of a natural explanation, and present no great difficulty, as persons accustomed to watch those creatures will admit. Appion declares that he witnessed with his own eyes the scene between Androcles and the lion in the great circus; incredible as it must have appeared to men who only saw lions when assembled to be slaughtered before them six hundred at a time in the circus, while, as an interlude, their emperors displayed their skill by cutting off the heads of ostriches as they ran by them.

Goërres treats upon the marvellous power of holy men over the animal creation, attested by so many instances in which the forces of sanctity could quell ferocious beasts. Pachomius, as Palladius relates, past a night in a cave into which two hyenas came after sunset, who licked him from head to foot without injuring him, and then went out, and left him in peace. An old her-

* De Occult. Phil. Lib. iii. c. 40.

mit, Theon, travelling by night through the desert, was followed by many wild beasts; the tracks of buffaloes, gazelles, and wild asses, used to be found at his cell. Sulpitius and Cassianus visited a hermit twelve miles from the Nile on a desert mountain, whom they saw pluck some fruit from a palm tree and give it to a lion, who took it out of his hand and then went his way. The Abbot Paulus Helladius, during seven months, gave bread twice every day to a lion. The Abbot Pardus found a lion on his path going to drink, and the beast sprang over him without hurting him. Of Hilarion, Helenius, Didymus, and other holy fathers, similar instances are recorded.* Sophronius makes mention of one old hermit who used to live in the same cave with lions.† The Abbot Polichronius told of another old man who once returned to the Laura from the banks of the Jordan with two young lions in his cloak.‡ "In the monastery of Gerasimus," he says, "one mile from the Jordan, an old monk told us that the Abbot Gerasimus, had once found a lion with a wounded foot, which he cured, and the lion ever after followed him. In the service of that monastery there was an ass, and when the ass used to go to feed on the banks of the Jordan the lion would always go with him. One day while there, a camel-driver from Arabia seized the ass and drove him off. The lion returned alone to the monastery. The abbot thought that the lion had killed him, and asked him, saying, 'Where is the ass?' The lion stood looking back. The old man said, 'You have eaten him. Well, whatever the ass used to do, you must now do;' and, in fact, from that day the lion used to bear the water-vessels to the monastery. After some time the lion met the ass and the camel-driver returning. The man fled, and the lion brought back the ass to the abbot. It is said, that on the abbot's death the lion lay down over his grave, and would eat nothing, but pined away and died."§ The universality of the attestations to the familiarity between hermits and the creatures around them would be inexplicable if we were to reject them all as incredible; and it is worthy of remark, that experience seems still to confirm the fact: for, in India, as I have often heard the Venerable Abbé Du Bois remark, after a residence of thirty-two years in that region, no Catholic missionary has ever been wounded by a tiger or stung by a serpent during a space of more than three-hundred years, though they are more exposed than other men, as they pass continually through the most dangerous parts unprotected. However, all through the long interval of the middle ages, we have testimonies presented from time to time to prove the continuance of the same intercourse in all parts of Europe between creatures and these pacific men. Let us hear a few of them as they may occur.

Orderic Vitalis relates, that Roger de Haute-Rive, retiring into the desert of Hendricourt, built an oratory there with the branches of trees, and that he has often heard him say, that during the night while he sung matins in this chapel of

* Vita S. Ant. Mag. Paladii Hist. Lauriaca, Goërres die Christliche Mystik. i. 202.
† Prat. Spirituale, ii. ‡ Id. 18. § Cap. cvii.

bougns, a wolf used to come near peaceably and respond, as it were to his psalmody by its moans.* Notker Labeo, the learned monk of St. Gall, before his death, made a public confession, as if of a great sin, that he had once in the cloistral habit killed a wolf. Bede relates that the marine animals used to fawn upon St. Cuthbert while he prayed alone by night upon his desert isle.† Brother Baitheneus proposing to navigate from Iona to the Isle of Ethica, it was told him that a whale of immense size had been seen that night rising out of the sea between the two islands; but he replied, "I and that animal are under the dominion of God." "Go then in peace," said Columba; "thy faith in Christ will defend thee." Then Baitheneus having received the saint's blessing, put out to sea. Before they had gone far, lo, the whale rose up near them. The sailors were terrified, but he preserved the utmost tranquillity. Raising up both hands, he blessed the whale, and the same moment the monster dived under the waters and appeared no more.‡ St. Aventine, in the time of Clovis, having left his country of Aquitaine and travelled to Troyes, was recognized there as an eminent servant of God, and received by the bishop, St. Camelien, into the house of the clergy, but at length he begged permission to retire into some solitude as a hermit; so leaving the city he found a little fountain at the foot of a desert chapel, and there he raised a hut, and lived like an angel, till the people came to him in such numbers that he left it, and retired into an island in the Seine, about two leagues from Troyes, where the Oze flows into it; and there he made a cell of oziers, and passed his time in prayer and studying the holy Scriptures. Being afterwards ordained priest, he used to celebrate the divine mysteries with great devotion; he lived upon coarse bread and roots, and drank only water. The Oze was but a rivulet, so that his cell was exposed to attacks from wild beasts. Once, in the silence of the night, a bear came to the door and made the most horrible cries, dashing its head against the planks, and seeming resolved to break in. The man of God betook himself to prayer, and besought deliverance from this poor beast that was become so furious. At break of day he opened his wicket, and there he found the bear lying down quite weak and gentle, and licking one of its paws. Then he observed that a great thorn had pierced it; so he took it and drew out the splinter, and the beast showed no desire to hurt him, but retired into the forest and was seen no more. Another time a deer, pursued by hounds, took refuge in his cell, and he kept it till the danger was passed. Another time while St. Aventin had a monk living with him, this brother went to the river-side and caught some fish, which he brought back alive, thinking to relieve the austerity of his fare; but who does not admire the benignity and simplicity of this friend of God? he took them into his hands and threw them back into the river, saying, "Go, little creatures, return to your element and aliment in full liberty to live there; for my element

* Lib. iii. † Beda de S. Cuth. ap. Canisii. Lect. Antiq. ii.

‡ Adamnani Scoti de S. Columb. ap. Id. i.

and aliment are Jesus Christ, to whom I wish also to return, that in Him I may live for ever."

"We may learn from this holy man," says the writer, "many noble virtues: as the spirit of retreat from the world; the avoidance of vain glory; the care of souls; the assistance of captives; alms to the poor; and benignity to poor animals." On the spot of his first retreat the bishop of Troyes, built a little church, which is now the parish of St. Aventin within the walls of Troyes, as the city has been so much enlarged since then.* We find many beautiful instances recorded of this affection for the common animals, with which their solitary life brought hermits into intercourse; which was free from all mixture of that absurd sensibility of the ancient philosophers, who like Hortensius, would weep and put on mourning for the death of a mullet; while, at the same time, as we read of others, they would have no scruple in throwing their servants into their fish-ponds to fatten their fish, as a punishment for breaking a plate while they were entertaining Augustus. "Turning to creatures," says St. Bonaventura, "is not a sin, if there be not a turning away from God. We can be delighted without sin in creatures, as when we are pleased at remarking their beauty; and we can be delighted with them meritoriously when that beauty is referred to God, as the Psalmist says, 'Delectasti me, Domine, in factura tua.' "† All beautiful things, said the hermits, bear witness that God is most beautiful; all sweet things, that He is most sweet; and so of the rest. In the greatness of creatures is seen the power of the Father; in their disposition the wisdom of the Son; in their beauty the goodness of the Holy Ghost.‡ Such were their reflections. "All creatures," they said with Denis the Carthusian, "are beautiful, as all are good. all partake of the divine eternal and uncreated beauty."§ But how can any one describe the peace and harmony which existed between the sons of God and all these innocent and lovely creatures!

"No longer now the winged inhabitants
That in the woods their sweet lives sing away
Flee from the form of man; but gather round
And prune their sunny feathers on the hands
Which holy hermits stretch in friendly sport
Towards these dreadless partners of their play.
All things are void of terror. Man has lost
His terrible prerogative, and stands
At peace with nature."

On Montserrat the birds used to fly round the hermits, and feed out of their hands. When in the forest of Luxeuil the wild animals used to fawn upon St. Columban, Iona says, "I have often heard Chamnvaldus, bishop of Lyons, who

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocèse de Troyes, 90—102.

† S. Bon. Compend. Theol. Verit. Lib. iii. c. 2.

‡ Id. Lib. i. c. 1.

§ Dion. Carthus. de Venustate Mundi, i.

had been his minister and disciple, relate that when in the woods with him, he used to see beasts and birds coming to him. The little animal which men call squirrel used often to leap down from the high branches, jump on his neck, creep into his bosom, and eat out of his hand.* Thus the text of old historians justifies the poet's fancy.

"——— He would linger long
In lonesome vales, making the wild his home,
Until the doves and squirrels would partake
From his innocuous hand his bloodless food,
Lured by the gentle meaning of his looks;
And the wild antelope, that starts whene'er
The dry leaf rustles in the brake, suspend
Her timid steps to gaze upon his form."†

Orderic Vitalis says, that at the voice of St. Guthlac, the hermit of Croyland, the birds of that uncultivated solitude, and the fish wandering through the stagnant waters, used to hasten to receive food from his hand; in the presence of the venerable Wilfrid two swallows perched and sang upon his arms, knees, and breast: he used to place straws in the spots of his cell where he wished the birds to build their nests.‡ St. Hugo, after he was bishop of Lincoln and until his death, retained the qualities of the solitary religious man. There was a wild swan in the marshes which used to fly round him, eat out of his hand, and put its neck in his bosom. When he was absent it used to signify his return three or four days before, by an unusual mode of flying and crying over the waters. The bird continued these habits for fifteen years; but on the death of the saint it resumed its wildness and its dolorous notes; and though it survived him many years, it would never again seem to know any one.§ Friar Vincent of Flaviano, a holy Capuchin, was remarked for his tenderness to birds and beasts. When at Cortona he found a bird in the woods with its legs broken; and he contrived with quills to bind them up, and then covered them with some of his Juniper oil, which he used as a medicine for sick persons; and when he had restored the poor bird to soundness, he set it free again. It was often observed how animals used to fawn upon him, as if recognizing their especial friend.‖ From the inclemency of the weather diverse creatures seemed instinctively to seek shelter with the hermit, who so well had marked how God remembered the animals that were with Noah in the ark. When evening came and the storm gathered from the mountains, many of the tribe of birds would hide themselves near him in the woods, while dogs howled and hideous tempests tore down trees. Herons, exhausted by their flight across the sea from Ireland, used to be received by St. Columbia on Iona, and nourished till they had strength to fly away again.¶

* Vita S. Columb. Auct. Iona Bobiensi ap. Act. S. Ord. S. Ben. tom. ii. † Chaucer.
‡ Lib. iv. § Dorland Chronic. Cartus. Lib. iii. c
‖ Annal. Capucinorum, 1573. ¶ Adamni Scoti de S. C

St. Bartholomew of Whitby was a hermit on the island of Farne. In such reverence was he held, that the mariners would at any time embark if he encouraged them. From the time of St. Cuthbert down to the thirteenth century, when it became the site of a Benedictine cell, this island was never without hermits, chiefly from the convent of Durham.

"From the most ancient times," says the old historian, "this island has been frequented by a certain species of bird. At the time of nest-building there they congregate. Such is the tameness they derive from the sanctity of the place, or rather from those who by their residence in it have sanctified it, that they will allow themselves to be seen and touched by man. They love quiet, yet are not disturbed by a noise; they prepare their nests remote from the islanders. Some hatch their eggs close by the altar: and nobody presumes to hurt them, or even to touch their eggs without permission. With their mates they seek their sustenance in the deep. Their young as soon as hatched follow their mothers; and when once they have swum over their hereditary waves, they never return to the nest: the mothers, too, forget all their recent tameness, and recover their wildness with their genial element. Once as a duck was leading her new-hatched offspring towards the sea, a young one fell into the fissure of a rock. The bird stood still in such sorrow that no one could then doubt of her having feeling. Instantly she returned to Bartholomew and began to pull at his tunic with her beak, and he rose, thinking that she was seeking her nest under the place where he was sitting. But the bird still continuing to pull at his garment, he was at length convinced that she had some meaning which she wanted organs to express. So he went before and she followed, until they came to the rock, and moving to the brink he saw the young duck adhering with its wings to the side of the rock, and descending he restored it to its mother. Whereupon being much delighted she looked as if she were thanking him. Then with her young she entered the water, and Bartholomew returned to his oratory."* "The eider, or, as the islanders call it, St. Cuthbert's duck, is still found there. In the summer of 1818," says a late writer, "I saw one of them hatching her eggs in a stone coffin overhung with nettles, among the ruins of his hermitage. It grieves me to state, that since that time their numbers have been considerably diminished, their eggs have been broken, the soft lining of their nests taken away prematurely, their young destroyed, and they themselves wantonly shot by the crowds of idlers who every summer visit Farne and its sister island."

Alas! then is seems that the whole creation has suffered from the banishment of the holy men to whom it was so dear. The unerring text proclaims that the creature groaneth and travaileth with pain through the effects of man's first fall; and here is a corroborating fact, attested by experience, that it has inherited increase of misery from his last prevarication; for now abandoned by all protec-

* Apud Bollandist. Acta Sanct. Junii.

tors, cared for by none except for gain, stript of the inviolable character with which it was so long invested by men restored to grace, it is the unpitied victim to that "detested sport that feeds upon the sobs and dying shrieks of harmless nature." Truly, in relation to the war against all monks and hermits, which has ended nearly in their extirpation, one may exclaim with the poet,

> "Garden of God, how terrible the change
> Thy groves and lawns then witness'd."

From partial cruelty they had been never, indeed, wholly free, since the bitter fruit was eaten; but while hermits could be found in the woods, animals had protectors somewhere; while there was such a thing existing as a hermit's cell, there was a spot in which every hunted creature might have peace. Albertus of Sienna, the celebrated anachorite of the twelfth century, on the mountain of Turricellana, from whose family the most noble houses of Sienna date their origin, is represented in old miniature paintings caressing a hare which he holds in his arms; for he used often to save hares when pursued by hunters. He died in 1151, after spending twenty-seven years in solitude.* The persecution and the pain that man inflicts on all inferior kinds was always a theme descanted on to ears attentive by the gentle anachorite, who is represented moralizing the spectacle, like melancholy Jacques weeping and commenting upon the sobbing deer. The seraph of As-isi used to expostulate even with those who plied the slaughterer's trade, and say, "Why do you torture my little brothers the lambs, binding and suspending them so?" It is strictly hermit's language which our poet speaks to one who answers, "I have but killed a fly."

> "But? How if that fly had a father, a mother?
> How would they hang their slender gilded wings,
> And buzz lamenting dolings in the air?
> Poor harmless fly—
> That with his pretty buzzing melody
> Came here to make us merry,
> And thou hast kill'd him."†

Goërres remarks, that the power and protection of these holy men extended even sometimes over plants and flowers.‡ But we must depart. In fine, the whole world experienced their sympathy; sounds in the air they heard, which spoke the love of all articulate beings: gems and minerals, or the fruits and flowers of the earth were in some degree related to them, as having been created by the common Father from the dust of the ground: they loved, they admired, they discerned a soul of goodness in all things round them. Such men our mountains and our forests saw—visited by angels and shaded by the boughs of paradise. O scenes surpassing fable, and yet true, scenes of accomplished peace?

* Annal. Camaldul. Lib. xxix. † Tit. And. ‡ Die Christ... Mystik, i. [illegible]

"I deem it superfluous," says St. Augustin, speaking of the hermits, "to prolong this discourse; for if such an eminent degree of sanctity does not appear worthy of respect and admiration, how can my words persuade men to the contrary?"* It is a curious fact, that even the Sarassins evinced reverence for the Christian hermits, as the edict of the false prophet Mahomet Adallah can bear witness. "If a Christian priest or hermit," says the decree, "should retire to any mountain, grotto, plain, or desert, I will be in person behind him, as his protector against all enemies." But in addressing Christians in the middle ages, one might well say with St. Augustin, that it would be superfluous to exhort them to venerate solitary religious men. When it was rumored that Pope Innocent XI. intended to suppress the hermits of Camaldoli in Poland, and to employ their funds in carrying on the war against the Turks, a solemn letter of remonstrance was addressed to him by the princes Palatine and nobles of Poland, interceding for these hermits. "It cannot be expressed, holy Father," says they, "what a sensation this rumor has caused throughout the kingdom; for such is the affinity between the Poles and the white-robed children of St. Romuald, that they cannot be torn from these hermits, without the most cruel wound being inflicted on themselves, for the fewer hermitages there are in this kingdom, so much the dearer are they to us. It would be grievous that the mildest of men, the most modest of religious persons, separate from human society, and not even enemies to the beasts in the woods, should be driven away; and, indeed, the army would not receive their spoils without horror." This remonstrance is signed by Stanislaus, Prince Lubomirski, Grand Mareschal of Poland, Christopher Pazzi, Grand Chamberlain of the Duke of Lithuania, Michael Pac, General of the Lithuanian army, Stanislaus Potoschi, Casimir Sapieska, and many other nobles, besides bishops.†

Let us hear how Andreas Mugnotius, a Spaniard, describes the desert and hermits of Camaldoli, on the Tuscan mountains; for his language respecting them, when writing to Pope St. Pius V., is but a faithful expression of the impressions which such scenes and such men produced upon all former Christian generations. This desert of hermits appeared to him one of the most admirable things in Italy. "The cells of the hermits," he says, "are decently provided with all things necessary to life. O with what delight do they cultivate their little gardens, sweet with the odor of flowers! How one is soothed by the solemn beauty of the surrounding forest! This is, indeed, the generation of those who seek God, who serve Him assiduously on His holy mountains. These men, enkindled by the zeal of the Christian religion, direct all their deeds and words to one object,—God, the supreme diffusive good. These are true adorers of Christ, without guile, imbued with the simplicity of the dove and the prudence of the serpent,—men of most profound humility, thinking themselves the most abject of all; for he who is the greatest among them esteems himself the least. No discord or inequality

* De Moribus Eccles. Cath. 31.

† Annal. Camaldul. Lib. lxxviii.

can be found amongst them. To others, humane and gentle, lovers of charity, true in word, clean in heart, just in conscience, and eminent in all discipline of virtue. Far are they removed from all seditions, loquacity, mockery, murmurs, lies, adulations, irreverences, immodesty, dissimulation, detraction, hatred, intemperance, idleness, sloth, vain glory, hypocrisy, profane conversation, curiosity, effeminacy. O sacred desert, desert of deserts! more than five hundred years have elapsed from thy erection to these times, and with wondrous immutability, thou continuest to bear the fruits of immortal life! O fruitful mother, that dost produce such a long successive line of holy children, heirs of the kingdom of God! Amongst the saints now dwelling in this place, many are aged sires, with venerable beards, white as the driven snow, whose looks alone are enough to induce the beholder to enter upon the way of heavenly life. Two, especially eminent, have of late been here,—two great lights of the desert, Samuel and Silvanus: the latter profound in sacred erudition, and both admirable in holiness; under whose discipline Ambrose Moncata, a youth of that most ancient and illustrious ducal family of Moncata and Cardona of Spain, despising the pleasures and riches and honors of the world, in the flower of his age, has chosen this solitude as his place of rest. Here, too, Father John Baptist, of Novara, who had formerly been an illustrious warrior amongst the nobles of the world, became a true soldier of Christ, and spends his life in the desert. Cornelius has past more than twenty years in solitude here, with whom, when it was permitted me to speak, such delight did I receive from his venerable aspect and from his pious and affecting admonitions to a Christian life, that I thought I should have not heard any thing more impressive from the tongue of the holy Serapion himself. All the others, too, are men mindful of the celestial beatitude. Seven times each day and night they meet together in the church, to offer prayers and hymns to God, with holy ceremonies and seraphic devotion. No showers, or snows, or wild tempest, or vehement cold, can prevent them. And, oh! on seeing them leaving their cells, and passing in the obscure night, carrying torches in their hands, to say matins in church, who would not suppose that he beheld the ancient fathers of the desert that we read about! I was told that Catherine de Medicis, through desire of seeing this sacred place, disguised herself in man's apparel, and, with one of her intimate associates, entered and inspected the place; but that being struck with remorse on seeing that she had incurred an anathema, she went to Rome and confessed what she had done to the pope, who granted her absolution, on condition that she would, at her expense, cause to be erected a splendid little cell in the desert; which she did, and had it adorned with magnificent stones. Silvanus told me that Eleonora, the wife of Cosmo de Medicis, had obtained permission from Pius IV. to see and behold the place; but that he had gone down to meet her as far as the first of the wooden crosses, and had prevailed upon her to abandon her resolution, and not transgress so ancient and venerable an institution. Nevertheless she offered them precious cloths to adorn their church.[28]

In the sixteenth century, Christopher Marcellus, patriarch of Venice, describes his visit to this desert in an eloquent letter to a friend. "Certainly," he says, "there never was a place which entices men more strongly to newness of life than this desert. I can say what I experienced myself: for to you I cannot pass it over in silence. When I began to ascend the mountain, and the whole aspect of the wilderness developed itself before me, I call God to witness that my heart was struck and moved to compunction; and I felt as if a divine voice had sounded in my ears, saying, 'This place is holy: put away thy sins.' Now, if the place itself hath a divine power thus of converting souls to the blessed life, and of inducing them to renounce the ways of the blind world, what shall we say of the most holy customs of the men inhabiting it,—of their most chaste manner of life, of their most pure discourse, of their most holy prayers? No; I cannot adequately express to you what love I felt for the place at the first sight,—how I was soothed at the aspect of these vast obscure woods of pine, and how I seemed to inhale from the air of the place religion and innocence: for these objects of the natural divine order move men to meditate on mysteries, and confirm them in the blessed life. Methinks one might moralize on the fir-tree itself, which seems in every part of its construction a fit emblem to teach perfection to the humble. Here I considered the changes of the right hand of the Most High: here I saw men who had once enjoyed all that riches, honors, nobility, pleasure, art, and fame, could yield, who were now humble, poor, and stripped of every thing. Amongst whom that Petrus Quirinus came into my mind,—one of the first men in letters and genius, and now no less eminent for sanctity, whose pious and blessed memory moved me to tears. A companion of his solitude was Paulus Justinianus, a man of equal nobility, not much inferior to him in genius; but in wealth, before his conversion, greatly his superior. He, through desire of a better life, dwelt in this happy desert. This is what I have to say to you, my dearest friend, respecting the joy and tranquillity of mind which I experienced on visiting this most sacred and celebrated desert of Camaldoli."*

Thus, with all the heart, and with that tongue which speaks the same in all, men used to extol this life of holy solitude, the tranquillity of eremites, the calm of the desert. Michael Angelo says, writing to Vasari, "I have felt, my dear George, such pleasure on the mountains of Spoleto, visiting the hermitages which are scattered there, that I have brought back to Rome, as it were, only the half of myself. Ah, truly it is in the woods alone that we can find freedom, felicity, and peace!"

Thus wrote philosophers during ages of faith.—when, led by a lofty genius and profound, they repaired to hermits upon mountains, down whose hallowed steps none ever descended without mounting them again,—such was the urgent will of all, that they might receive some sprinkling from the influence of their

* Annal. Camaldul. tom. i. Append.

sacred dews. Never were hearts in such devotion bound, and with such absolute complacency disposed to render up themselves to God, as when the holy anachorite was visited: for then the everlasting pleasure that did shine so fully in their countenances contented the gladdened soul,—then sweet love, apparelled thus in smiles, diffused through the intelligence those sparkles which are enkindled by holy thoughts, to which men gratefully referred whatever genius lifted them above the vulgar. So entire the love with which they held those lives of hermits,—for writing which, St. Jerome said that Homer would have envied him,—that it eclipsed in oblivion the creations of the artist, and the sciences of the school. St. Thomas used to study their history, and meditate on their conferences, as related by Cassien; saying, that the memory of their spirit inspired him with devotion, and enabled him to rise more easily to speculation "Ego in hac lectione devotionem colligo," said he, "ex qua facilius in speculationem consurgo." But the esteem for this kind of holy life gradually diminished in proportion as faith declined, and the character of men, as of nations, lost its strength. "So long," says the last historian of St. Gall, "as the people were conscious of possessing themselves an interior moral force, they believed the possibility of its existence in other men; and valued this mode of dying to the world, partly as an example of high self-command of taking up the cross to follow Christ, and partly as the operation of a deep conviction, and of an all-subduing faith. But when they no longer felt themselves strong for moral efforts, they ceased to believe that others were capable of making them, and loved rather to persuade themselves that such strength had its origin in an aberration of the intellect."* They no longer knew or could be made to feel what it is to have heaven thus brought down to earth, to live in the presence of God, and to share the sympathies of all his creatures.

But we are now clear of the forest; and the present age comes back to us with all its lawlessness and contempt for ancient things in consonance with the peaceful order everlastingly ordained. Blame me not if I have no longer words that are not borrowed from the bard,† who had a heart and vigor to endure all great transitions; for down through the world of infinite mourning lies straight the way before us. Already we can hear the noise and descern the dust in whirlwinds, of which Plato spoke, along the broad and public way. The banners of the world's monarch do come forth towards us from the great city heaped with envy to the brim, which now we may not enter without grief; for how will the din of earth grate harshly on our ears when we have once heard plain the harmony of heaven? The arch-heretics are here, accompanied by every sect of their followers, equivocating to darken and perplex the way of peace; while others, sensual, denying and blaspheming God's high power, and nature, with her kindly laws, contemning, restlessly are driven about, as if that she-wolf which Dante saw was at

* Geschichte des S. Gall, ii. 205.

† Dante, Carey's translat.

their heels, which, in her leanness, seemed full of all wants; as if their lot was to be haunted by that fell beast, and never to enjoy peace; for not all the gold that is beneath the moon, or ever hath been, of these toil-worn souls, may purchase rest for one. Methinks we are now eyed by each, as at even-tide one eyes another under a new-moon.

Now we see truly how brief, how vain, are all the goods committed into fortune's hands, for which the human race keep such a coil. Alas! the question here is not of tranquillity and order, of deeper and deeper calm; but I am unwilling to cast a gloom over the termination of this course, which has hitherto only led us towards all that is innocent and serene, by alluding to the causes which, after disturbing the religious state of the Christian republic, destroyed the sanctuaries of peace every where, or by bringing into comparison with the peaceful men of secular and monastic life during ages of faith, with whom we have been conversing in these two last books, the society of later times. This must, indeed, be done hereafter: but now I am as one that makes no pause, but presses on his road, whate'er betide him. Reader, a company with whom we may not sort as yet approaches. I commend these recollections to thee, wherein monks and hermits may survive. Some reflections on this sad contrast will form an appropriate commencement for the next book, where perforce we must become acquainted with the discord of the actual world, and all the ignoble work beneath the sun: while meeting those who never cease from troubling the faithful, either by insinuating disorder under all the ever-shifting phases of the rebellious principle, or by persecuting them, like those who first diffused the precious seed, unrelentingly for their justice.

END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR

AGES OF FAITH.

BOOK XI.

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

TO conflicts now descending from the hills of peace, towards which many beside have with delight looked back, we cross the last circle; and those who marked my late promise to begin discourse upon the sad contrasts which await us in the life below of recent times, will have cause to wonder at my silence; for I am as one, "who unresolves what he hath late resolved, and with new thoughts changes his purpose, from his first in- t removed." Journeying contemplative and mute from the bright serene, where, he monastery and on the rocks below it at the hermit's sea, we left that joyful nting in the sky, our hearts so sunk within us, that we felt envy of the eagle that eeling in his aëry tour, soared unobstructed back to visit them. As if be- dered, looking on the crowd that waited us below, we seemed of further glad- s to have lost all hope, deeming to have entered on that "road of sighs" e trod by Dante, which was to continue to the end, drawing forth only such rets as Spenser felt exclaiming,

> "Ah! whither dost thou now, thou greater muse
> Me from these woods and pleasing forests bring?"

t we judged falsely; and already the odoriferous air wafted over this encircle und, from the spirits that are therein perfected, suffices to dispel the thoughts ich rose out of discouragement. There will be a time for such reflections; there l be shadows as we advance to suit them, but they would ill become the gleams balmy breath of this the last morning, when we shall stray together, reader, hin the paradise which faith had made on earth. And now as if with

restored, conducted full of confidence and hope on this new way, on entering, a song most sweet rings through all the sphere, and though it tells of persecution accordant with the joyful inspirations we have felt before; for I hear chanted, "Sanctorum meritis inclyta gaudia," and the rest which paints the felicity of those burning splendors of the Holy Spirit whom the Church denominates "Victorum genus optimum." I hear too of the mystic desires satisfied, as in the one voice that issues from them all, "In virtute tua, Domine, lætabitur justus, et super salutare tuum exultabit vehementer: desiderium animæ ejus tribuisti ei. Quoniam prævenisti eum in benedictionibus dulcedinis: posuisti in capite ejus coronam de lapide pretioso."

Such the sounds that hail us from within a radiant light; and then, as if to tell the aim of these desires, "Viri sancti gloriosum sanguinem fuderunt pro Domino," is sung, and "amaverunt Christum in vita sua, imitati sunt eum in morte sua; et ideo coronas triumphales meruerunt." O ye elect of God! whose woes such hope and fervor mitigated, direct towards the new rising, our uncertain way. Lo! the sun that darts his beam upon our foreheads. Lo! the unwithering lilies which this circle of itself pours forth profuse. Think, reader, if thou didst miss the sequel of this vision, to know the rest, how sorely thou wouldest crave.

St. Augustin says "this eighth beatitude is probative and consummative of the former, for the first seven perfect men, but the eighth glorifies and demonstrates them perfect, when for the sake of preserving and propagating the others, they willingly suffer death and all kinds of confusion and pain."* "It is said to return to the head," observes Albertus Magnus, "because it proves from the first to the last of them, whether they are true; for when contumely is endured for each of them, then what each man is secretly within himself is known."† St. Chrysostom, to show why the beatitude of persecution immediately follows that of peace, says, "lest any one should think it good to seek peace, always and at any price," therefore, it is added, "beati qui persecutionem patiuntur;" but St. Bonaventura argues that it is only a continuation of the preceding circle. "The eighth beatitude, which is the endurance of persecution, is annexed to peace; for," he continues, "when the pacific has no contradiction from the flesh, the world, or the devil, it follows that he is ready to conquer death and the temptation of death. Therefore, the endurance of death for Christ is in the same degree with peace; and it is on this account, we say, that there are eight beatitudes as to essence, but only seven as to distinctions of degree. For above peace there is no virtue, since peace, as St. Augustin says, is the end and consummation of all virtues."‡

Thus serene and bright will be our course unto the end, not embittered even when we shall view the children of perdition, and mark the instrumentality of

* Serm. xii. † Albert. Mag. Compend. Theologic. Veritatis, Lib. v. c. 55.
‡ Compend, Theologicæ. Veritatis, Lib. v. c. 55.

human crimes, by any base remembrances or sad compliants opposed to the universal smile of charity ; since the endurance of persecution for justice, of which, to use the words of Albertus Magnus,* the end as of fortitude is delectation, is but a circle of the great illumined glory of which Heaven must be joyous, a tone of that melodious harmony which rises from every act that faith inspires, a ray in the composition of that one whole and perfect beatitude which is our end. Rupertus, therefore, compares the sermon of our Lord to a melodious hymn, sung to the sweet music of a harp, which thought, as others say, occurred to him from observing that harps of old were constructed with eight cords, of which the first and last emitted the same tone, and that similarly of these beatitudes, the end accords with the beginning.† Consequently, of this history illustrating its action, the tone must corrrespond with that spirit of joy and gratitude belonging essentially to the religion which inspired it. St. Augustin commenting on the Psalm which has relation to this eighth way of paradise, observes that "in that captivity, in that servitude, in that chariot, under that yoke, there are thousands, not of the sorrowful who weep, but of the glad who rejoice."‡ And, indeed, if we mark it well, the holy liturgy of Catholics can teach us with what joy we should pursue our task ; for do you not observe how the offices of the Church for martyrs and confessors breathe exultation and gladness ?—"Lætificas,—gaudeamus,—lætabitur—exultabit vehementer inclyta gaudia—alleluja,"—such are the words and sounds they leave, echoing as it were over us. These martyrs are commemorated as having been like sister Lucy, anointed with the oil of gladness above their fellows ; they are introduced with joy and exultation. Of them as in allusion to Marius, Martha, Audiface, and Abachum, the Church exclaims, "Justi epulentur, et exultent in conspectu Dei, et delectentur in lætitia." There are no regrets or sad expressions of discouragement :

"Non murmur resonat, non querimonia :"

but as in the matin hymn :

" Æterna Christi munera
Et martyrum victorias,
Laudes canentes debitas,
Lætis canamus mentibus."

Moreover, this course will leave no memories to chill that generous affection for the race of men, beginning perhaps with a love for individuals, and thence passing from a few to all, which would suffer from an admiration directed to objects naturally undeserving of love, or too narrowly concentrated. For among those whom the Catholic religion regards as the blessed persecuted, will be found none of those unamiable and revolting figures which pass before us in history and in life, who would rather suffer from men than not hate them ; no grim, ill-tempe

* Lib. Ethicorum, Lib. 11. xi. † Pierre Doré, les Voyes de Paradis. ‡ In Ps.

and gloomy self-styled martyrs, who paint the face of infinite benevolence with a frown, ever complaining of imagined wrongs, with tears and spasms at command, and tragic airs of outraged dignity, to torture others with the eternal profession of their own ill-requited merit, as if patterns of meek endurance and patient resignation, while every hour indulging in the flights of uncontrolled perversity: the men we shall consort with here, were such as seemed to every eye created with full capacity for all the gladness that could glow in human breasts, who beheld in the great book of nature all things not in black and sombre hues, but in bright and glowing-tints; who heard its music not in sighs and groans, but in songs and cheerful sounds; and in whom every return of day awakened the sense of hope, and gratitude, and joy.

We shall find too, that those whose acts are commemorated within this circle, as those whom the world had with bloody stain imbrued, are sufficiently numerous to occupy all our sympathy; we shall find within this space of ample radiance, millions of creatures now for ever blessed, with whom the youthful heart would have loved to sympathize—perhaps, indeed, all who from our earth have to the skies returned, so wide the leaves extending from this rose which blooms with beauty from the prime enlightener; for here shine those who were prized as the amiable, the brave, the generous, the young, the fair, the tender, the natural,—in fine, the best and loveliest of the human race. And after all, without subscribing to the theory of one philosopher, that only those to whom these titles in strict material sense belong are amiable, who has not observed from experience of others and from what he reads within his own heart, that the class which merits love is the class that labors, and that too often under stern and unjust masters—the class that in its simplicity suffers without murmuring—the class inured to sweat, and hardship, and privations, and sacrifice, that has no time to speculate as to who are amiable; the class still as it were under the rod; the class that obeys in all common relations, overlooked by the proud, or trampled on by brute force, which is content with a moment of ease, and as it were, the recreation of a boy: in a word, the class that the world persecutes, and that enjoys in spite of it the pleasures which are denied to its oppressors? It is with such as these, however exhalted, still little and self-humiliated, that we shall consort: for the spirit of Christ's beatitudes is to embrace the generality who seem born to serve as He came to serve, while that of the world is to prize the few who aspire to be masters, and exempt from what belongs to others; and in thus extending our sympathies to the common class, we shall enjoy all the sweets of fellowship which nature can desire; for nature speaks in favor, not of those who are masters, but of those who serve.

If we were to be removed from sympathy with these by the tenor of our history, we might have reason to complain and doubt; but it will not put our souls miserably out of tune to hear that, excepting for animadversion, our way will lead us far from these unjust masters, from these pampered rich men, from these cruel

oppressors, from this world which persecutes, including among the tyrants whom knowledge obliges us to consider as the enemies of Christ, of his Church, and of his members, those from whom every eye would naturally turn in disgust, the proud and merciless, the artful and cowardly, the hideous, the unnatural, who deliver up the just, with Judas, through avarice, or with the chief priests through envy, or with Pilate through fear. Such figures, indeed, must remain excluded, bearing their true titles, as when Mezentius is never named by the great Mantuan without the epithet "contemtorque Deûm :" but ought they not to be excluded? "If there was not a root of iniquity in the heart," says St. Augustin, "there would not be all this opposition against Christ."* And have we ever considered what must be that iniquity? The aspect of martyrs appeased the ferocity of tigers and leopards, which used to show compassion and sympathy for the saints of God; not alone animated beings, but fire and the other elements respected them; only men could consummate the sacrifice. To witness such contrasts then, and such iniquity consigned to an exclusion, will wound no generous heart: they belong in fact to every view of human life, whether we only consort with those who deserve love on earth, or rise to the contemplation of the saints and troops angelical.

Distinct from the supernatural brightness of this way, a certain reflected light illuminates it as if from objects of human and earthly splendor. Nor if the Greek poet could discern that even calamity well endured was happiness:

——— λέγω γὰρ καὶ τὰ δύσφορ' εἰ τύχοι
κατ' ὀρθὸν, ἐξελθόντα, πάντ' ἂν εὐτυχεῖν.†

and if the orator could define the summit of prosperity as the state of him who obtains the most honorable fate, or the most noble subject of grief,‡ what must be the glory consequent on the trials of the martyrs, and of those who suffered persecution for sake of justice? What spirit yet encompassed with weeds of flesh, can without trembling speak of deeds so worthy? Yet with eyes bent downward, attentive only to the human side, desire to know the actions subjected to mortal sense may draw us onward. If the inherent reverence of heroes which exists in the human mind, be indeed a fact so inexpressibly precious, as a late eloquent observer says; if there be an everlasting hope in it for the world, here and here alone we have the certainty of their having been heroes within the sphere of the intelligence given to the world; here alone we have foundations for hope, that they may again appear in it, for here in that comprehensive sense were the only true heroes, and only in resembling them can the race return: it is in vain to look for any other.

This course, therefore, brings us back to the paths of that ideal chivalry in w[redacted]

* In Ps. lxiv. * Œd.Tyr. 67. ‡ Thucyd. ii. [redacted]

so many youthful feet have loved to wander,—to those broad domains of heroic honor, which so essentially belong to the true life of faith; for, as St. Augustin says, "Arcta omnis malitia, sola innocentia lata est."* We are about to hear, as he says elsewhere, of things great and beautiful, desirable, and full of joy and gladness. Honor, true-honor becomes thus all the subject of our closing history; as if to comply with this advice of Schiller, "Tell him, that when he is a man, he must reverence the dreams of his youth." It brings us back to the old "seigneurial books," that were most loved in youth, to the high noble themes that fascinated the smiling age of man's life, when as a boy he did so burn to devote his strength to truth and justice. But all the mighty standard yet had wrought, of which we have seen proofs, throughout the mortal kingdoms which it swayed, falls in appearance, dwindled and obscured, if one with steady eye and perfect thought look on the splendor of the eighth beatitude. This will lead us, therefore, gloriously to a bright triumphant end; for if we must speak now of dangers, of combating and of killing, our theme will also be of glory and of victory. The sum will be to show how

"————————Pride has
Met with severe reward; and that high justice
That governs all, though envy break with her
Own poison, calls the amazed world to see
What blessings wait upon humility."

We shall hear, indeed, of sorrow; for the crafty race of persecutors will find here proof of that order of Divine Providence which decrees that in spite of them and by them should be accomplished the denunciations of Jesus Christ, "væ mundo!"—woe to the world! But a spirit of infinite consolation moves over the waters of this deluge of suffering and death. We shall find changed, perhaps, some face which we have before seen innocently gay; as the poet says,

"We have seen it, when it was less sad; but 'tis
The richer jewel set in black,"

and we may repeat his words, addressing each of these bright figures as they pass:

"You ne'er wore garments did so well become you.
Your voice has better music too, it sounds
As some religious melancholy struck
Upon your heart; you've prayed lately, I distinguish
A tear upon your cheek still; 'tis well."

So carefully have I refrained in the preceding books from introducing matter foreign from the special limits to which each related, that some who have followed me through them will be suprised, perhaps, to hear that there can be found in the historical monuments of the middle ages ample illustrations to explain the

* In. Ps. c.

state of those who suffer persecution on account of justice. It is true the ages of faith during the middle period, enjoyed most singular exemptions.

The phenomenon which Socrates thought would be so passing strange if it could be realized—that true philosophers instead of being persecuted and despised should be honored and exalted by states,* was then witnessed. As for men who wonder why philosophers are not honored in the state, prove to them, said the sage, ὅτι πολὺ ἂν θαυμαστότερον ἦν εἰ ἐτιμῶντο. They were then honored. Just men were not obliged like Solon to feign themselves insane in order to offer their advice without restraint and punishment. When they undertook to point out the danger of future judgment, they were not always as Socrates thought they would become, necessarily objects of contempt and hatred.† Even in the worst moments, while some kings were setting themselves and some rulers taking counsel together against the Lord, and against his Christ, saying, "Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast away their cords from us," the multitudes were believing and adoring, and whole nations collectively co-operating with Christ. The strange and supernatural institution of chivalry seemed to have been designed, like the ancient guilds of the tenth century, to diminish the number of those who were to be blessed by enduring persecutions; for its object was to abolish persecution for justice. As by the statutes of the guilds the whole brotherhood was bound to defend the juster cause whenever any member was attacked ;‡ so, by this latter confederation, the whole city of God was to be protected. The church, in its character of the oppressed, was to have a defender, as well as each member of the mystical body. The church, as a French religious man observes, "was the mother, the spouse, the sister of every knight, of every one who could wield a sword." Kings derived their highest title from their zeal to defend her. Charles, king of Apulia, lies buried at Naples, since the year 1285, with these verses on his tomb—

"Ecclesiæ clypeus jacet hic, Fideique trophæus:
Sed fuit ipse reus. Propitiare Deus."§

The holy martyr of Canterbury made many appeals to this principle of his age. Writing to Henry, bishop of Winchester, to thank him for his courage and charity in his necessities, St. Thomas says, "Thus it became a man of generous blood, having kings for his ancestors, to adorn the nobility of his family by deeds of virtue and religion,"‖ and in a letter to Roger, bishop of Worcester, he says, "It became your nobility to honor your ministry by standing bravely unto blood, as we were confident that you would do if it were only through regard to the generosity of your race."¶

Thus wrote the martyr to that illustrious son of the earl of Gloucester, who shines so bright a star in the history of his woes. A column of justice was he,

* De Repub. vi. † Plato Theætetus.
‡ Hickesii Thesaur. Linguar. Septent. ii. Thierry, Consid. sur l'Histoire de France.
§ Chronic. Parmense ap. Muratori, ix. ‖ St. Thom. Epist. clxxxviii. ¶ Ib. Epist.

and, in regard to constancy, an impenetrable adamant, young in years and old in virtue, never forsaking him in his adversity, but keeping fidelity unto his own loss, and proscription, and peril, thinking, as he said, "that it would be disgraceful to enjoy luxuries at home with women, while his commander was in the camp."* "Your Father, Earl Robert," says St. Thomas, writing to him, "loved you above all his sons. Consider how prudent, how faithful, how magnanimous, how constant he was, who resisted, and even conquered, a flourishing, warlike, gracious, and opulent king, duke of Normandy and count of Bologne, who afterwards so despised all peril that he preferred imprisonment rather than consent to injustice. The contemplation of that beloved man should animate you; and he who bequeathed to you the title of generous blood, should be imitated in your manners."† Besides, it is certain from history, that the voice of the ancient world, bearing testimony to its experience, would no longer represent the consequences of virtue among men; for these ages frequently beheld the work of justice conducted without violence and without resentment. The great and marvellous reform, effected by St. Dunstan, of the clergy and laity, seems to have exposed him to no persecution, but, on the contrary, to have conduced only to his greater earthly as well as eternal glory. Even under the sway of Fredegonde, and the sons of Clotaire, St. Germain, bishop of Paris, though he had much internal pain to suffer, while he spared neither exhortations nor reproofs, suffered no violence; for God gave him such authority among the barbarous chiefs, that he had no external persecutions to endure. White crowns, indeed, were multiplied, for the merits of justice in these times of spiritual peace, as when Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were honored for the merits of faith without having been slain for justice, and presented with the purple crowns of passion; but those who are sent to study the history of the middle ages in relation to this beatitude, cannot, on the whole, but experience astonishment at the happy change which had been effected in regard to the reception given to justice generally, which, at the first glance, at least, might justify them in bearing a testimony like that of the angelic voices in the vision of the prophet. "Perambulavimus terram, et omnis terra habitatur, et quiescit."‡

Nevertheless, such impressions would lead to great error, if they were not subsequently submitted to correction. The middle ages enjoyed exemptions from evils which existed during earlier and later times of faith; but they were far from being without experience of those which God can turn to the benefit of his elect. As the words of Christ, that many choose the broad way and the wide gate, are always verified, it follows that in ages of greatest faith, as in Catholic countries still, there must be a multitude of persons who either reject or prevent religion, from whom, consequently, the faithful must expect to suffer persecution; for so the generations of the just are saved.

* Heribert, Hist. quadr. i. 16. † Ep. cclxxiii. ‡ Zacharia, c. 1.

"Never," as St. Leo says, "is there wanting the tribulation of persecution, if there be not wanting the observance of piety. As the whole body of the Church must live piously, so the whole body must bear the cross, each member according to its needs and capacity."

"In some one part or other," says St. Augustin, "the whole Church suffers persecution. If it does not suffer from the fury of the emperor, it suffers from that of an evil people. What devastations by the people! What evils inflicted on the Church by wicked Christians, by those who are caught in that net!"* "The whole earth is red with the blood of martyrs; heaven is brightened with the crowns of martyrs; the churches are adorned with the memorials of martyrs; the seasons are rendered holy by the nativities of the martyrs; the sick are cured by the merits of the martyrs."† "I say that there are persecutions every where," says Hugo of St. Victor, "because daily in the secret places of the holy Church, Cain persecutes Abel, Ismael Isaac, Esau Jacob, that is, the impious the just: and if one does not suffer persecution from strangers, one suffers it from false brethren."‡

"When you enter a cathedral of the middle ages, and contemplate in the evening that army of saints and doctors, in a sweet act, so sculptured to the life, they look not silent images, kneeling, praying, or exhorting in their niches of stone—with such countenances of calm repose—as if motionless for eternity, you are led to suppose that these were ages of peace without struggles and without disorder. Such an impression," continues Michelet, "would however mislead. True, the intellectual life of man—the conscience in an infinite number of men was calm as summer midnight; but the exterior was strangely and in sadly wise disturbed. Nay, the middle ages were precisely the ages of struggle—alas! in our time," he adds, "men contend no more as they did then—for then there was the vehement struggle between the religious spirit and the spirit of the world—the human nature fallen—that was their dignity, that their glory. Yes, these saints of stone represent men who were troubled, who had struggles almost unceasing from without, and from within too; for men were the same as now, and if you interrogate them they will tell you as much."§

In our time, men contend no more thus. Reader, did you mark that? It is even so. In languid times, as a late writer justly observes, with their unbelief and perplexity, with their weak doubting characters and embarrassed circumstances, promoting a kind of general spiritual paralysis, amidst an effete sceptical world, wherein wonder, greatness, sincerity, and faith, are rarely found, where truth for most men means plausibility, to be measured by the number of votes that can be procured, where men live not by believing, but by doubting, debating, and arguing,—the struggles of an age of faith, of sincere and earnest men are impossible or unnecessary. To produce martyrs and confessors, there must be faith. If a

* In Ps. xxx. † Id. cxviii. ‡ In. Ps. Sermo xxviii. § Michelet.

man has to ask at every turn the world's suffrage; if he cannot dispense with it and make his own suffrage serve, how can he be expected to struggle as the saints did, or to be resigned to share in their sufferings? In the ages of faith there was no necessity for polling, and voting, and "setting up ballot-boxes in every street."

There are no more struggles now, because minds are enervated. The nerves of men's arms are not cut as in the legend of the sons of Clovis in Jumièges, but their moral energy is destroyed; their intelligence is exhausted, so that they will not give themselves the trouble to think, for fear of incurring the responsibility of a conviction. No more sufferings for justice now, because it is generally understood that men are compelled to act as they do by irresistible impulse, or by circumstance, or if they do not accuse Satan, by their fate, which no one they affirm can withstand; and, indeed, as St. Augustin says, if Satan spoke and God were silent, or if Satan or fate had the power of compelling, they might be excused. So they deem it a folly to come forward and maintain a just cause if they will have to suffer for it. This is what St. Augustin termed, wishing to precede Christ, and to teach Him. In ages of faith men believed in Him and followed Him. Yet, from the first there were traces of the modern spirit; for Peter, as St. Augustin says, wished to precede Christ; for when the Saviour spoke of His passion, Peter, who a little before confessed Him, and was therefore called a rock on which the church was built, replied, "Absit, Domine, non fiet istud;" and observe here, says the holy doctor, how before it was "Beatus es, Simon,"—and now, "Redi post me, Satanas." Therefore we who wish to celebrate rightly the nativities of the martyrs, should desire to imitate them. Let us not precede them, and wish to seem to be wiser than they are by avoiding sufferings for justice and for faith, which they did not avoid. Let those who have such thoughts, and who nourish their hearts in luxury, be turned back and put to shame.* "This silent army," says Michelet, "represents men who struggled and combatted." He may well say so; and it is impossible to recall their memories without having the mind's eye arrested, as it were, by the solemn banners and trophies of their long and glorious warfare. They seem to come forward at first one by one, so as to be separately distinguished, and then collectively in a crowd that no one can number, as in the sublime procession proposed by the Church in her Litany of the saints, when invoking John the Baptist, and St. Joseph, and all the patriarchs and prophets—St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. John, and all the holy apostles and evangelists; St. Stephen, St. Laurence, St. Vincent, and all the holy martyrs; St. Sylvester, St. Gregory, St. Augustin, and all holy pontiffs and confessors; St. Anthony, St. Benedict, St. Dominic, St. Francis, and all holy monks and hermits; St. Agnes, St. Cæcilia, St. Agatha, St. Anastasia, and all holy virgins and widows, with all the holy saints of God: and their voice seems to be with one accord, from contradiction and persecution, from martyrdom and exile came we to this peace.

* In Ps. lxix.

The world forgets, if it ever knew, the silent sufferings, the silent struggles and sorrows of the men of faith and their long persecutions. All through the ages involved in this history the world pursued the Church collectively, as well as its members one by one. Still was it, as we shall have occasion to show, the Church militant, often the Church persecuted, the Church oppressed. "Vita Christiani est beneſacere et male pati."* Such was the maxim then on every tongue.

Considering the number even of kings and queens who were then prepared to suffer for justice, a pious writer exclaims, "O, how seldom are such examples to be witnessed in these days that are styled enlightened! How seldom is the resolution of a king, or queen, or even of any of the higher nobility, so exemplary as to be worthy of being held out to the people as an inducement to walk in their footsteps in order to save their souls! O, truly, in these times is the world made desolate because there is no one that thinketh in the heart. May what are called the dark ages return again, that there may be another harvest of souls for heaven!"†

Ages of faith, as we have often been obliged to observe, were earnest times: good and evil far more than charters were truths and realities for them. Men were heartily in earnest. They possessed the sincerity of children with the depth of wisdom. They met injustice "with a great-hearted simplicity in an unfearing way." Theirs was "not the sincerity that calls itself sincere which is often mainly self-conceit, but that of which they did not speak, and were not themselves conscious."‡

Let us endeavor to form a just estimate of the force and character of this resolution of men in ages of faith to suffer persecution on account of justice. In the preceding books we have seen their humility, their meekness, their aptitude to mourn, their purity, their thirst for justice, their compassion, their love of holy peace—it remains for us to observe the complement of all these graces, that firmness and constancy which so eminently characterized their actions; that intimate energy arising from faith; that calm sustained enthusiasm; the religious devotion to what is immortal, and that silent modesty in presence of injustice, which seem rather to be ignorant that disdainful of its existence. As the Church sings in her office of many martyrs, "Sancti qui sperant in Domino, habebunt fortitudinem, assument pennas ut aquilæ, volabant et non deficient." Would you observe this verified? then hear the words of Tertullian to the martyrs: "Let us change the name of prison, and call it a retreat. Although the body be enclosed, although the flesh be detained, all places are open to spirit. Wander, then, in spirit: perambulate in spirit; not proposing to yourself shaded woods or long porticoes, but that way which leads to God. As often as you walk thus in spirit, you will escape from your prison. The limb feels nothing in the nerve when the mind is in heaven. The mind carries with it the whole man, and removes it to

* Bona de Discret. Spirit. 13. † Peach. ‡ Carlyle.

wherever it wishes."* The same spirit breathes in the high mysticism of the middle ages. "Nothing is contrary to me but myself," says Hugo of St. Victor.† What can be more brave than such a heart? Ages of faith, indeed, of necessity were ages of valor. It was indispensable to be brave. The men who are to pass before us in this book had subdued fear, so far as being perfectly resolved; and, to use the words of a late writer, Agamemnon's was of small audacity and of small fruit in the world compared to theirs. "Felix quem non gladius terret," sing the Franciscan friars in their office of St. Anthony of Padua, alluding to his glorious constancy. Vico wrote a treatise on the heroism of intelligence—"De mente heroica," as evinced by the undaunted preachers of the middle ages. It is to the development of this spirit which fitted men of every state for the best of all victories, that we should now direct our attention. And certes for whoever wishes to study the history of religious and philosophic doctrines in the middle ages, there will be found here curious and profitable information respecting the direction and the state of minds, an object of which we have endeavored never to lose sight in any book of the present history.

"Duo sunt," says Peter of Blois, "justitia et libertas, pro quibus quisque fidelis usque ad sanguinem stare debet."‡ Such was the maxim of men in the ages of faith, than whom no generations ever observed more strictly the poet's counsel:

——"vivite fortes,
Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus."

'Love and fortitude," such are two of the qualities necessary to the young man according to Dante,§ which prepared him for the martyr's grace. The very standard itself of knightly honor supposed a readiness to suffer persecution on account of justice, for without such suffering how could men pass through life without reproach? "Not without sin I confess," as the old Baron would add, "distinguishing, (for we all sin, and continually ask God to efface our sins,) but without reproach," "sans reproche."

Albert de Ripalta, speaking of his father, Antonio, who began the annals of Placentia, which he completed, says, that he had often declared "his wish to write nothing but what might conduce to the honor of Almighty God, and the utility of his neighbor, especially what might excite the minds of young men to live virtuously, and endure all perils for the love of virtue."‖ This will and capacity to endure formed the great criterion in estimating the respective merits of different men. They who wish to suffer many things for Christ," says Cardan, "shine in all kinds of virtue, and, therefore, are the best for constituting and maintaining a republic."¶

* Ad Martyr. † De Claustro Animæ, Lib. v. 12. ‡ De Institut. Episcop.
§ Convito, c. 26. ‖ Annales Placentini ap. Murat. Rer. It. tom. xx.
¶ De Utilitate ex Advers. Cap. Lib. iii. 10

So Pope Martin IV. creating the archbishop of Arles a cardinal, says, "that according to ancient example, he must collect from all nations, to assist him in governing the flock committed to him, men potent in deed and in word, to instruct the people by their example, and to inform them by their doctrine; men who so fear God, that they never fear the face of man; so hate avarice, that they go not after gold, and hope not in the multiplicity of riches, but follow truth, that is, Christ, who is the way, and the truth, and the life, declining neither to the right hand nor the left."* God is wonderful in his saints, exclaims the holy Church. "Deus Israel ipse dabit virtutem," she continues, "et fortitudinem plebi suæ, benedictus Deus."

We shall see what fearless magnanimity belonged to meek, humble, and deep feeling men, who could know more misery and reap more joy than all; to each of whom might be addressed the words of Achilles to Priam, when the latter dared to enter his tent,

——— διδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ.†

"Nemo sapiens, nisi fortis," said the Roman philosopher,‡ "no one wise who is not brave;" yet, if we will hear Balthasar, Gracian, sages have been always bad sufferers; for impatience increases, he says, "along with science, and it is hard to content a great knowledge,"§ but the Catholic religion recognized not such men as sages. She proclaimed the necessity of valor in enduring, and she declared that fortitude, as Albertus Magnus observes, "magis est sustinendo quam audendo,"‖ so that her voice seemed to re-echo the maxim of the Greeks,

Παθήματα, μαθήματα,

or that still deeper wisdom,

Οὗτος κράτιστός ἐστ' ἀνὴρ
Ὅστις ἀδικεῖσθαι πλεῖστ' ἐπίσταται βροτῶν.¶

Persecution for justice according to her voice was doctrine. Whoever wept and bled for Jesus Christ, had the learning which best proved the sage.

"The world in vain decries the Christian life, as a life of subjection and servitude. The reign of justice," continues Massillon, "is a reign of liberty. The soul faithful and subject to God becomes mistress of all creatures; the just man is above every thing, because he is detached from every thing: he is master of the world, because he despises the world; he depends neither on his masters, because he serves them only for God's sake; nor on his friends, because he loves them only in the order of charity; neither on his inferiors, because he requires from them no unjust compliance, nor on his fortune, because he fears it; nor on the judgments of men, because he fears only those of God; nor on events, because

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. p. 1283. † xxiv. 521. ‡ Lact. iii.
§ Courtier, 159. ‖ Lib. Ethicor. iii. t. 2. ¶ Menander.

he regards them in the order of Providence; nor on his passions, because charity is their rule. The just man alone then enjoys perfect freedom; superior to the world, to himself, to all creatures, to all events, he begins in this life to reign with Jesus Christ. All things are subject to him, and he is subject to God alone."

"Justum et tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida."*

Such was the Catholic mind in ages of faith; no one possessed it, "who feared death, or exile, or poverty, who preferred," as Cicero says,† "their contraries to equity," or who pronounced the word necessity with a view to its ordinary meaning. When told that nature was become necessity, they who cherished it exclaimed with St. Bernard, "O quam necesse esset hanc necessitatem evelli!"‡ When urged to regard it for their own interest, they again replied with him, "necessitas multorum est virtus paucorum."§ So in the third nocturn of the office of St. Anthony of Padua, the friars sing,

"Pereunt pericula, cessat et necessitas"

Religion addressed men in words like those of the Greek poet, when Agamemnon is represented fearing the people, and Hecuba says to him,

ἐπεὶ δὲ ταρβεῖς, τῷ τ' ὄχλῳ πλέον νέμεις,
ἐγώ σε θήσω τοῦδ' ἐλεύθερον φόβου.

Gundobadus, king of the Burgundians, having been converted from the Arian heresy by St. Avitus, was one of those who feared the multitude: and the holy bishop sought thus to deliver him, reminding him that it was not sufficient to be a Catholic in secret, and that persecution for justice was the lot to be expected by all Christians. "You being a king," he said to him, "and having no reason to fear any penalty, are afraid to confess the Creator of all publicly, lest there should be a sedition of the people. Relinque hanc stultitiam, et quod corde te dicis credere, ore profer in plebe; for the apostle says, With the heart we believe to justice, but with the mouth is confession to salvation, and so the prophet also says, Confitebor tibi, Domine, in ecclesia magna. In populo gravi laudabo te; and again, Confitebor tibi in populis, Domine; psalmum dicam nomini tuo inter gentes. But, O king, fearing the people, you are ignorant that it is better the people should follow your faith, than that you should favor their infirmity; for you are the head of the people, and, therefore, if you proceed to war, you precede the host, and they follow whither you lead. Wherefore, it is better that by your going first, they should come to the truth, than that by your perishing, they should remain in error. For God is not mocked, and he doth not love him,

* Hor. Od. iii. 3. † De Off. ii. 11. ‡ Ep. cccixxiii. § Id. cxiii

who on account of an earthly kingdom, does not confess Him in the present life." St. Gregory of Tours relates however, that the king could never be prevailed upon to confess the equality of the Trinity in public, but persisted in his pusillanimity to the end of his life.*

This was nothing but the old weakness before the formation of the new creature. The wisest of the Greeks was obliged to give his friend a clue to distinguish his real opinion from that which he professed, through compliance with the popular superstition, telling him that his letters which expressed the former, would begin with the word Θεὸς, and the latter with θεοί.† Here then was a great contrast to the Catholic spirit of the ages of faith, which enabled men to live superior to all fear of the judgments of the crowd, which now under the title of society again exercise so fatal an influence on those who resolve to be at peace with the enemies of Christ, who appear following our Lord at a distance from afar faintly, as old writers say, only to add to his ignominy by denying Him. In the middle ages the state of manners did not resemble that which Seneca describes. "Pendemus toti ex alienis judiciis; et id optimum nobis videtur quod petitores laudatoresque multos habet, non id quod laudandum petendumque est. Nec viam bonam ac malam per se æstimamus, sed turba vestigiorum, in quibus nulla sunt redeuntium."‡ Very far otherwise.

As Polyeucte says to Felix in that noble tragedy of Corneille, "The man of faith feared nothing, dissembled nothing, and in the eyes of all the world, was always the same." I am a Christian, would be his reply, after the examples of the martyrs of the first age of the Church. I am a Christian,

> ——"hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
> Tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas:
> Mens immota manet; lacrymæ volvuntur inanes."§

Yet to antiquity we must ascribe the honor which is its due. Homer's old men, though pacific, are determined enemies of injustice; and in this respect again, Catholic manners possessed the charm of Homeric energy. "Shall wickedness be strong in punishment, and we not be as valiant in our suffering?" Such was the answer to each tyrant. But how can we describe the high disdain of yielding to dishonor, which characterized these ages of faith? When the terrible King Chilperic, persecuting Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, demanded why he dared to ask some great nobles to befriend his son, the Prince Merowig, whom the bishop loved with a mother's love, from having held him on the font, that holy man, though far from firm, replied, "I acknowledge it, I entreated them to stand his friends, and I would have called to his aid not only men, but the angels of heaven, if I had power over them; for he was, as I said before, my spiritual son by baptism."‖

* Lib. ii. Hist. Francorum. † Plat. Epist. xiii. ‡ De Otio Sapient. § Æn. iv. 438.
‖ S. Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. Lib. v.

St. Thomas of Canterbury being exiled, St. Gilbert, founder of the Gilbertins, and the other superiors of his order, were accused of having sent him assistance. The charge was false; but the holy abbot chose rather to be sent to prison, and to incur the risk of seeing his order suppressed, than to justify himself, lest he should seem to condemn an action which would have been meritorious.

Truly the chivalrous spirit belonged to those who suffered persecution for justice during these heroic ages. "It has been a question this year," writes John of Salisbury to Hunfrid Boni, "of making my peace with the king, that I might return to England. They solicited me to give security that I would not in any thing assist the archbishop, and on those terms I should return into favor with the king.' But though I am not bound to the archbishop by homage, or oath, or obligation of faith, and though I owe him no obedience, unless that which is due to every bishop, nevertheless as I believed it would be a base act to deny him, and renounce obedience to him, I could not accept the condition."*

"Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas."

"Even the heathen gave this sentence, therefore I earnestly entreat that such forms may not be provided for me. If it be a question respecting the past, I do not deny that I have always obsequiously and devotedly served the archbishop as my lord and my father; and I wish it might have been efficaciously; nor will I ever, with God's help, for any utility or through fear of any loss, by abjuring and denying Him, stain my life, yea and the memory of my name and race, before God and man."† Thus as far as spurning the specious world's control, and cherishing this unconquerable devotion of the mind to truth, men never bid adieu to boyhood. They carried on the freshness and feelings of youth into the powers of maturer age. Each could bear to himself the testimony of the poet,

"I am prepared, in truth, with no proud joy,
To do, or suffer aught, as when a boy
I did devote to justice, and to love,
My nature, worthless now."

"He would talk to his wife and children," says Roper of Sir Thomas More, "of the lives of holy martyrs, of their grievous pains endured for the love of God, and of their passion and death undergone, rather than offend Him; and he would add, what a happy and blessed thing it was to suffer privation of goods, imprisonment, loss of lands, and even of life itself, in the cause of Heaven!" After being long imprisoned in the Tower, he wrote to them saying, "I find no cause, I thank God, to reckon myself in worse case here, than at home; for methinks God maketh me a wanton, and setteth me on his lap and dandleth me." "O glorious God," he prayed, "take from me all sinful sorrow and pensiveness." In

* Joan. Saresb. Epist. xxv. † Id. xxxii.

fact, cheerfulness and composure, even mirth sometimes, resting on earnestness and sadness, "as the rainbow on black tempest," distinguished men of this beatitude in all ages. Celebrated are the instances of Sir Thomas More disencumbering himself of the courtier, who recommended him to change his mind, by replying that he had done so, meaning only that he had resolved not to change his apparel that morning, and his saying at the foot of the scaffold, "I pray you, sir, see me safe up; as for my coming down, I may shift for myself,"—words which may recall those of the great confessor of our times, Droste de Vischering, archbishop of Cologne, who on being carried off violently from his palace, only asked the officer who secured him, whether the candles in the carriage-lamps were long enough to last them through the night.

The courage and calm resolution of the martyrs sometimes extorted the admiration of even the most cruel persecutors; as when the emperior Decius, having read the examination of St. Acacius, gave him his liberty and suffered him to profess the Christian religion.

"The philosophers," says Philemon, "as I have heard, consume much time in seeking what is the supreme good, and no one has yet discovered what it is."

*Νῦν εὑρον· εἰρήνη ἐστίν.**

If this were the solution of the difficulty in ages of faith, there were distinctions added to reconcile it with the felicity of enduring persecution; for, as Hugo of St. Victor says, "there are two kinds of peace; one which Christ gives, the other which the world gives. The peace of the world is, that you recede from God, and consent to the devil; but the peace of Christ is, that you expel the devil, and love God: the peace of the world is, that the world may please you, and you the world, that thus satiated with earthly pleasures, you may succumb for ever; the peace of Christ is, that you may patiently bear the adverse things of the world unto death, in order that after death you may obtain the felicity of the future life."† This latter was enjoyed by all the just, amidst their persecutions. Within their heart was their sabbath, "while many," as St. Augustin says, "were at rest in their limbs, and in a tumult in their conscience."‡ As the lights of heaven direct their course with all patience, and care not what men might say of them, so these cared not what flesh could do.§ "There is a peace," observes Peter of Blois, "of which men say, Peace, peace; and there is no peace; for in such peace there is the most bitter bitterness, when the handmaiden reposes, and the mistress is in bondage."‖ There being always men whose study and labor it is to resist their superiors. "It is manifest," as he says elsewhere, "that persons in authority, who must necessarily offend many, cannot please all, nor can they nor should they satisfy the will of all."¶ It throws much light upon the history of these ages

* Ap. Stobæum, Flor. tit. lv. † De Claustro Animæ, iv. 21. ‡ In Ps. lxii.
§ In Ps. xcii. ‖ Epist. cxxxviii. ¶ Id. clxv.

to bear in mind that the casuists who exercised such an influence upon manners, had ranked what the school terms acedia among deadly sins, as opposed to divine hope. Many who now pass for very liberal, would in the middle ages have been ranked with the libellatici, who by causing themselves to be enregistered along with those who sacrificed to the gods, were considered as tacitly denying the faith. The love of ease, which prompts men to yield always, step by step, till at last they speak like the minister of Geneva, who now says that "the divinity of Christ, as understood by Catholics, hinders a great number of individuals from embracing Christianity," was expelled by the spirit of beatitude. That spirit made men even shrink from the thought of being honored in a world where God is dishonored, and of obtaining, even by honorable means, what is refused to him. "Quo modo," exclaims St. Bonaventura, "non abhorrebo mihi attribui, quod est Dei? Quis ergo renuet se odire, et ab omnibus conculcari?"* "Would to God," cries St. Jerome," that all infidels might rise up at once against me! I wish that the whole world would unite to blame my conduct, in order that I might obtain by that the approbation of Jesus Christ. You deceive yourself if you think that a Christian can live without persecution. The greatest that one can suffer is not to have any."

"Do not imitate those," says the great St. Anthony, "who apply themselves to have rest in this world, for they never make a progress; but emulate those who wander in mountains and solitudes for God, in order that virtue from on high may come on you."† The children of this beatitude, therefore, in a particular manner, might be distinguished among the blessed poor in spirit:

"Che per neente avete
Terra, oro e argento:"

as Brunetto Latini, in his Tesoretto says; for their hearts were detached from all earthly possessions, in order to follow Christ with more alacrity, as it is the naked swimmer who passes the river with greatest ease; so that St. Francis among his reasons for requiring poverty in his order, specifies their obligation to preach without fear.

"They knew," as St. Augustin says, "that a man cannot always remain here, cannot always have his gold and silver, cannot always rejoice even in this light. They had learned to rejoice in that light which has no setting, which had no yesterday nor to-morrow, and thus no persecutor could ever deprive them of the treasure on which they had set their hearts. They felt themselves to be strangers upon earth, so that they used their riches as a traveller in a stable uses what he finds, knowing that it is not his own, unless for the time he stops there."‡ There was in them what an old French writer styles "couraige invincible, contentement certain, asseurance parfaicte, despri-ement incroyable de tout ce pourquoy les

* S. Bonavent. Stimul. Amoris, pars ii. ap. 6. † S. Antonii. Sermo. ‡ In Ps. xxiii.

humains tant veiglent, courent, travaillent, navigent et battaillent." Thus Georges d'Amboise, the cherished minister of Louis XII., of whom the king used to say, "let George do whatever pleaseth him," never had but one benefice at a time, and of that he only retained a third part for himself, the rest being for the churches and the poor. Thus, to cite another instance in the words of an ancient writer, "was the virtuous and ghostly mind of Sir Thomas More rid from all corrupt love of worldly things, and fast knit only in the love of God and desire of heaven, as becometh a very true worshipper, and a faithful servant of God." "Tell me," said he to his wife, who advised him to avoid persecution, "how long you think one might live to enjoy this right-fair house of ours? Perhaps some twenty years. Well now, if you had said some thousand, nay some hundred years even, it had been somewhat; and yet he were a very bad calculator that would risk the losing of an eternity for some hundred or thousand years. But what, if we are not sure of enjoying our possessions a single day? I hear he said again that my Lord Audley reckoneth me among the fools, but surely among those that long to be rulers, God and my conscience know, that no man can reckon me. But whomsoever my Lord mean by the fools and the wise, I beseech our Lord to make us all so wise, that we may, every man, rule ourselves wisely in this time of tears, this vale of miseries, this simple wretched world, that when we shall hence in haste, we be not taken as sleepers, nor be shut out of heaven among the foolish virgins." "To his children and grandchildren," he said, "I have been brought up at Oxford, at an inn of chancery, at Lincoln's-inn, and also in the king's court, from the lowest degree to the highest, and yet I have at present left but little above a hundred pounds a year, so that now we must fall to the lowest fare. and if our ability stretch not to maintain it, then may we with bag and wallets go a begging together, and hoping for charity, sing a salve regina at every man's door, and so still keep company and be merry together."

In fact, after the resignation of his office of chancellor, he was not able for the maintenance of himself and family, sufficiently to find meat, drink, fuel, apparel, and such other necessaries, but was compelled for lack of other fuel in winter before he went to bed, to cause a bundle of fern to be brought into his chamber, and with the blaze thereof to warm them, and so without any other fire to go to their bed. The Catholic mind was not therefore that which Seneca defends, which professes a contempt for riches, and is never ready to relinquish them; which proclaims that exile is an empty word, while firmly resolved to grow old amidst the enjoyments of home, and of one's native country. "Non desino apud istos, qui nunc dominantur, cœnitare," say Cicero, excusing himself to Varro, for complying with Cæsar. "Quid faciam? tempori serviendum est."* This was what the Greek poet termed the placing one's self always on the windward side of the vessel when the other is under water, the art of all heretics and schismatics in

* Ep. Fam. vii.

every age, in whom the nature of Theramenes still survives, however they may boast of independence.

Ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἀνδρός ἐστι
Νοῦν ἔχοντος καὶ φρένας, καὶ
Πολλὰ περιπεπλευκότος,
Μετακυλινδεῖν αυτὸν ἀεὶ
Πρὸς τὸν εὖ πράττοντα τοῖχον,
Μᾶλλον ἢ γεγραμμένην
Εἰκόν' ἑστάναι, λαβόνθ' ἓν
Σχῆμα.*

Thus Sir Thomas More was condemned by many for not complying with the king. The Lord Chancellor Audley marvelled that he should be so obstinate in his own conceit, in that every body took the oath, save only the blind bishop and he. He said, "he would not have him so scrupulous of his conscience." Others wrote to him, saying, that "one of the highest estates of the realm, and a man learned too, accounteth his conscience in this matter for a right simple scruple; and he saith when Sir Thomas says his conscience moveth him, all the nobles of the realm, and almost all other men too, go boldly forth with the contrary, and none stick thereat, save only himself and one other man, who though he be right good or very learned, yet few that love him give him the counsel against all other men to cleave to his mind alone." Others said, "he ought to change his own conscience by conforming it to the conscience of so many others; and that since it was also by a law made by the parliament commanded, they thought that he was, upon the peril of his soul, bound to change and reform his conscience, and conform it to other men's."† "Thus," as he says, "some might act through favor, and some through fear; some might happen to frame themselves a conscience, and think that while they did it through fear, God would forgive it; and some might peradventure, think that they would repent and be shriven, and that so God would remit their sin; and some might be of the mind that if they said one thing, and thought the while the contrary, God would more regard their heart than their tongue."

Alas! how many have adopted this wisdom, when the flatteries of this world have chained their sense! how many self-loving natures, as the poet says,

"Prison'd in mists and errors, cannot see
The way abroad that leads to happiness
Of truth, whose beamy hand should guide us in it.
What a poor value do men set of heaven!
Heaven, the perfection of all that can
Be said or thought, riches, delight, or harmony,
Health, beauty, and all these not subject to
The waste of time, but in their height eternal.
Lost for a pension, or poor spot of earth,

* Aristoph. Ran. 536. Walter's Life of Sir Thomas More.

Favor of greatness, or an hour's faint pleasure;
As men in scorn of a true flame that's near,
Should run to light their taper at a gloworm."*

There is another state of peace too, against which men were armed by Catholicism: for there is a mode of reasoning which places men too high above all thoughts that lead to action, when they discover, as Fontenelle observes, "the little importance of all human occupation, eliciting," as he says, "from nature her secret, and so becoming too wise and unwilling to act more." There is then need of another mode of reasoning to recall them to action, and that can be furnished by divine faith alone. The offices of the church on the annual commemoration of the martyrs, sufficiently indicated the perpetual obligation of the faithful to cherish the same spirit which had animated them. Thus she prays, in allusion to the martyr Prisca, that we may profit by the example of such faith; to the martyr Canute, that, as he was an imitator of our Lord's passion, so we, walking in his footsteps, should attain eternal joys; to the martyr Agnes, that we may follow the example of her whom we venerate; to the martyr Agatha, that we may walk according to her example to God; to the martyr Hermenegild, that we may learn from his example to despise perishable, and follow everlasting things; to the martyrs Tiburtius, Valerian, and Maximus, that we may imitate the virtues of those whom we commemorate; to the martyr Fidelis of Sigmaringa, that we too may be found faithful unto death; to the martyr Venantius, that we may imitate the constancy of his faith; to the martyrs Marcellinus, Peter, and Erasmus, that we may be kindled by the examples of those in whose merits we rejoice; to the martyrs Cyriac, Largus, and Smaragdus, that we may imitate the virtue of their passion; to the martyr Zephyrinus, that we may be instructed by his example; to the martyr Gorgonius, that the eternal sweetness may encompass the family of God, which in his martyr feeds upon the good odor of Christ; to the martyr Thecla, that we may profit by the example of such faith; to the martyr Callistus, that we may be restored to the love of God by the examples of his saints; to the martyr Cæcilia, that we may follow her footsteps; to the martyr St. Denis, that we may learn, by imitating him, to fear not the adversity of the world, which last invocation Joinville takes care to mention, was one of those which the king St. Louis repeated devoutly at his death. Now that these prayers were not in vain, we have demonstration; for throughout the history of the middle ages we find proof that the spirit of martyrdom was widely diffused. In almost each page of their annals we find traces of that perfect will, "such as once upon the bars held Laurence firm." Men never doubted that their friends were ready to act heroically, and offer themselves to death for a noble cause. "When I heard of the death of the blessed martyr," says Petrus Cellensis, abbot of St. Remy, in a letter to John and Richard, two brothers, who were monks in Canterbury in the time of St. Thomas, "I

* Shirley.

thought at first that my John and Richard were buried with him, for various and vague reports left us in suspense; but whatever has happened to you after the glorification of the holy martyr, has no doubt turned to your advantage; so that whether you have been afflicted with him or comforted, I doubt not but that all has been received in augmentation of your faith; for I do not suppose you to be of so little faith as to have any fear of drinking the cup of the Lord in passion, which you frequently drink in the remembrance of Christ."* Men advised each other to pray for this spirit. Thus St. Thomas of Canterbury concludes his letter to the archbishop of York with these words, "May the Most High lead your fraternity by right ways, and make it participate with those to whom the kingdom of Heaven is promised in the Gospel."† "May God give you a right heart," says a legate of Pope Alexander III., to those who were shunning persecution, "and induce you to make more account of Him than of the will of man."‡ That martyrdom was even an object of desire to innumerable persons, we find, likewise, proof.

The Legate Pierre de Castelnau, who used often to say, that religion would never revive in Languedoc until that country had been moistened with a martyr's blood, used ardently to pray to God, that he might himself be the victim. His prayers were heard. "May God pardon you! as for me, I pardon you," were his last words addressed to the two assassins. St. Radegonde, while receiving her education in one of the palaces of Neustria, used often to say to her young companions, that she desired martyrdom.§ St. Peter martyr never offered on the altar the blood of the Lamb without feeling a fresh desire to shed his own. The desire, in his instance, indeed, was fulfilled; but of course, in general, circumstances did not allow of its literal accomplishment. Still as Sulpicius Severus says of St. Martin, all these men "are to be counted among the martyrs who washed their stoles in the blood of the Lamb; for although the times did not permit them to gain martyrdom, yet, in desire and glory, they had the crown. Had they lived in the days of Nero and Decian, no one can doubt that they would have mounted the pile; and though not called to shed their blood, yet, through faith, they suffered a passion, the opprobrium of the envious, and the persecutions of the wicked."‖

"Now, since there is no persecution," says an Italian writer who lived under Cosmo de Medicis, "there is no opportunity left of martyrdom; but if at present any force of the enemies of Christ should prevail, without other mode of escape, saving faith, I think, indubitably, that the number would be immense of those who would suffer for it death and all possible tortures; for who knows not that even pirates, so far from being just men, when taken by the infidels, prefer death to denying Christ; and if in men of this kind there be found such constancy, what testimonies think you would be furnished by men of virtue and

* Lib v. 14 † S. Thom. Ep. cclxxix. ‡ Id. ccxxiii.
§ Vita S. Rad. auctore Fortunato ‖ Sulp. Sev Epist.

innocence?"* When St. Ignatius of Loyola wished to express the consolations he had derived from God, his words were, that, if the sacred Scriptures had not existed, yet, in consequence of what had been revealed to him at Manresa, he was prepared to die for the faith. "O truly blessed man," cries St. Bonaventura, alluding to St. Francis of Assisi, "who though his flesh was not torn with the iron of the tyrant, yet lost not the resemblance to the Lamb that was slain. O truly blessed, who without falling by the sword of the persecutor, gained no less the palm of martyrdom." So the antiphon of the Benedictus in the office of St. Francis begins with "O martyr desiderio Francisce," and in the Litanee of the friars the same expression is used. In the first nocturn of the office of St. Anthony of Padua they sing, "Fervet ad martyrium, dum rex terræ sævit; sed hoc desiderium suum non implevit, de quo rex regnantium aliud decrevit." To him also they apply the words "martyr desiderio," and in the hymn commemorating his joys they sing,

"Gaude quod martyrium
Tanto ardore flagitasti,
Et regulam tuam mutasti
Ut ires ad supplicium."

But much remains to be observed with regard to Catholic manners during these ages, in regard to the spirit of martyrdom; for besides the cause and the desire, it was the disposition of mind also which then proclaimed the martyr. In the first place, there was a reliance on things not seen, on the great truths of the eternal world. Hence there was much in men that lay hid, like roots, and forces working under ground. Catholics were to confess God rather like the holy innocents, "non loquendo sed moriendo;" that is, as the Church in her collect for the day intimates, to confess the faith which is on the tongue, by those manners which almost ensure persecution. The spirit of the great mass of the faithful, in all ages of the church, was that ascribed by St. Cyprian to his contemporaries, "sciebant mori, non sciebant disputare." "Speech is great, but silence is greater." Death, judgment, and eternity, not the world's favor or men's opinion, lay in the background of whatsoever men did in opposition to others. As a late writer observes, "Their souls, homeless on earth, made their home in the other world, like Dante saying to himself, Florence thou mayest never see; but hell, or purgatory, or heaven thou shalt surely see."†

Hence they sought not that their voice should be heard on earth, but as the Church says on the vigil of St. Laurence, that place should be given to it in heaven. "Oratio mea mundo est;" they repeated after her, "et ideo peto, ut detur locus voci meæ in cœlo: quia ibi est judex meus, et conscius meus in excelsis: ascendat ad Dominum deprecatio mea."‡

* Bened. Accolti Aretini de præstantia virorum suæ ævi.—Ap. Thes. Antiq. vi.
† Carlyle. ‡ Offert. Vig. S. L[illegible]

Again, when men suffered thus for justice, there was to be a voluntary sacrifice, which alone pleases God, as a correspondent of St. Thomas observes, not a mere compromise with necessity. St. Gregory the Great, preaching on the festival of Saints Nereus and Achilles, Domitilla, and Pancras, says, "These saints, before whose tomb we are assembled, despised the world, and trampled it under their feet, when peace, plenty, riches, and health gave it charms." Such were the martyrs and confessors of the middle ages.

Further, there was no vaporing affectation of independence and defiance of death along with secret provision for security. Here was a great contrast to the mind of those who rose up against truth in the latter years. Luther used often to declare, that he stood alone, and that he would descend to martyrdom from his Sinaï and his Sion, though he remained quietly in his fortess. "When he said that," observes a French philosopher, "so far from being alone, he was behind the dukes of Mecklenbourg and Brunswick, behind the grand master of the Teutonic order, behind the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse; he had before him the fire kindled by himself, a barricade of flames across which it was not possible to reach him."* Those who are acquainted with the history of manners in subsequent times, need not be told that within the camp of enemies to Rome it was difficult to find the union of meekness, patience, and resolution. Their great men were generally all fighters and wranglers, lauded even still chiefly for their valor, for their having had "the bravest hearts in the world." Thus Richter says of Luther,—"His words are half battles;" and another says; "The essential quality of him, was that he could fight and conquer; that he was a right piece of human valor:" and valiant he was assuredly, if we understood by it what our fathers in their old books style, "wicked courage." Whereas the spirit of the ages of faith was that which the Venerable Bede ascribes to the persecuted Church, in the lesson read at All Saints; which is strengthened, he says, more and more, "non resistendo, sed perferendo:" for all through these ages we find verified, within certain limits, what St. Augustine says, that the city of Christ on earth in its pilgrimage does not contend against its impious persecutors for temporal safety, but rather declines to combat, that it may obtain eternal. Its members are bound, imprisoned, slain, tortured, burnt, torn, slaughtered, and multiplied. It is not for them to fight for safety, but to despise safety for the Saviour.† "Patientia Domini in Malcho vulnerata est," says Tertullian, "itaque et gladii opera maledixit in posterum." Such was the old observation: and here in consequence it is impossible not to be struck with the contrast between Catholic manners and those adopted by the founders and followers of the modern religions who rejected it, and yet professed to suffer as martyrs for the cause of God. Many of these, like the ministers of the Vaudois, were avowed warriors, boasting even of their titles of captains and pastors, as when Leger, captain and pastor, wrote an eloquent history of the

* Chateaubriand.

† De Civitate Dei, xxii. 6

sufferings of his party, and Arnaud, colonel and pastor, the narrative entitled "The Glorious Entry," in which he called upon his party to massacre their enemies. They were, no doubt, brave men, and, in the world's acceptation, heroes; but assuredly it is not easy to trace a resemblance in them to those who directed their lives by the rule of this eighth beatitude. In Protestantism every where there was bravery enough, fierce fighting in abundance; but not braver or fiercer than that of the old Scandinavian ancestors of its abettors, whose exploits were not exactly a fitting preparation for the Gospel. Those who witnessed its first outbreak, did not overlook this difference.

"Compare Catholic recusants with the recusant Huguenots of France, who are brethren with ours in England," says the author of Jerusalem and Babel; "you would think our Catholic gentlemen here to be all priests in respect of their sober, humble, and Christian carriage of themselves, whensoever they fall under question for religion; their very ministers there you would take to be all swordsmen, captains, sons of Mars, so much fury and rage breathes out in every word or action of theirs which relates to the public. Catholics here are persons, of all others, most unwilling to offend. Recusants there most unwilling to obey. These defend their religion with their swords, and by resistance of the civil magistrate: ours only with the pen and with their prayers. Ours endure, and a Scio Cui credidi, with St. Paul, is all their comfort. These endure nothing, will trust nobody with their cause but themselves, and their cautionary towns; they have their Bezas, their Marlorates, Chamiers, and other firebrands, swarming thick in all parts of the kingdom, ready to incense and set on fire the distempered multitude against their lawful governors. They have their Montaubans, their Rochelles, Saumurs, Montpelliers, places of refuge and retreat, strong and well-fortified to shelter themselves when they cannot make good their designs in the field. Catholics here have none of all these. They have no preachers but preachers of penance and mortification; they have no sermons at any time but such as teach them obedience, patience, resignation to the will of God, and to be willing to suffer whatsoever the will of God is; they have no places of security but their own unarmed houses, which, if they change, it is always for the fleet, Gatehouse, Newgate, or some other prison and place of restraint. See them under the persecutions of Edward and Elizabeth, giving an example of the patience of true Israelites. The arms they took up were not Zuinglius's sword nor Beza's pistols, but the ancient and most proper arms of true Christians, prayers and tears, submission, resignation, patience under the rod of God and of a wicked king."* "As for the English Catholic clergy," says Cardinal Allen, "all they have done has been done only by the power of priesthood, in a spiritual, silent, and peaceable manner, not with riots, tumults, or warlike concourse. They have done it, as the apostles and other holy men did in the primitive Church, by travels, watch-

* Jerusalem and Babel.

ings, fastings, perils at the ports, perils on the sea, perils on the land, perils of open enemies, perils of false brethren, fears of the laws, fears of hurting their friends, fears of scandalizing the weak, by contumelies, disgraces, poverty, prisonments, fetters, dungeons, racks, deaths."*

Let us hear the sentiments of the ages of faith respecting the necessity of cultivating such manners. "Patience by beatitude," says St. Bernardine of Sienna, "is more excellent than by moral virtue."† He alludes to the grace which enabled men to suffer for justice in the true spirit of this eighth circle of the happy life—to that divine patience proposed to the imitation of the faithful by the Church in her collect for Palm Sunday: the presence of which, as Drexelius observes, is synonymous with the presence of God,‡ and of which every history of the middle ages contains such wonderful examples. The rule was universal, to the observance of which each instance is ascribed, as where we read of Everacle, bishop of Liege, in the time of the first Otho, that this learned man endured many persecutions, but conquered by patience, rendering to no one evil for evil.§ "Without patience," said Tertullian, "no one can gain beatitude, no one can be poor in spirit, or meek, no one can mourn as the blessed, or suffer persecution for justice. Non licet nobis una die sine patientia manere."

"As patience is in God, so impatience reigns in his adversary and our adversary, when it appears how especially it is contrary to faith. Man fell by impatience; and to say all in one word, every sin is to be ascribed to impatience. Malum impatientia est boni. Formerly the rule was eye for eye; for patience was not yet on earth, because faith was not. But when the Lord and master of patience had come, it was not lawful even to use the tongue, insomuch that one could not say, 'Thou fool,' without danger of the judgment."‖

"Patience," says St. Cyprian, "is that which commends us to God. It is this which restrains anger, bridles the tongue, governs the mind, represses violence, teaches men to be mild against injuries and insults, and ready to forgive enemies: it is patience which firmly guards the foundations of our faith. This patience the philosophers also professed to follow. Theirs was a false patience, as well as a false wisdom; for how could he be either wise or patient who knew neither the wisdom nor the patience of God."¶

Cervantes, describing the habits of a nomadic tribe, says that those who compose it can be martyrs, though never confessors; but he forgot the distinction which made patience and discipline not more needful for those who sought the white than for the claimants of the purple crown. In the Catholic mind, with all its heroism, there was found that temperance of judgment which belongs to men accustomed to meet with resistance; while in that which rejected the holy discipline, there was petulance and defiance, as when a rivulet rushes with noise into the sea,

* Apology for the Engl. Seminaries. † Serm. xii. ‡ Gymnasium Patientiæ.
§ Gesta Episcop. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 861. ‖ De Patientia.
¶ S. Cypr. Tract. de Bono Patientiæ.

and bubbles on madly, though sure the next moment to have its noisy little wave recoil before the unruffled ocean, which heeds not its entry.

St. Bonaventura, indeed, says expressly that patience is the eighth and last beatitude. "The shield of patience," saith he, "ought to be triangular: in the lower angle ought to be the fear of divine punishment; in the right-hand angle the love of one's neighbor, and in the left the Passion of Christ!"* Such is the blazon of those who suffered persecution for justice during the middle ages. Hence we find that men who showed the most undaunted resolution were precisely those who were the most gentle and pacific; men like those of whom St. Hilary of Arles said, "Nunquam in ore nisi pax, nisi castitas, nisi pietas, nisi caritas;" who seemed to have ever in their ears the admonition of the great St. Anthony: "Cura ut omnes homines te benedicant;"—"My son, be meek, long-suffering, patient, and a lover of men;"† who evinced in all their words and actions that amiable suavity which could often disarm the most hostile prejudice; for every indication of a subtle ambition was alien to the blessed state of sufferers for justice, who knew well that as the ancient moralist observed, "Satis ipsum nomen philosophiæ, etiam si modeste tractetur, invidiosum est."‡ What we shall witness therefore in the succeeding pages will be a supernatural heroism, resistance, not from a coarse disobedient obstinacy of disposition, but from that sense of duty in a mildly understanding heart, of which every expression is soft and great, and which requires always loyal submission to legitimate authority. "It will be the fortitude, which," as Albertus Magnus distinguishes, "is of hope without presumption; not the blind fortitude, which is of ignorance from the absence of thought; not the fortitude of fury, as of animals or of furious men,"§ like those of old who thought it a shame and misery not to die in battle; but that learned in the confessional, where that grain of seed is sown, which so multiplies in the martyrs, as St. Augustin says: "for that grain," he adds, "is contempt of the world;" of which St. Anselm, in later ages, sings,—

"Mens tua terrenis non hæreat atque caducis:
Labitur et transit quicquid in orbe vides.
Vita quid est præsens? tentatio, pugna molesta:
Hic acies semper, semper et hostis adest."‖

That grain is the love of God, by which spirits have been sometimes suddenly transformed; as when donna Sancha Carilla, daughter of don Louis Fernandez of Cordova, seigneur of Guadalcazar, being on the point of going to court as lady of honor to the queen, went previously to confession to St. John of Avila, and on her return from church found all changed within her; so that, instead of proceeding to the court, she resolved to renounce the vanities of the world. The resolution imbibed was therefore not that of men, in whom any thing of the savage enters; men whose physical energy alone might explain their constancy in

* Dietæ Salutis, c. 7. † Regula S. Antonii. ‡ Seneca, Epist. v.
§ Lib. Ethicor. iii. t. ii. 8, 9. ‖ Carmen de Contemptu Mundi.

resistance; but it was the firmness of the placid and serene, the sacrifice often of the weak, and delicate, and faint-hearted, whose normal disposition was to yield and to acquiesce; who were sustained by no passion or animal excitement; for they were impressed with a conviction of what St. John Climacus says, "Tutum non est cum passione aliqua theologiam attingere;"* and of men, so humble, so humiliated in their own esteem, that they feared even to aspire at martyrdom lest it was a prize too great for them. When the Manichæans vowed with loud cries to shed his blood, St. Dominick, presenting his breast to them, said, "No, no, I am not worthy of martyrdom; I have not merited that death."

"It was said unto me," says Sir Thomas More, "that if I had as lief be out of the world as in it, why did I not before speak plain out against the statute? It appeared well I was not content to die, though I said so. Whereto I answered, as the truth is, that I have not been a man of such holy living, as I might be bold to offer myself to death, lest God for my presumption might suffer me to fall; and, therefore, I put not myself forward, but drew back. And albeit I wot well my lewdness hath been such, that I know myself well worthy that God should let me slip: yet can I not but trust in his merciful goodness, that as his grace hath strengthened me hitherto, and made me content in my heart to lose goods, lands, and life too, rather than to swear against my conscience, so He will continue to give me strength; and if He suffers me to play St. Peter, who began to sink through fear, I trust He will hold me up. Yea, and if He suffer me to swear and forswear Him too, (which our Lord of his tender passion keep me from, and let me lose if it so fall, and never win thereby!) yet after shall I trust that His goodness will cast upon me a tender and piteous eye, as He did upon the fallen Apostle, and make me stand up again and confess the truth of my conscience afresh, and abide the shame and the harm of my fault here." Thus did he exemplify the words of St. Augustin, that "all fortitude is in humility, because all pride is fragile,—in humilitate est tota fortitudo." "Therefore," adds the holy doctor, "fear not the proud."† Again, "love, the cause of all crimes," as St. Augustin says, "being directed with the same impulse which moved some to the world, moved others to the Creator of the world,‡ so as to make them willing to leave all for His sake. Love was their master to lead them on the way to heaven." "If any one," says St. Thomas, "exercise an act of fortitude for the sake of the love of God, that act is materially one of fortitude, but formally it is an act of charity."§ Now, as St. Augustin says, "He who wishes to understand the force of this city should understand the force of charity; that is, the force which no one conquers. No floods of this world; no rivers of temptation, can extinguish this fire; for love is strong as death, and as death cannot be resisted when it comes by any arts of medicines, since you are born mortal, so against the violence of charity the world can do nothing. With this charity the martyrs were

* Scala Parad. 27. † In Ps. xcii. ‡ In Ps. xxxi. § xiii. a. 1.

enkindled, when they were led by the love of Christ and of truth to their passion."* "Why do some," he asks, "wither away in persecution, who had received the word with joy? Because they have no deep root. What is that root? Charity."†

Of this remark a memorable illustration had been furnished in the third century:—Sapricius, the priest of Antioch, had refused to be reconciled to Nicephorus the layman, though the latter had implored forgiveness for Christ's sake. Afterwards, as he was led to martyrdom under the persecution of Valerian and Gallien, on being again implored by him to forgive him, he refused so much as to look at him; suddenly, when arrived at the place of execution, he declared himself ready to sacrifice to the gods, and so lost the victory which was then eagerly sought for by Nicephorus, who was immediately put to death for declaring himself a Christian, and who thus received the three immortal crowns of faith, humility, and charity, of which Sapricius had made himself unworthy.

That divine love was the strength of martyrs appeared also on a most affecting occasion in the life of Sir Thomas More. After he had taken leave of his wife and children at the garden gate of his house at Chelsea, on the river's bank, and entered the boat with his son-in-law Roper, to proceed to Westminster, to attend the summons which he had received, his countenance bespoke a heavy heart, and for some time he sat wrapped in silent thought. It was evident that the internal conflict was strong; but, at last, his mind being lightened and relieved by those high principles to which, with him, every low consideration yielded, he pressed Roper's arm, and said to him in a significant whisper, "Son Roper, I thank our Lord, the field is won!" "What he meant thereby," continues Roper, "I knew not at the time; but, being loth to appear ignorant, I answered, 'Sir, I am very glad thereof.' But, as I conjectured, it was the love he had to God which wrought in him so effectually as to conquer all his animal affections."

Catholics, in suffering persecution, were to imitate what they worshipped, as the Church prays in her collect on the day of St. Stephen; they were consequently "to love their enemies, after the example of him who knew how to pray for his presecutors."

The letter of St. Leger, to announce the prospect of his martyrdom, to Sigrade, his mother, who was a nun in the abbey of our Lady at Soissons, is still extant. After speaking of his desire to suffer, fearing lest she should give way to any sentiment of hatred against his persecutors, he reminds her of the necessity of our following the example of Christ in forgiving them and praying for them. Such were invariably the dispositions of those martyrs of the middle ages. Thus, among the reflections written in the tower by Sir Thomas More, we read,—"Bear no malice nor ill-will to any man living; for either the man is good or naught; if he be good, and I hate him, then am I naught; if he be naught, either he shall amend, and die good and go to God; or abide naught, and die naught, and so be

* In Ps. xlvii. † In Ps. xc.

lost. If he be saved, he shall not fail, if I be saved too, as I trust to be, to love me heartily, and I shall then love him likewise. And why then should I now hate one who is to love me for evermore? On the other side, if he shall continue naught, and be lost, that is so terrible and eternal a sorrow to him, that I should think myself a cruel wretch, if I did not now rather pity his pain than malign his person."

In the mystery of the Passion lay the secret of all this strength, as the old architect, Ervin von Steinbach, intimates in the sculpture on the portal of the cathedral of Strasbourg, where the church is represented by a woman holding in one hand a chalice full of hosts, and in the other a cross, with these words inscribed over her: "The blood of Christ enables me to triumph."* "For what Christian," says Louis of Blois, "will not feel himself full of courage to support patiently outrages and injuries, if he consider with attention how our Lord Jesus has supported with sweetness, with humility, with patience, the unheard-of bitterness and pains of his passion? He heard himself treated as a demoniac and a seducer; he was seized by impious men and sinners; he saw himself loaded with chains, led away, accused, struck, mocked, despised, torn with stripes, crowned with thorns, presented with gall and vinegar, fastened to a cross with great nails, assailed with all kinds of blasphemy; and during these horrible scenes he preserved all the calm of an unalterable patience. This innocent Lamb opened not his mouth, excepting that from the height of the fatal instrument he prayed his Father for his persecutors. Woe to us if we ever lose sight of these noble and fine examples which our divine Redeemer has left us!"†

"You know," says St. Bernard, "that I speak often of the passion of Christ, and God knows that I carry it in my heart. My highest philosophy is to know Jesus and him crucified. As long as I live I shall have in mind the outrages and buffets, the derisions, the nails, and all the griefs which he endured, in order that I may have courage to walk in his footsteps and resemble Him."‡

"As sharp wine," says St. Bonaventura, "becomes pleasant if it is poured through aromatics, so the tribulations of the world grow sweet, if they pass through the memory of the passion of Jesus. §

In the prose of the office of St. Francis, his desire of matyrdom is represented as the result of compassion for the sufferings of our Lord,

"Jesu passo compatiens
Exponit crucem sitiens
Se genti paganorum."

"Let not, therefore," says St. Basil, "the calumny of lies terrify you, nor the threats of the powerful disturb you, nor the laughter and insult of your familiar acquaintances afflict you, nor the condemnation of men cast you down, of men

* Audin, Hist. de Calvin. 1. † B. Louis de Blois, Instruct. de Vit. Christian. Appendix.
‡ Serm. de Pass. Dom. fer. iv. hebd. sanct. § Diet. Salutis, 7.

who apply themselves to deceit, in pretending to give you counsel; against all these let right reason contend, calling to aid as a protector in the war, out Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, for whose sake to be afflicted is sweet, and to die is gain."* "In die tribulationis meæ Deum exquisivi. In the day of your tribulations," asks St Augustin, "what do you seek? If it be imprisonment which causes tribulation, you seek deliverance from prison; if it be a fever, you seek health; if it be hunger, you seek abundance; if it be losses, you seek gain; if it be a journey, you seek to return to the home of your flesh. Do you wish to be victorious in your tribulation? seek God, not something else by God, but by tribulation, God."†

"Domine, pati et contemni pro te!" Such was the recompense that St. John of the Cross desired, when he replied to the unearthly voice which addressed him in the monastery of Segovia. Hence we read of many holy persons, that like St. Aldegonde, while governing her convent of Maubeuge, they received not indeed as glory, according to the boast of the philosopher, but as a gift of God the calumnies which sought to blacken their reputation. "O what a brave armor is an innocent soul! How like a rock it bids defiance to a storm, against whose ribs the insolent waves but dash themselves in pieces, and fall and hide their heads in passionate foam!"‡ The saints of God feared not the stripes of the executioners, dying for the name of Christ, that they might be heirs in the house of the Lord. They delivered their bodies to death for God.

The mother of St. Symphorien, in the city of Autun, in the second century, beholding her son who had been baptized by St. Benigne, one of the apostles of Burgundy, going to martyrdom, exclaimed, "Nate, nate, memento æternæ vitæ, cœlum respice, et ibi regnantem intuere; tibi enim vita non eripitur, sed in melius mutatur."§ 'The youth thought only of sacrifice and fidelity; the mother's tenderness was consoled with the prospect of the joy reserved for her child.

"I have lived, methinks, long enough," says Sir Thomas More, "nor do I look to live much longer. I have, since I came in the Tower, looked once or twice to have given up the ghost; and, in good faith, my heart waxed the lighter with the hope thereof. I have a long reckoning to give, but I put my trust in God, and in the merits of his bitter passion; and I beseech Him to give me the mind to long to be out of this world, and to be with Him."

"The good that I expect is so great, that all pain to me is pleasure," said St. Francis, commencing his memorable sermon at the castle of Montefeltro, to which he had repaired to be present at the ceremony of conferring knighthood on the young count, saying to brother Leon who accompanied him, "Let us go to this feast: with God's help we shall make there a spiritual knight. E tanto il ben ch' aspetto che ogni pena m'è diletto, and then he spoke of the martyrs who exposed themselves for the sake of heaven, to torments and death." What were pen

* S. Basil, Epist. lxxix. et ccxi. † In Ps. lxxvi. ‡ Shirley. § Act. S. Symph

cutions and death to minds so tempered! The Catholic poet does but express their feelings, when he says,

"It will be easy to die;
All life is but a walk in misery."

Who has made you afraid to die?

——"When our souls shall leave their dwelling,
The glory of one fair and virtuous action
Is above all the scutcheons on our tomb
Or silken banners over us."

Yet was there, as I have already said, no boasting or defiance of dangers. "I forget not," said Sir Thomas, "the counsel of Christ, that ere I should begin to build this castle for the safeguard of mine own soul, I should sit and reckon what the charge should be. I counted, Margaret, full surely many a restless night, while my wife slept, and weighed, ere I slept, what peril might befal me: so far that I am sure there came no care above mine. And in devising thereupon, daughter, I had a full heavy heart. But yet, I thank our Lord, that, for all that, I never thought to change though the very uttermost should happen to me that my fear ran upon. I know my own fraility full well, and the natural faintness of my own heart; and if I had not trusted that God would give me strength, you may be very sure I should not have come here; for, in faith, I know few so faint-hearted as myself." So true to his original is the poet, saying,

——"I have a sense of what
I am to lose, a life: but I am so fortified
With valiant thoughts and innocence, I shall
When my last breath is giving up, to lose
Itself i' the air, be so remote from fear
That I will cast my face into one smile,
Which shall when I am dead, acquit all trembling
And be a story to the world, how free
From paleness I took leave of earth."

Or as in these lines:

——"I have not lived
After the rate to fear another world.
We come from nothing into life, a time
We measure with a short breath, and that often
Made tedious too with our own cares that fill it,
Which like so many atoms in a sunbeam
But crowd and jostle one another. All
From the adored purple to the hair-cloth
Must centre in a shade, and they that have
Their virtues to wait on them, bravely mock
The rugged storms, that so much fright them here,

When their soul's launch'd by death into a sea
That's ever calm."*

The poet perhaps in these latter lines falls rather into a strain of human rhetoricians, but in the genuine expressions of the middle ages the inflexibility is wholly supernatural. In the old mystery of the Passion, the language of those who suffer persecution on account of justice is faithfully copied. There in reply to the cries of nature emitted by the holy mother, her divine Son observes, they are

"Sweet and humane, sprung from blessed charity,
But the holy will provides that the result should other be."

To her petition

"At least vouchsafe of heavenly grace,
To die without pain in briefest space,"

he replies,

"My death will be filled with bitterness."

She continues,

"Wait for old age still teaching truth."

He answers,

"In the flower of my youth;"

and when she adds,

"Your answers have my heart's blood chill'd,'

he replies,

"The book of God must be fulfill'd."

"Ne donnez que réponses dures.
Accomplir fault les Escriptures."

Of the constancy and heroism of the devout female sex in suffering for justice, so wonderfully displayed in primitive times, the history of the ages of faith continues to furnish memorable instances. Indeed, in all persecutions for a holy cause, women were almost of necessity involved, in consequence of that devoted ardor for justice and faith, which ever distinguishes their sex. The Church is styled in Scripture a woman, according to Albertus Magnus, on account of her zeal for the salvation of souls. Innumerable women in the middle ages resembled in their suffering St. Olympias, that glory of the widows of the eastern church, so respected by all the bishops of the age, and yet who, as St. Chrysostom says, "was perpetually the butt of injuries, outrages, and a

who afterwards suffered persecution as the friend of St. Chrysostom, from whose cause no force could ever separate her. Such were the devout women of the ages of faith, whose invocation the holy church implores, proclaiming in her prayer to God, as on the festival which recalls St. Jane, that they "had been granted to walk through all the paths of life in a spirit of admirable fortitude," meek but unconquerable, like her whose court they loved, established in Sion, resting in the holy city, having their power in Jerusalem, their root in the portion of their God, and their abode in the full assembly of the saints. "Better that women weep," said one who persecuted the church in Scotland, "than that bearded men be forced to weep," a reply, breathing the spirit of the cause he advocated, as far from wisdom as from love. Ah! with their tears, as with those of the queen of angels, may it ever be my wish to mingle mine. It excited no surprise in the middle ages to see women pre-eminent in fortitude, exercising its especial act, which was adhering inseparably to God; for as Albertus Magnus says, "that mother of grace, whose words they oft repeated as their own, and who in all her actions was their type, possessed it to a degree transcendent, proving herself stronger than the three strongest of the strong,—stronger than God, death, and Satan. For the humility of the blessed Virgin conquered God; and she was stronger than death; for as death entered by a woman, so life, which destroyed it, entered by her; and she was stronger than Satan, for she fulfilled the promise—ipsa conteret caput."*

The devotion and generous heart's love with which the memory of the first examples was cherished during the middle ages, shows with what ardor the weakest were prepared to imitate their constancy, in their patience possessing their souls, and like sister Lucy, the spouse of Christ, to conquer the enemy with their own blood. Some like myself, who daily witness in those who shed domestic bliss around them, the noble virtues of the olden time, may be able to appreciate those portraits of the mother and the wife, which illuminate so many pages of the ancient books; but others less privileged can hardly now form an idea of the transhuman power over hearts that was then inherent in such names as recalled the victories of martyrdom conceded to the weaker sex, and of the unceasing devotion with which their palms were venerated. St. Eulalia at Barcelona, St. Leocadia at Toledo, St. Lucy at Syracuse, St. Ursula at Cologne, in whose honor was constructed the college of the Sorbonne at Paris, St. Agatha, the glory of whose birth was disputed by the cities of Palermo and Catana, in which latter she received the crown in the persecution of Decius, whose last words were, "Lord, my Creator, thou hast always protected me from the cradle; thou hast taken from me the love of the world, and given me patience to suffer.—Receive now my soul,"—St. Agnes, who suffered under Diocletian, in whose praises, as St. Jerome says, the tongues and pens of all nations were employed, who overcame both the cruelty of the tyrant and the tenderness of her age, being only thirteen years of

* Albert. Mag. Quæst. super Missas lxvi. tom. xx.

age, at the time of her victory, of which Rome was the theatre, whose festival was of obligation in England for women, as appears from the decree of a council of Worcester in 1240,—St. Thecla, called the first martyr of her sex by St. Isidore, and by all the Greeks, whose name was never more honored in the Church than during the middle ages, as many monuments attest,—such were the patterns of female constancy that were studied with a love which, perhaps, only a woman could describe, by the daughters and mothers of the ages of faith, who, by their manner of welcoming their memories, of appreciating and receiving these traditions of their sex's heroism, gave an insight into the spiritual condition of their own hearts, of which the mysteries, as a commentator on Dante says, have never yet, perhaps, been all disclosed.

O with what meek reverence did they pray for grace to celebrate with a worthy mind their yearly festivals, that they, too, might be always ready, through holy desire, to relinquish the felicity they had on earth, to forsake their weeping children like cruel mothers, and to forget human pity while hastening to a divine crown! for they desired to sing before the angels of God; they desired to enjoy their pure and holy friendship as denizens of the skies, where they should die no more, where they would find true happiness that would last unchanged for ever.* But the middle ages were not left to these memories alone. St. Nunillon and St. Alodia of Castille, St. Flora of Seville, St. Mary of Estremadura, St. Columba of Cordova, these virgin martyrs of Spain in the eighth and ninth centuries, during the reigns of Abdalasisa and of Abderamen, evinced the fervor and heroism of the primitive martyrs.

St. Dympne, in the eighth century, in Brabant; St. Pomposa of Cordova, in the ninth; St. Guiborat of Suabia, in the tenth, martyred by the Huns at St. Gall—were recent examples to prove the perpetuity of the same graces among this favored portion of the Church of Christ. Minstrelsy itself aspired to sing these sacrifices; for faith rendered them familiar to the haunts of chivalry. Then sung the harper of Eudocia, whose lover had embraced the creed of Mahomet, who in consequence refused his offers and fell in the massacre by the Mohometans on the third day after their departure from Damascus. Such was oft his themes. There was something in all the female figures of the middle ages which, unsubdued by the touch of womanhood in them, or rather assisted by the innocent expression of its thoughts which is mystical and indescribable by word, constitutes a beauty that seems in the act of passing into another beauty, spiritual and immense, shedding a light of love which is hailed by angels. 'Tis not their shape, which yet hath so much sweetness, that some pale religious hermit might suspect they were the blessed saints he prayed to,†—'tis not the quiet lustre of their domestic virtues which made the poet say, that as wives they were the good man's paradise, and the bad's first step to heaven,‡—'tis not that grace of ineffable courtesy which shone in Beat-

* St. August. in Ps. cxxxvii. † Shirley. ‡ Id.

rice, when at her salutation in the street of Florence, it seemed to Dante as if he beheld all the delights of beatitude; but it is the look which speaks of heaven, and of the will to die for it: the look which recalls a Thecla and Cecilia, and those other precious names repeated in the holy canon,—something which no one can contemplate without letting escape a sigh; something which kindles a flame of charity so as to make the beholder pardon from that moment, whoever had offended him, leaving him unable to utter in reply to any question that might be asked, other word but "love;" something to announce that miracle of divine power which confers on the weaker sex the victory of martyrdom, that virginal sacrifice which surpasses the limit of the human understanding, to attest the reality of that love strong as death, which with a low, gentle voice of infinite tenderness speaks into our very heart of hearts. Hear how the Catholic poet paints it:

——"There I saw
So sweet a face, so harmless, so intent
Upon her prayers—
Her eye did seem to labor with a tear,
Which suddenly took birth, but, overweigh'd
With its own swelling, dropp'd upon her bosom,
Which, by reflection of her light, appear'd
As nature meant her sorrow for an ornament:
After, her looks grew cheerful, and I saw
A smile shoot graceful upward from her eyes,
As if they had gain'd a victory o'er grief.
And with it many beams twisted themselves,
Upon whose golden threads the angels walk
To and again from heaven."*

Again, who has not been struck at the instances recorded in the history of the middle ages, of the fervor and fortitude with which youths, like blessed Agapite, under Aurelian, a martyr in his fifteenth year, sought to suffer persecution, and even death, for the love of Christ, of which the crusade of the children, that strange, and to many inexplicable phenomenon, may have been, after all, nothing but an eccentric development?† "I saw a multitude in fury burning, slay with stones a stripling youth, and shout amain, Destroy, destroy!" Dante's vision was often realized on earth, and each century could furnish instances to which the words chanted by the Church on the festival of St. Laurence were no less applicable than to the holy Levite, "Nos quasi senes levioris pugnæ cursum recipimus, te autem quasi juvenem manet gloriosior de tyranno triumphus."

Of the constancy of boys and maidens in enduring the tortures of martyrdom, innumerable instances occur. In the early days of the Church we find those of Pergentinus and Laurentinus, at Arezzo; of St. Justus, at Auxerre; of Antoninus and Aristeus, at Capua; of Urban, Prilidian, and Epolonius, at Antioch; of Peter, at Lampsacus; of the eighty-four boys and maidens who suffered with St. Baby-

* Shirley. † La Tradition de l'Eglise pour le Rachat des Esclaves, p. 114.

las ; of Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantianilla, with their tutor, at Aquileia ; of the four boys at Constantinople, with St. Lucillianus, of St. Prisca, at Rome ; of the boy Barula, with St. Romanus, of St. Eulalia, at Barcelona ; of the two boys, with St. Lucian, at Nicomedia ; of St. Fausta, at Cyzicus : of St. Agnes ; of the seven sons of St. Felicitas ; of the seven sons of Symphorosa ; of the many youths of Novara, with their tutor, St. Laurentius ; of the boys who suffered with St. Rogatian, as mentioned by St. Cyprian. It was the pleasure of the Lord of angels, that all through the ages of faith, similar examples should occur, of youthful constancy in suffering tortures and death for Christ, either from the idolaters, as in Japan, or from the Moors and Turks, as in Spain and Barbary, or from the heretics, as in all parts of Europe. Twenty-one boys of the Justiniani family were sent into the Tauric Chersonesus by Soliman, on the capture of Chio, in 1566, but ten of the finest lads were reserved for Constantinople, to be nourished as pages, not one of whom could be induced to deny the faith of Christ, nearly all dying under the scourge, rather than apostatize. One of them being near death, was advised to lift up his finger in token of abjuring the faith, when on the contrary, he closed his hand so firmly, that neither alive nor dead, could it ever again be opened.*

Truly in a young heart there is often a mysterious elevation which is sufficient to awaken thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls. Thomas Everard Digby, in the sixth year of his age, suffered intense agony from the falling of a marble table on his foot, from which the blood streamed in torrents. After writhing in torture for some time, repressing suddenly his phrenzied sorrow, he made an effort to assume his wonted tone of voice, and said gravely, "I dont bear this as patiently as St. Francis endured his stigmas for the love of Christ." He had been familiar with a picture of the seraphic father. When asked after some weeks, while still a sufferer, whether he would undergo the same pain in the other foot, if Christ or the holy Catholic church required such a sacrifice ; after a pause, and with a look of tenderness, of a trembling, longing, pitying love, which moved to tears all who heard it, he replied, that he would willingly. They who would observe how the spirit of martyrs entered into children and youths during the ages of faith, should consult the "Paradisus Puerorum" of the jesuit Berlaymont in which are most affecting histories collected.

So numerous are the parallel examples upon record, that one might suppose the preference of the cross to the jewels which St. Edburga, daughter of King Edward, evinced in her early age, was a general characteristic of youth in the middle ages.† St. Theresa from her childhood aspired to martyrdom. She actually arranged with one of her brothers, whose stripling choice was like her own, to pass over to the Moors, begging their bread by the way, in order to die by

* Hieron de Marinis de Genuensi Dignitate, Thesaur. Antiq. Italiæ, 1.

† Paradisus Puerorum, 449—58.

their hands. The two holy children set out, fully determined to sacrifice their lives for God; but they were discovered before they had proceded far from the town, and brought back to their parents, who reprehended them severely: when the brother, with more candor than discernment, threw all the blame on his little sister.

As in the infancy of the Church, when many young persons suffered from the Arians, so in later time a similar persecution was suffered from those who assailed the church. Thus in 1578, on the seventh of February, Thomas Scherodus, a boy of fourteen, was hanged in London, after a captivity of six months in chains and fasting, and other torments, for refusing to renounce the authority of the pope. Thomas, Robert, Richard, and John of Wortinthon, with their uncle, a priest, Thomas Wortinthon, the eldest seventeen, the youngest eleven years of age, were martyred in Lancashire in the time of Elizabeth. The glorious answers of these boys before the earl of Derby and the ministers of the new sect, recall the earliest pages of Christian history.*

William Ellis, a page to Sir Everard Digby, who might have escaped when his master was seized, for he offered him horse and money, but the youth refused, saying, "He would live and die with him," being taken and condemned, was offered his life if he would embrace the Anglican opinions; but he spurned the proposal, and in the end escaped to the Continent.

Similar examples were not wanting in other countries. "It is wonderful," says Berlaymont, "to hear what persecutions were endured joyfully by children in Germany from the heretics who followed Luther† Parents, during these horrors, were often the murderers of their sons, while sons restored their parents to the true life by recalling them to faith."‡

So generally was the heroic spirit of martyrdom diffused during the middle ages, that instances repeatedly occur of parents evincing a supernatural joy from anticipating the sufferings of their children in the cause of justice. To use the expression of the Greek poet, who describes the force of maternal love by ascribing to one of his matrons the line,

Εἷς παὶς ὅδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς, ὀφθαλμὸς βιου,§

the mother of the middle ages, who loved so tenderly, was willing that the eye of her life should be made an offering to God.

"Adelheyd de Mulberg, whom all the city of Basle regards as a living saint, related to me," says Berlaymont, "that her parents, who were simple peasants, had three children, a second daughter, Catherine, and a boy, John; and that it happened on a certain time, when they were removing to another house to inhabit it, the three children immediately ran into the garden, and, with child-like glee,

* Ribbaden. in Append. ad Sanderum de Schismate Angl. 12. † Paradisus Puerorum, 504.
‡ Id. 500. § Eurip. Androm. 406.

each made choice of a particular shrub to be its own, and saying that it would take care of it. When the spring arrived, and the blossoms came forth, the shrubs by the two first selected produced a white flower, as if denoting the purity of the sisters who chose them, and who both embraced a religious life; while the third bore a red rose, as if prophetically indicating that the boy who took it for himself would attain to that love of justice which, by the sufferings it drew on him in his zeal to extend it, was doubtless equivalent to martyrdom."*

A great French writer, who has drunk deeply of the spirit of the ages of faith, has generalized these facts, and affirmed that, under the influence of the Catholic religion, the desire of youth is to suffer or to die. "At the age of twenty-five," he says, "a generous soul only desires to give its life. It asks of heaven and earth but for a great cause, to serve it with a great devotion; and if this be true of a soul which has only received its character from a happy nature, how much more will it be so of one in which faith and nature flow like two rivers, of which not a drop is wasted in the indulgence of vain passions."† The preceding examples would have warranted his assertion, even if more extended: for they show that even those whose cheeks were scarce covered with the first down, were inspired by the heroic spirit of this eighth beatitude, and often permitted to exercise it to the supreme degree, during those ages of superhuman grace when angels might find a helpmate in each dwelling of the human kind, and the Lord of angels his fitting messenger in a boy.

* Paradisus Puerorum, 148.

† Lacordaire, Vie de S. Dom.

CHAPTER II.

OF manners, as of material edifices constructed in the middle ages, the foundations were very deep; so that, before deducing any examples of their operation from history, it is always necessary to spend much time in laying bare the principles from which they sprang. The study may be uninviting, but it is indispensable. "Nam omnium magnarum artium," as Cicero says, "sicut arborum, altitudo nos delectat; radices stirpesque non item; sed esse illa sine his non potest."* Hence it still remains for us to consider other distinctions which were laid down to determine what were the essential marks or qualifications required from all who sought admittance within this eighth circle; for in all ages there have been many candidates whose claims, however supported within the pale of their own party, were by the Catholic church, and the one voice of the faithful upon earth, pronounced to be inadmissible.

Who has not heard of the pretended martyrologies which record the execution of men who would have suffered by the civil laws of every country for practicing against the established government? Who has not heared of the political and religious enthusiasts in later times, who suffered death for having put their king to death, and who all esteemed themselves martyrs? "I did it all in the fear of the Lord," said one, "desiring to make the revealed will of God in his holy Scriptures as a guide to me." Another said, "I can say, in the presence of the Lord, that I did it in obedience to his laws." Another said, "As to the blood of the king, I have not any guilt lying upon me; for the Lord hath assured me that the thing was of God." Another said, "I die not in the Lord only, but for the Lord; I shall receive a glorious crown from Christ for this work." Another said, "I have done all in faith; I bless the Lord; I have not the hundredth part of a dram on my conscience." Another said, "If I had a thousand lives I would lay them all down for the cause." Such were the English regicides; and where Catholic principles are unknown, society can never be secure from a recurrence of the same frightful delusion. It is not the low and ignorant alone that are liable to it. "Men, like Sir Vane Tempest, may equally evince this most alarming of all spectacles," as a Cambridge professor styles it, "this feebleness of human reason to withstand such impulses." But while the voice of the Church was

* Orat.

heard and recognized, none could be thus deluded to their ruin. Let us observe the principles which were then universally admitted.

"Causa non pœna martyrem facit," says St. Augustin; conformably to which distinction St. Ambrose says, "Affectus tuus operi tuo nomen imponit."

"Many heretics," says St. Augustin in a passage which occurs in the office of the Octave of All Saints, "under the Christian name, deceiving their souls, suffer many things;

———sed causa facit rem
Dissimilem———*

they are excluded from this reward, because it is not said only, Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur; but it is added, propter justitiam: but where there is not sound faith there cannot be justice, because justus ex fide vivit: nor can schismatics promise to themselves any part of this reward, because similarly where there is not charity there cannot be justice; for if they had loved they would not tear the body of Christ, which is the Church. Such men," he continues, "may suffer in pursuance of the order of earthly princes; but let them not extol themselves, or say, 'Behold the Psalm consoles me; for I worship God, who will avenge those who suffer injury.' But is it for justice that they suffer? Is it just to erect an altar of rebellion? Is it justice to rend the Church? to divide the garment of Christ? I will not flatter them. If this be what they do, whatever they may suffer will be a just punishment; for it is the Church which suffers injury, and it is they who are the real persecutors by causing scandals, by evil persuasions and frauds, enticing the weak from her bosom, by killing in them that by which they would have lived for ever."†

Further it was necessary that the cause should be distinct from that which implied confidence in man. "The heart was not to be in a man," as St. Augustin says, "nor hope in a man, ashes in ashes."‡ "You said that all who love me tell me not to lean upon the mind of my lord of Rochester alone; and verily, daughter," continues Sir Thomas More, "no more I do. For albiet, of very truth I have him in that reverend estimation, that I reckon in this realm no one man, in wisdom, learning, and long approved virtue, meet to be matched with him; yet, in this matter, I was not led by him, and verily, daughter, I never intended to pin my soul to another man's back, not even the best man that I know this day living, for I know not whither he may happen to carry it." The cause was to be clearly just, and the obligation indispensable. "I have twice answered you," said Sir Thomas to his daughter, "that if it were possible for me to content the king's grace and not offend God, there hath no man taken this oath already more gladly than I would do. But since, standing my conscience, I can in no wise do it; and that, for instructing my conscience in this matter, I have not slightly considered, but many years advised and studied, and never yet

* Juv. † In Ps. cxlv. ‡ In Ps. xciii.

ing murdered by him, is thus qualified in all calendars. The only event commemorated of the year 860 in the chronicle of Quedlinburg—"Meinrod the hermit martyred," is another instance, as his death was not suffered expressly for the faith.

Trifine, daughter of Guerch, of whom St. Gildas was director, having been barbarously murdered, along with her child, by her husband count Conomor, lieutenant of Childebert, both the mother and child were invoked as martyrs in Brittany, and in the English litanies of the seventh century.

St. Sigismond, king of Burgundy, being defeated in battle by Clodomir of Orleans, Childebert of Paris, and Clotaire of Soissons, and being murdered in prison along with his wife and children, by Clodomir, was likewise honored as a martyr, as was similarly St. Evermer, a nobleman assassinated in a forest near Tongres, while making a pilgrimage with some companions.

St. Ethelbert, king of the East Saxons, murdered through a motive of political ambition, by Quendreda, the queen of Mercia, was another example.

As we before remarked, all children that met with a violent death were deemed martyrs; and truly, in this judgment, we must discern another proof of the depth and tenderness of thought which belonged to men in the middle ages: for it was a divine wisdom, and a divine goodness to behold the sufferings of children thus with the eyes of God, as a mystery of innocence in pain.

Death incurred in the discharge of any duty of charity was formally equivalent to martyrdom. Thus, speaking of the Christians who died from the infection caught in attending the sick during the great pestilence in Alexandria in the third century, St. Dionysius says, "Thus the best of our brethren have departed this life, priests, deacons, and laics; and it is thought that this kind of death is in nothing different from martyrdom." In fact, the Church, as appears from the Roman martyrology, which celebrates their festival on the twenty-eighth of February, considered them as martyrs.

Fidelity to the lawful prince seems to have been considered also as a cause which merited from men the praise of martyrs, when they suffered for maintaining it. St. Leger furnished a memorable example in the seventh-century. Exposed to the fury of Ebroin, name so terrible as a persecutor of the saints, having, on the return of his sovereign Dagobert, son of Sigebert, resumed the government of the see of Autun, he delivered himself up to the enemy, in order to spare the citizens, who were besieged on his account. Without a sigh he endured the putting out of his eyes rather than renounce fidelity to his prince; then he was dragged into a forest, where his lips and a part of his tongue were cut off; afterwards, having been deposed by a mock synod of suspended priests, he was led into the depth of the forest of Iveline in the diocese of Arras, that his death might be concealed; and there he was beheaded, leaving his name to that forest, which is called after him to this day.

Again, those who suffered persecution for wisdom and fortitude, in the govern-

ment of states, were regarded as entitled to the promise of this beatitude, although their names might not be formerly canonized by the Church.

It was the saying of an ancient philosopher, who recommended his disciples to refrain from all part in public affairs, that if we act virtuously we shall incense men; if unjustly, Heaven. To one who said, "Many praise you," Antisthenes replied, *τί γὰρ κακὸν πεποίηκα;* "No man can be safe," says Socrates, "if he honestly opposes you, O Athenians! or any other people in prohibiting the many unjust and unlawful deeds which take place in the state."* The Grecian poet represents a king duly impressed with this conviction; for Agamemnon in the Hecuba of Euripides is willing to discharge his duty, provided he can first ascertain whether he can do so without incurring blame from the people, as, in that event, he declares that he could not do it. If the people wish it, he desires Hecuba to consider him as *ταχὺν προσαρκέσαι, βραδὺν, δ', Ἀχαιοῖς εἰ διαβληθήσομαι,* which draws from her a burst of eloquent indignation:

φεῦ, οὐκ ἔστι θνητῶν, ὅστις ἐστ' ἐλεύθερος·
ἢ χρημάτων γὰρ δοῦλός ἐστιν, ἢ τύχης,
ἢ πλῆθος αὐτὸν πόλεος, ἢ νόμων γράφαι
εἴργουσι χρῆσθαι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην τρόποις.

Such were not the saintly kings and noblemen of the ages of faith, whose maxim was that of Antisthenes: *Βασιλικὸν, καλῶς ποιοῦντα κακῶς ἀκούειν,* and whose principle of action entitles them to that highest praise imagined by the philosopher, "Ea enim denique virtus esse videtur præstantis viri," says Cicero, "quæ est fructuosa aliis, ipsi autem laboriosa aut periculosa, aut certe gratuita."† For their sense of all dignity and rule was expressed in these old Benedictine lines, which had been impressed on them in the abbeys where they had spent their youth:

"Si honorem, non laborem,
Quæris, frustra niteris:
Si præesse, non prodesse,
Studes, nihil efficis."

Such was the state policy of Charlemagne and St. Louis, of the Henrys and the Othos, who were such mighty marshals of the world. "In every affair," as St. Bernard recommends, "they considered it a certain argument to put an end to doubts, that whatever course was pleasing to good, and displeasing to evil men ought to be pursued."‡ "Insensible," as Michaud says, "to whatever concerned merely themselves, they were raised above all fear and every human consideration, when it was a question which interested religion, and the happiness of the people. Dante saw storied in a rock one of these in the very act which merited such praise: "There was an emperor. A widow at his bridle stood in tears. Round about them troop'd full throng of knights; and overhead in gold the eagles floated

* Apolog. † De Oratore, ii. 85. ‡ St. Bern. Epist. cccxlviii.

struggling with the wind. The wretch appeared amid all these to say, 'Grant justice, sire! for, woe beshrew this heart, my son is murdered.' He replying seemed, Wait now till I return; and she, as one made hasty by her grief, "O, sire! if thou dost not return?' He replies, 'Who then succeeds may right thee.' 'But what then to thee,' she asks, 'is others' virtue?' 'Now comfort thee,' at length he answers, 'it beseemeth well my duty be performed, ere I move hence: so justice wills, and pity bids me stay.'"*

Kings whom the Catholic religion swayed, had not heard the lessons of the sophist, who styled the people "that power which alone had no need of reason to authorize its acts."† They remembered, that Saul, excusing himself for not having obeyed God, by alleging the will of the people, Samuel declared that God had rejected him; and that Saul said, "I have sinned in having disobeyed the Lord and thee, from fearing the people, and yielding to their discourse. Because," adds Bossuet, "it is to be the enemy of God, and even of the people, not to resist when the people wishes and commits evil."‡ They did not, therefore, seek to avoid obloquy by saying, that they were ready to bow down to the majesty of the people, and that a nation should be governed by all that has tongue in the nation; for they observed, that if Moses, when he returned from the mount and found the people adoring the golden calf, and when Joshua heard the sound of the people shouting, had bowed down to the majesty of the people, he would have had to bow down also to the majesty of the calf. But that, on the contrary, he said aloud, "If any man be on the Lord's side, let him join with me"—when all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him, by whose hands incontinent on the majesty of the people shame and destruction fell. Such obligations, no doubt, involed rulers in many sufferings and dangers, but they accepted them as the inseparable attendants on their station; for they had not adopted that policy of the just medium, as it is styled, which shrinks from nothing but persecution for justice, following such counsels as Pothinus gave to Ptolemy, when he proposed to kill Pompey, adding,

"Sceptrorum vis tota perit, si pendere justa
Incipit; evertitque arces respectus honesti."§

"You will never be happy," said Petrarch, "never secure, if you give yourself up to be governed by the people."‖ Nevertheless, in reality, these high principles of action, grounded on the knowledge that justice elevates a nation, and that sin makes a people miserable,¶ were a fruitful source of persecution to just and honorable princes, even during the ages of that highest justice which results from the predominance of faith. The histories of the middle ages are here to furnish glorious examples of kings exposing themselves to perils and to death rather than

* Purg. x. † Ap. Bossuet, Avertissemens aux Protestans, v. 49. ‡ Polit. Liv. iv. c. 1.
§ Lucan, viii. ‖ Epist. Fam. ii. 4. ¶ Prov. xiv. 34.

swerve in the least circumstance from the maintenance of justice. How many sufferings must have resulted from practicing that resolution, expressed by Louis XII., when he said that to shelter the weak from the injustice of the powerful was the most urgent desire of his heart? St. Stephen, king of Hungary, had a narrow escape from losing his life by the conspiracy of four palatines, who were irritated against him on account of the strictness with which he administered justice without distinction of persons. "'Tis time your prince were dead;" such are the complaints we often find, in consequence of this fidelity, "and when I am

> "Companion to my father's dust, these tumults
> Fomented by seditious men, that are
> Weary of plenty, and delights of peace,
> Shall not approach to interrupt the calm
> Good princes after death enjoy."*

"The Empress Agnes governed the duchy of Bavaria during seven years in abundant peace. But because dissensions ensued in the kingdom, perturbations in the Church, destructions of monasteries, and the trampling down of all justice and religion, that noble woman, considering the disturbance of things, disgusted, or rather divinely smitten, abdicated the government in the year 1069, and for the love of Christ retired to the monastery of Fruteria, where she embraced a religious life, and finally removed to Rome."† That disturbance of the political and religous order constituted her persecution.

But, in the earliest and latest times, it was, above all, fidelity to religion which proved to rulers the most abundant source of honorable grief. A modern historian,‡ after mentioning the proposal of William of Holland to King James II., that his son should succeed to the throne of England on being educated as a Protestant, proceeds to say, "The same folly about religion, which made James lose his throne, lost the reversion of it to his son: for he refused the offer under pretence that his accepting of it would be an acknowledgment of his own abdication, but, in reality, because he would not permit the prince to be bred a Protestant." If this statement be correct there can be no difficulty in admitting the claim of James to be received into the eighth circle of the blessed throng.

The mother of St. Wenceslas, the son of Uratislas, duke of Bohemia, was Drahomeia, a pagan. His grandmother Ludmilla, obtained as a great favor, that his education might be entrusted to her, and she formed his heart to devotion and the love of God: but the pagan mother retained her younger son Boleslas, whose mind she corrupted by her errors. The father dying while both were young, Wenceslas assumed the reins of government; and then the pagan mother conceiving that Ludmilla was the primary agent of all that he did for the advancement of religion, laid a plot to take away her life, and succeeded in having her

* Shirley.

† Petz, tom. iii. Thesaur. Anecdot. p. iii. p.1

‡ Sir J. Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 5.

strangled before the altar in her own chapel. The severity with which St. Wenceslas checked oppressions and other disorders in the nobility, caused some to join the faction of his unnatural mother, who conspired with her other son Boleslas to take his life. A son being born to Boleslas, the holy duke was invited to the rejoicings on that occasion, and he went without suspicions. After the banquet, at midnight, he went to offer his customary prayers in the church, whither Boleslas followed him, and there with his own hand he slew him, running him through the body with a lance. This was on the twenty-eighth of September, in 938.

St. Canut, king of Denmark, in the eleventh century, father of St. Charles the Good, count of Flanders, was another martyr in consequence of this holy zeal. On the shrine found at Odensee, in 1582, which contained the body, were these words inscribed: "In the year of Christ, 1086, in the town of Odensee, the glorious king Canut, betrayed like Jesus Christ, on account of his zeal for religion and his love of Justice, by Blancon, one of those who eat at his table, after confession and communion of the Lord's body, had his side pierced, and fell to the ground before the altar, with his arms extended in the form of a cross. He died for the glory of Jesus Christ, and reposed in him on Friday, the seventh of June, in the basilica of St. Alban, martyr, whose relics he had a short time before brought from England into Denmark."

His son Charles the Good, count of Flanders, whose mother was Alize of Flanders, was martyred, as we observed in a former book, for defending the interests of the poor. So tenderly he loved the people, that he kept the price of corn low, and enacted wise laws against the oppressions of the great; for which reason he was assassinated by order of one of them, named Bertoul, as he repeated the penitential psalms in the church of Bruges, in 1124.

In the chronicles of the middle ages, we find instances too in which the absence of ambition, and the resolution to relinquish an unjust pretension, to which they were impelled by others, have caused princes to suffer persecution, reviving the example of the Greeks, despising Solon when many laughed at him, as Plutarch witnesseth, and said,

Οὐκ ἔφυ Σολων βαθύφρων, οὐδε βουληεὶς ἀνήρ·
Ἐσθλα γὰρ Θεοῦ δίδοντος, αὐτός οὐκ ἐδέξατο.

St. Casimir, prince of Poland, in his fifteenth year, being elected king of Hungary by the Palatines, and other nobles who wished to depose Matthias Corvinus, in order that he might rule over them, hearing that the king had refused to comply, and that all differences were accommodated between him and his people, and that Pope Sixtus had sent an embassy to his father to divert him from the expedition which had already set out, returned joyfully with his army. But this act of disinterestedness and justice was so disagreeable to this father, that he dreaded to appear before him, and so retired to the castle of Dobzki, where he spent three

months in works of penance. Repeatedly during the course of the preceding books, we have had occasion to admire the dignity and justice of the ministerial character during those ages of faith, which never heard the modern error, "that all goes by self-interest and the checking and balancing of greedy knaveries, and that, in short, there is nothing divine whatever in the association of men." What noble figures of this class have passed before us! wise magistrates, such as Candelarius and L'Hermite Souliers loved to paint,* wise courtiers, those jewels of a crown, as Shirley calls them,

"The columns and the ornaments of state
Fitted with parts, and piety to act,
They serve the power for justice, not themselves;
Their faith the cabinet, in which is laid
The prince's safety, and the nation's peace,
The oracles and the mysteries of empire;
Men born above the sordid guilt of avarice,
Free as the mountain air, and calm as mercy.
Born without eyes, when the poor man complains
Against the great oppressor; without hands,
To take the bloody price of man's undoing."†

Defenders of the Church, of women and widows, of the rights of the king and of the subject, sworn by the redemption which they expected from our Lord Jesus Christ in the day of judgment, as they hoped to escape damnation and to be judged as they would judge, to administer their office with loyalty and honor,‡ their whole lives grave, pure, mysterious, corresponded with that solemn engagement. Piety, austere virtue, profound learning, the administration of justice from break of day to sunset, afterwards study and examination of causes in the silence of their humble and pacific dwellings, then some moments to the historians, orators, and poets, who had been the delight of their youth,—often to hold courts in other districts, leaving their homes and travelling, and all at their own expense, actuated by the sentiment of duty—such was the type, and such in innumerable instances the spectacle. Well such men, often martyrs of the state, as some were called by Henry the Fourth,§ swell the blessed throng of those who suffered persecution for the sake of justice, a prize for which they must have well prepared: for, as the old poet says,

"What man was ever fixed i' the sphere of honor
And precious to his sovereign, whose actions,
Nay very soul, were not exposed to every
Common and base dissection? and not only
That which in nature hath excuse, and in

* Virorum Consularium Rothomag. Senat libri iv. Les Eloges de tous les premiers Présidents du Parlement de Paris, 1645.

† Honoria et Mammon. ‡ Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normandie,

§ Pasquier, Lett. xx. 3.

Themselves is privileged by name of frailty,
But even virtues are made crimes, and doom'd
To the fate of treason."

In the solemn halls of assembly, these magistrates and senators had before their eyes paintings and inscriptions to inform and thus prepare their minds. One beheld martyrs of the ancient and of the evangelic law, kings and pontiff ministers mutually exhorting each other to virtue: "Pontifices, agite," the monarch saying; "Et vos, reges, dicite justa," the priest answering: both holding scrolls, on which were written, "Facite judicium et justitiam, et liberate vi oppressum de manu calumniatoris;" and again, "Seminanti justitiam merces fidelis."* But what was this infallible recompense? The crown of the eighth beatitude. How often when the demon of discord had armed citizens against each other, has this crown been granted! Then when the sun has set, and all the ways are darkened, there is in the street a sound of horses and of arms: the leader has a stern commission: all windows are opened with a fearful whispering. Alas! who is to be the victim now? They halt. There is the devoted door. O God, it is the house of the just!

In regard to the brave defense of innocence against oppressors generally, whether kings or people, we should notice the heroic spirit of martyrdom which belonged to the judicial and legal character in ages of faith. The clergy, it is true, in early times, had generally to sustain such combats; and what undaunted advocates were they? With what noble courage did St. Gregory of Tours defend Prætextatus in presence of King Chilperic? And what alacrity did he evince to suffer all things for justice?† Afterwards the sage men of law, as Pierre des Fontaines styles them, though devoted to administer it, were not

"Chargés d'une haine étrangère,
Vendre aux querelles du vulgaire
Leur voix et leur tranquillité."

They were rather peacemakers, to finish causes by amicable arrangement, and to expose themselves to the resentment of the powerful by defending the oppressed. The decrees of the ancient exchequer seem rather the judgments of a family council, than decisions of a court,‡ and the noble courage of its counsellors frequently brought persecution on their heads. They were sworn, as we observed elsewhere, not to defend any causes which they did not believe in their consciences to be good, true, and loyal; to abandon such as they should find in the course of investigation to be unjust, and never to allege any custom, style, or usage, if they did not believe the objection reasonable and true.

Among the dangers to which they exposed themselves in the discharge of their

* Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normandie, i. 398.

† Chroniques de S. Denis, Liv. iii. c. 8. ‡ Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Norm. i. 27.

§ Ibid. 57

duty, historians even remark their occasional collisions with the ruffian, the robber, and the man of blood, meeting them before light on winter's mornings as they rode on mules to the courts of justice.* The old registers attest that many while thus proceeding to discharge their office, were insulted, struck, and even slain. In times of greatest peril for them, their only concession was to wait till after sunrise, and to return from the tribunals before the ways were darkened. But danger and death for the manifest discharge of their office they would never decline. Would you witness an instance of this martyr spirit in an advocate of later times? Behold Chauveau Lagarde, defending Marie Antoinette, Elizabeth, and Charlotte de Corday, donouncing Marat in presence of the tigers of the revolutionary tribunal, as a monster, who saw crime every where, because crime accompanied him every where—resolving to die in thus combating, defending the Girondins, the Duke du Chatelet, the virgins of Verdun, the twenty-seven accused of Tonnerre, and the general Miranda: behold him thus defying danger for innocence, and when he could no longer hope for justice amidst that fearful butchery of illustrious victims, remaining to protest against such violations in the name of the judicial honor of his country. Accused of corrupting the public morals by proclaiming the virtue of these martyrs, and of betraying the people by defending their enemies, behold him during forty days in the dungeon of the Conciergerie, from which he saw pass to death twenty-three victims, his companions in that hell. Amidst these scenes, how great was his courage, how undaunted his magnanimity! Such was the type of the true Catholic advocate in ages of faith: "the law," said this great ornament of the French bar, speaking like Sir Thomas More, "imposes on advocates a duty of devotion, and when necessary, the duty of martyrdom."

"Do well, and beware," is the melancholy proverb of the profound Spaniards, which Don Diego Savedra Faxardo ascribes, in his Christian Prince, to the experience of mankind, and also to the remembrance of that divine charge of our Saviour, when he told his disciples to go forth to the work of love, with the simplicity of the dove, and added "Cavete autem ab hominibus." It would be long to tell of those who verified the truth of this caveat in themselves. The fate of the great Boëthius was a familiar theme during the middle ages. The sudden change in his fortune arose from his condemning the excessive taxes imposed on the people by Theodoric, who in his old age gave his confidence to two avaricious and perfidious Goths. He undertook to convey to the foot of the throne the tears and groans of the provinces, and his discourse was regarded by the king as an act of rebellion. Banished by a decree of the senate, who were gained over to pronounce it, he was soon after thrown into prison, in the castle of Pavia, along with his father-in-law Symmachus: the latter was beheaded on a groundless prete of high treason. The following year beheld the martyrdom of Boëthius, w

was conveyed to a castle in a desert, half-way between Pavia and Rome, and there barbarously tortured till he expired. "Imperante florenteque nequitia," said this noble sufferer in his prison, "virtus non solum præmiis caret, verum etiam sceleratorum pedibus subjecta calcatur, et in locum facinorum supplicia luit." "Under the dominion of our private interests," says the great chancellor D'Aguessau, "we cannot believe that there are souls so generous as to study the interests of the public: we fear to find in others a greatness which we do not discover in ourselves. Its presence would be a continual reproach that would offend the proud delicacy of our self-love; and convinced that there are only false virtues, we never think of honoring those that are true. Great men are therefore not understood by the common herd; they are either unobserved, or else regarded with fear and displeasure." To how many examples might we have referred in the history of his own country alone! What was it but private malice on account of his virtues, which caused the tragical death of Marigni, the inspector of finances under Louis X.? How many noble stands for justice in the secret cabinets of kings, of which history only by chance drops an intimation! Hear an ancient chronical.

"On the fifth of November this year, the justiciary came to the Emperor Frederic II. bearing seven hundred ounces of gold, as the result of the contribution, but the emperor was very angry at not receiving a greater sum. The justiciary then said, 'My lord, if my ministry doth not please you, seek in future some one else; for the citizens are reduced to poverty.' The emperor grew still more furious, and turning to Taddæus said, 'If it were not for sake of Don John, I would order him to be thrown into the sea."*

Guided by a contemporary writer, let us visit one of those great men in his prison, where he is suffering persecution on account of the justice of his administration. "When I arrived," says Paschasius, "I found the Abbot Wala in the prison cell, where nothing could have access but what was angelic, for such was the divine judgment. After mingling sweet with bitter words, I wished to persuade him to admit that he had exceeded a little, in order that he might appease the emperor, by admitting that he had gone too far; for Cæsar had intimated that he would restore him to his favor, if he would only admit himself in the wrong: but he replied to me, 'I am surprised that you should doubt my conscience, since I am conscious to myself of nothing more than what you know. You ought, therefore, rather to encourage me to contend for justice, than endeavor to persuade me to assent to any thing contrary to truth. Do you not fear the judgments of God? What if I should falsely accuse myself of any thing, and for the sake of any favor or honor, either through fear or hope, were to depart from truth, and bear false witness against myself, might I not fall in to the hands of God, and by his just judgment be condemned out of my own mouth? and thus, through fear

* Matth. Spinelli Ephemerides Neapolitanæ ab an. 1247 ad an. 1286. ap. Mur. Rer. It. tom. vii.

of increasing the light afflictions that are for a time, I might, by an ineffable dispensation of his judgment, suffer the penalty of eternal death. Therefore, my brother let us stand in the way of truth on which we have entered, and let us have hope, because these things further us to everlasting life, which is Christ.' Having heard these words, I was silent and confused. It was plain that there was in him no conscience, excepting according to God and for God, respecting the emperor and his sons, his country and the churches, the nobility and the people; that he sought not his own in any thing, but only what was Christ's. It was plain that he was of the blessed, who suffer persecution for the sake of justice, for he endeavored to save both the emperor and his country; he drove all abominations from the palace of the sacred empire; he put adultery to flight; he condemned sortilege; he restored what was honest; he gave back a father to his sons, and sons to their father; he did not permit the monarchy to fall into parts; he forbad oaths to be violated: he wished to preserve what was good, and to remove the evil, that all might lead a safe and tranquil life according to God, to the honor and glory of the Christian religion. It is said by some, that he ought not to have taken thought about these things, which did not suit the employment of a monk, but no monk was ever greater or holier than John, who was beheaded for such things; no one more accepted than Elias; no one more religious than the other saints and prophets, who manfully withstood kings, and contended for justice unto death: for on account of such zeal was Zacharias slain, and Isaias sawed asunder, and Jeremiah immersed in the waters, and so was it also right that he should expose himself to pain, if not by resisting with arms, at least by exhortation, and counsel, and entreaties."

On a certain day, when the magnats and counsellors were at secret deliberation respecting the division of the empire, not regarding the prerogative of parents, or the co-equalities of the great, or the interests of the faithful, or, what is more, the dignity of the churches, or the reverence of God from the heart, the Abbot Wala suddenly appeared among them; and they, confused, because condemned by their own consciences, proposed to him the lots of distribution, and asked if there were any thing that displeased him. Then he, as sagacious in reply, made answer, "All things are well disposed by you, excepting that you have left nothing to God of his right, and have not ordained what is pleasing to the virtuous."*

Doubtless too were reckoned among those who suffered on account of justice, some whom civil or domestic troubles sent into banishment, to learn " how bitter is the stranger's bread, how hard it is to mount and to descend another's stairs.†

Those sorrows and humiliations so keenly felt by Dante, when, for having wished to render service to his country, he was misinterpreted by his fellow-citizens, unjustly accused of an ignoble crime, deprived of his writings, and persecuted for having composed them, cast forth in poverty from the cherished bosom of that beauteous

* Ap. Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Ben.

† Par. xvii.

Florence in which he had been born and nourished, and where he desired so ardently to terminate his days. "It is certain," says his commentator Balbo, "that in heaven He, who from the beginning of the world has imposed labor upon man, and willed that each should cultivate his talent, will grant a more especial mercy to those who support the burden of the day, to obey his divine commands, and render service of any description to their country." Among those Guelfs so often driven from their homes with cruelty, as were the poet's ancestors, what solemn examples do we find of high virtue! Italy, which furnishes so complete a history of the woe of baishment, presenting a series of examples of magnanimity in suffering a punishment which, above all, for its children, who knew what it was to be excluded from its charms, was felt more cruel than death,* might supply us without abundant proof that exile, while it gave occasion to some, as the noble Malaspinas, to exercise a generous and an immortal pity, enable others to gain their true country, and to secure the faultless peace. There might again have been another class of sufferers within this order, to whom, in consideration of their calamities, religion would have offered her palm; for had those illustrious philosophers, whom later ages qualify as the martyrs of science, suffered persecution with the requisite dispositions, purely on account of their physical discoveries, and of their announcing them to the world, there is no doubt that the Catholic Church would have sanctioned their admission into this category; but men like Galileo, whom her pontiffs, princes, cardinals, and prelates honored, who received from the states which she directed such proofs of large munificence; who however evinced recklessness, arrogance, and ingratitude, insisting in a tone of defiance on modes of interpreting the Scriptures, from which Protestants, as Tycho Brahe, as well as Catholics, then shrunk; unlike Newton, who preferred peace to any shadow of greatness, panting for a struggle with those who sought not to oppose them on account of their discoveries; who, in their writings adopted the tone of enemies and satirists; who, like Kepler, admit that they were "troublesome and choleric in politics," and who notwithstanding, as Remus assured the latter, "had no ground for alarm either in Italy or Austria, if they kept themselves within bounds, and put a guard upon their own passions," can hardly be said to have fulfilled the conditions that were necessary to entitle them to a place in this blessed circle. In ages when every claim to martyrdom in a religious sense was investigated with such rigor, men could not expect to be regarded as martyrs of science, unless analogous dispositions existed in them also; and, indeed, the justice of requiring them, in respect to this latter, is admitted by the illustrious philosopher who has lately treated on their history, while acknowledging that religion, guided by the Roman pontiffs, was not jealous of philosophy, and that the Church of Rome was willing to respect and foster even the genius of its enemies. Had Galileo meekly announced his discoveries as the deductions of reason or the convictions of conscience,

* Artaud de Montor, Hist. de Dante.

they would not have provoked hostility, and his system of the world might have stood in the library of the Vatican beside the cherished volume of Copernicus.* Whoever by superior merit alone incurred sufferings from the malignity of rivals, or even from the severity of a zeal to guard against dangers, which was more rigorous than enlightened, might have enjoyed the consoling assurance that of the truths of science which he defended, he was the martyr, deriving from his endurance of persecution not alone a claim to the sympathy of philosophers, but also a title to the especial benediction of God in the judgment of the Church, and of all who were directed by her wisdom.

But it was not alone the heroic fortitude of great men in resisting injustice, which in the judgment of the middle ages conferred a title to the beatitude of those who suffer persecution within the natural order. If our ancestors were inexorable in excluding all from that blessed number who were deficient either in regard to the justice of their cause or to the spirit with which they received sufferings, they evinced a disposition to extend prodigiously the limits with which occasions could be found of reaping these immortal fruits; in so much that to men of good will opportunity for gaining them, according to their view of human life, could hardly ever be wanting; that, as in the gymnastic combats, to use the words of St. Clement of Alexandria, "so in the church there might be crowns both for men and boys; for those that are men in wisdom and fortitude, and for those that are children in faith and love."† Indeed, the word persecution, from attending to the analogous disposition of sufferers, acquired an extension almost indefinite. The vessel on which Joinville was on board being in danger, a priest, the dean of Malrut, advised a procession, adding, that "whenever there was a persecution in his parish, whether by too little or too much rain, or other persecution, three such processions were made, and always with success, God sending them deliverance."‡ St. Louis also, conversing with the seneschal, speaks of tribulations and great maladies as persecutions sent for the good of men.

"It is not our blood that God requires," says St. Cyprian, "but our faith. Neither Abraham, nor Isaac, nor Jacob, were compelled to shed their blood, and yet their faith entitled them to be placed in the rank of the first patriarchs."§ So St. Peter Damien observes: "Si non vales pro Deo mortem subire, vales tamen vitam placabilem Deo ducere: magnum quippe est mori pro Christo, sed non est inferius vivere Christo." Accordingly the life of Catholics, under many ordinary circumstances, was deemed, if not equivalent to martyrdom, at least subject to the persecution which confers a title to beatitude. In the first place, an obscure, humble, patient life for many souls was regarded in this light. "O how easy it is to be a Catholic," observes Fenelon, "on condition that one is to be a philosopher, a master, courageous, great, and eminent in every thing! but to be

* Sir David Brewster—the Martyrs of Science.

† Stromat. Lib. vii. c. 11.

‡ Hist. de S. Louis.

§ On the Necessity of Dying.

a Catholic, and only one of the fanatic poor, as they are called by those who revile the Church, to be weak, mean, and half mad in the estimation of the proud,—that is a prospect which cannot be thought on by some persons without horror."*

"Multi pro Christo optant mori, qui pro Christo nolunt levia verba pati," says St. Bonaventura; "sed quem terret sonitus folii, quomodo sustineret ictum gladii?" "Calumny disturbs the wise man," says the Book of God, "and takes away the strength of his heart."† It involves him in such a battle of thoughts, that the Royal Prophet cried, "O Lord deliver me from the calumnies of men, that I may keep thy commandments."‡ "For it is not easy," adds St. Ambrose, "for him who is oppressed by calumny to observe faithfully the divine commandments: he yields as it were, in spite of himself, to a root of sadness and bitterness, and his soul is a prey to trouble."§

Now here, say the guides of the middle age, is an occasion offered to innumerable persons in the common walks of life, of deriving beatitude from the natural consequences of piety. Again, the sufferings of men from youth to old age, from a severity or a mistaken sense of duty, which refuses to make allowance for the wants of each age and position, were regarded as conveying a similar title. Catholics in ages of faith were taught to look at human life, under all its different circumstances, not with official eyes, not with the exclusive gaze of any particular class, but with a view to its beauty and goodness in the eyes of the Creator; "Qui finxit singillatim corda eorum; qui intelligit omnia opera eorum."‖ Consequently they beheld it as never losing beauty, but as only changing its form of loveliness from childhood through the successive stages of youth and manhood to old age. They were taught to discern the amiable and loving traits of nature, which bespeak the hand of the artist in the child, the boy, the young man, and the old—to admire the virtues and graces which spring out of the relations between different degrees and the condition of sex—the joy derived from self-devotion and the endurance of pain—the generous heroic sentiments which, from their connection with the body, can prove that there are still traces left of the original innocence in which it was created.

The philosophy of the middle ages would never have sanctioned the shallow thought of Pope, that "every year of a wise man's life is but a censure or critique on the past; that those whose date is the shortest live long enough to laugh at one half of it; that the boy despises the infant, the man the boy, the philosopher both, and the Christian all."¶ Strange philosophers and strange Christians would such men have been considered. Fathers were not then like those of whom Clitipho complains:

"Quam iniqui sunt patres in omnis adolescentis judices!
Qui æquom esse censent nos jam a pueris illico nasci senes."**

* Entretiens. † Eccles. vii. ‡ Ps. cxxiii. § In Ps. cxviii.
‖ Ps. xxxii. ¶ Letter to the Bishop of Rochester. ** Heautont.

The paternal maxim and that of masters differed not from the advice of Juvenal:

"Indulge veniam pueris."*

Leave to play was justice, and to deny it to a poor apprentice or a rude ship-boy persecution. Mothers and mistresses of a family too were kind; for how could they be otherwise who daily invoked her who is called in the Litany "most amiable;" who had ever before them pictures of that most sweet face which expresses all that we can conceive of suavity of disposition, gentleness of nature, and kindliness of manner?

We have seen in the last book that there were not wanting examples similar to that of Anaxagoras, who, as Laertius relates, being asked by the chief persons of Lampsacus whether he had not some desire which they might gratify, ordered them to give a play-day every year, on the anniversary of his death, to all young people.

In amusements pursued by the children of a town, against which, in our days, recurrence would be had to the police, in the middle ages the noblest and wisest men would deign to take a part. Juniperus, of whom St. Francis said playfully that "he wished to have a forest of such men," was found on one occasion without the gates of Rome, playing amidst a group of children, and seated on one end of a beam thrown across a wall, with a boy riding on the other, causing it to rise and sink alternately. It was not therefore so much that "each age had its manner of viewing things," but that each could appreciate or make allowance for the manner of the other; and as painters love to watch the play of light and shade upon the cheek, and all the gracious harmonies of color and of form in each human figure as they pass it by, so men who had drunk deep of Catholic philosophy were pleased to trace the changing beauties of the moral world in the thousand innocent deeds, and words, and songs of all around them, whether denoting gladness, laughter, pity, or amaze. That wisdom, be it remembered, did not desire to oppress matter which God has made, or forget the importance of reality. As it made an immense concession to the action of time by its principle of prescription, which ended in the consecration of all accomplished facts, so in the moral government of individuals it entered into the situation of each, proportioned its injunctions to his force, to his place and circumstance, and appreciated at its real value the contingent element. It did not withdraw men from the present scene so as to make them impassible. It had observed in the gospel our Lord receiving the children, participating in the marriage feast, and weeping over Lazarus: the flesh, which, indeed, was to be submitted to a wise discipline, was one day to be glorified; and, therefore, even at present, its just dignity was to be maintained in accordance with that which poetry, which is truth, prescribes. Matter, therefore, was only recalled to its primitive type, not persecuted as evil in itself essentially.

* Sat. viii.

Justice, which, as Albertus Magnus says, "is not a part but the whole of virtue,"* was known to be conformity with the will of God: therefore whoever opposed his will, in regard to the happiness of his creatures, though it was only by fretting unnecessarily a boy, was deemed a true persecutor; and enduring his severity it taught that there might be the beatitude of suffering for the sake of justice. All opposition of humility, according to this view of it, was deemed a persecution for justice; it was a persecution of the child, of the boy, of the youth, of the man, and of the aged. Above all, indifference to the wants of the poor was deemed besides, in a peculiar manner, a persecution of our Lord in person, as is expressed in the Benedictine lines:

"Viatores extra fores?
Christo claudis ostia:
Accedenti da gementi
Charitatis viscera."

Catholicism execrated the principles that would deprive the poor of the pleasures and refinements of existence fitting for youth, maturity, and age, in order to swell the receipts or widen the barrier desired by the grasping tribe of rich proprietors.

Those insulting distinctions, now so prevalent, founded on the repugnance of the rich to come in contact with the poor, even in the house of God, would have been regarded as a persecution in ages when leprosy itself wore a sacred character, so that the greatest personages sought to minister with their own hands to its afflicted victims; and in the same light would have been viewed all systems of relief which excluded indications of love and tenderness. The spirit of the ages of faith in this respect breaks forth in a charming manner in the remarks of Albertus Magnus upon a passage in the first chapter of Job, where he says, "By this text are confounded those who say that delicacies should not be given to the poor; for, though delicacies should not be continually given to them, lest they should be accustomed to them, yet it is cruel to say that delicacies should never be given to them, because wholly without delights human nature cannot live."† Therefore, alluding to the poorest hovel, was often heard in castles of the great, the gracious words of blessed Mary, "they have no wine;" for, in these castles, as in the convents of poor Clares might be found many who merited the title which Alexander IV. conferred upon their blessed founder, "The princess of the poor, and the duchess of the humble."

To this persecution then in general conduced false doctrines of religion like those of Manes and Calvin, the latter teaching that children guilty before the

* Lib. Ethic. v. t. i. 4.

† "At hoc loco confunduntur qui dicunt pauperibus non esse danda delicata: quamvis enim non sint eis delicata porrigenda continuo, ne consuescant; tamen crudele est dicere, quod nihil unquam delicati debeat porrigi pauperibus: quia sine deliciis omnimodis non potest vivere natura humana." Albert Mag. in Evang. Luc. c. xiv. tom. x.

age of reason, need be only suspended on a gibbet for a moment, to show that they merit death;* among whose followers in France we read, as at the present day in Irelend, where "the powder for them is kept dry," "que le tiers estat est estimé comme la fange des rues, le fumier des estables, et la poudre de leurs souliers," that the people were styled as they are still by those who follow that banner, "la folle populace, le vulgaire ignorant."† To this persecution too conduced false notions of domestic rule ever breaking out in complaint and anger, false views of education, a mere sternness of nature and acerbity of temper, combining to enforce the maxim that no good can be done without stripes and bruises; false principles of administration of government, leading to the harsh enforcement of unjust laws, contrary to the charters desired by the Church and collected by Burchard, requiring "ut una eademque lex diviti et pauperi ante oculos præntata esset communis," as that great bishop says—false views of social amelioration, and false views of political economy, like those of later times,—advocated by the well-fed philosophers, "whose meat and drink turn to gall within them," worthy of that German leader, who exclaimed, "For the peasants, straw, and if they murmur, a halter or a bullet:"‡ so that there might be those who suffered persecution for justice, as men from the doctrines taught around them, as children, servants, and apprentices from parents and masters, as scholars from their teachers, as subjects from their rulers, as the poor from the higher classes, and as artisans in manufactures from the slavery attached to the system of commercial feudality, according to which the master whose blood is ice, and whose heart is iron, says in the tone of Louis XIV., "le but de l'orde socialec'est moi." One need only open those collections of Burchard to see how paternal and benign was the tone adopted towards that rural society, which formed the family round each monastery, in which serfs were as eligible as freemen, though the civil laws of states often impeded their admission, and how every departure from it was regarded by the Church and by many holy proprietors of the middle age as a real persecution. How interesting to observe the Father of the scholastic philosophy exalting the dignity of the rural life, and preferring the rustic to the philosopher!

"Rusticus es; justus esto: beatus eris.
Philosophus Varro, Petrus Piscator; et ecce
Philosophus cinis est; nomen inane manet."§

"Religion," says Guizot, "spoke to the majority; she never forgot the people, she always knew how to arrive at them." Alluding to the Catholic religion he might well say so. To oppress them was to persecute her. That youth, in receiving severe treatment, without regard to its weakness, suffered persecution in reality for the sake of justice, is expressly taught by St. Anselm, and by innum-

*Audin, Hist. de Calvin, ii. 123.
† 2e Abvertissement des Catholiques Anglois aux François Cath. 122.
‡ Audin, Hist. de Luther. § Carmen be contemptu mudi.

erable great ornaments of the school. "The old monk who had treated Achatus with harshness, and who, on the death of that young man, obtained leave to build a cell near his tomb, spent there the remainder of his days in penitence, saying always, I have committed homicide."*

The maxims of the great St. Anthony indicate the same views—for thus he says, "Fili mi, nulla major est impietas, quam mœrorem cuipiam inferre. Fili mi, omnes homines fac tibi amicos, sed non consilarios. Do not lend your ears to hear evil, but be a lover of men and live. Pythagoras taught boys never to insult any one, and when reviled to make no reply."

This was much; but the Catholic philosophy in ages of faith, taught servants and all persons either from age or station, under authority, that to endure harsh treatment with patience was equivalent to martyrdom.

An old Catholic poet represents the master conscious too that he has no right even to involve his servant in the painful consequences of his own peculiar temper, as where Sebastiano speaks as follows to a boy who seeks to be his page:

> "'Tis no advantage to belong to me.
> Besides, I shall afflict thy tenderness
> With solitude and passion: for I am
> Only in love with sorrow, never merry,
> Wear out the day in telling of sad tales;
> Delight in sighs and tears; sometimes I walk
> To a wood or river, purposely to challenge
> The boldest echo to send back my groans
> I' the height I break them. Come, I shall undo thee."‡

We have seen el-ewhere, that servants in ages of faith were generally kept in good order, as those of Sir Thomas More, by the mere force of kindness and sweetness of temper, rendering all as cheerful as if mirth were their employment, by persuading rather than commanding, by being familiar instead of being haughty, by treating them as members of the house, so as even to have them represented in pictures amidst the family group, as in that which Holbein has immortalized by his painting of Sir Thomas More's family, in which the servant, Harris, stands along with the son of the chancellor. But there were, of course, exceptions to this usage, and it is to these cases that we here allude.

St. Zita, a poor maiden of Italy, in the thirteenth century, is commemorated as suffering persecution with the spirit of a confessor, from the hardship and injustice of the master and mistress in whose family at Lucca she was a servant. Her fellow-servants ridiculed her as wanting spirit and sense. Her mistress was prepossessed against her; and her passionate master could not bear her in his sight without transports of rage. Thus, for several years unjustly despised, overburdened, reviled, and often beaten, the pious servant yet never repined, nor lost her patience, nor abated any thing of her application to her duties, till at length the

† S. Joan. Clim. iv. † Jamblich. de Pyth. Vita, 10. ‡ Shirley.

lustre of her virtues began to be perceived, and from that time the remainder of her life was passed in uninterrupted peace and honor, being entrusted with authority over all the other servants.

St. Nothburge, the daughter of a laborer of Rothenbourg in the Tyrol, at the age of eighteen was placed as kitchen-maid in the castle of Rothenbourg. On the death of the seigneur's mother his avaricious wife persecuted and dismissed her from the service on a charge of waste; and though her innocence was recognized and she resumed her place, yet, in consideration of her gentleness under suffering, joined with the graces of sanctity, after her death in 1313, she was chosen by the Tyrolese as one of their patrons, and a magnificent church was dedicated under her invocation.

Similarly in all domestic relations, the endurance of severity was deemed equivalent to persecution for justice, of which the popular history of Griselda furnished an example at which all had often wept. St. Godeliebe was the same sufferer in real life, whose long persecutions by her husband Berton, described by his contemporary, Drogon, a monk of Ghistel, were terminated in 1070, when she was strangled during the night by two assassins, whom he had hired for the purpose. Galeswinthe, the wife of Chilperick, a beautiful and pious princess, whose fate was similar, furnished legends to men of the sixth century, of a profound tenderness, which supplied the same consolation.

St. Sabas, when young, having to suffer from the wife of his uncle Hermias, from whose severity, in fine, after three years he had to escape by flight, was regarded as another of those whom persecution rendered blessed. St. Peter Damian, on the death of his father and mother, was likewise deemed entitled to beatitude, in consequence of the treatment he received from his brother, who employed him as a slave in tending the swine. This sort of persecution St. Monica would have had to suffer from the choleric and hasty temper of her husband Patricius, if it had not been for her unconquerable gentleness and discretion. In like manner, the empress Theodora, who defended holy images, and had the glory of exterminating the Iconoclastic heresy, reaped beatitude from the sufferings she endured from the brutal character of her husband, the Emperor Theophilus. Another source of suffering to those who reaped eternal joy, consisted in the unfeeling haughty manners of the great, who, as we have before observed, were in consequence so little thought of, maugre their dust and heraldry. In heathen times loud and bitter were the complaints. Thus the nurse in the Medea exclaims:

> δεινα τυράννων λήματα, καὶ τῶς
> ολίγ' ἀρχόμενοι, πολλὰ κρατοῦντες,
> χαλεπως ὀργας μεταβάλλουσιν·

and hence she thinks it best to consort always with one's equals:

> τὸ δ' ἂρ' εἰθίσθαι ζῆν ἐπ' ἴσοισιν
> κοεῖσσον· ἐμοίγ' οὖν, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως
> Ὀχνρῶς γ' ειη καταγηράσκειν (119).

That in the rich there is always a strong tendency to return to this ancient type, sad proof is seldom wanting. A venerable French priest, whose body rests within ten miles of the schools where I first studied, told me that he had passed the first years of his emigration in the family of a certain English Catholic, who constrained him, he used to say cheerfully, to do penance for his many sins. But it was no uncommon desire to court the circumstances which exposed men to persecution of this kind. Memorable instance was seen in the choice of St. John of the cross, at his death; for it being necessary to remove him in his last sickness from the monastery of Pegnuela in the desert, to either of the two convents of Baece or Ubede, the choice being left to him, he refused to go to Baece, where the superior was his especial friend, and where he was respected as the founder, preferring to be conveyed to Ubede, of which new and ill-provided convent the prior was his enemy, and connected with those who had persecuted him.*

It remains to develop the proposition, that the endurance of tyranny or the action of unjust and cruel laws was regarded as conveying a similar title. In Merovingian times the cruelties and sacrileges committed by the armies of the sons of Clothaire were compared by the contemporary writers to the persecution of Diocletian, though the tears of the Church arose chiefly from the spectacle of horrors unconnected with the defense of faith."† "Persecution for justice," says Albertus Magnus, "is suffered by those who are unjustly judged against the laws and justice of the kingdom—when they fall under the iniquitous power of tyrants, and are spoiled of their goods through the avarice of those reigning in the kingdom of the world. Of these is the kingdom of heaven, as of the blessed poor, and there is one reward for both."‡ Such were the Christians who suffered from the fiscal exactions of the Roman empire.

These, indeed, dated from earlier times; many provinces of the Roman empire paid a fifth of the pasture, and a tenth of the cultivated land. Antony and Cæsar required, in one year, the tribute of nine and ten years. When Julius Cæsar was slain, and arms taken up for liberty, each citizen was compelled to pay the twenty-fifth of all his goods, and all the senatorian order had to pay six asses for each tile on the roof of their houses. But, above all, the exactions in the Roman colonies, were terrible. The miserable inhabitants in a single day used to be spoiled of all their property. But let us hear Lactantius respecting the persecution in Gaul, by the Emperior Maximianus.

"That was a common grief and public calamity, when the census was made in cities and provinces, the censors being sent in all directions, whence hostile tumults and horrible kinds of captivity. The lands were measured by glebe, the vines and trees were numbered, animals of all kinds inscribed, the heads of men noted: the citizens and rustics were assembled promiscuously in the cities, and all the forums filled with servants; every one being present with his children and servants:

*Dosithée, Liv. viii. † St. Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. iv. ‡ Albert. Mag. in Matt. v. tom. ix.

torture and stripes were inflicted, sons being examined against their fathers, servants against their masters, wives against their husbands. No excuse for age or sickness. The aged and sick were carried forth: the ages of all were written down; years were added to little ones, and taken from the old; all places were full of grief and sadness. What the ancient conquerors inflicted on the vanquished by law of war, this was now done by Romans against Roman subjects: yet faith was not placed in the same censors, but others were sent after others, as if more could yet be found. Meanwhile the animals diminish, and men died; and then tribute was required for the dead; so that no one could even die gratis. Beggars alone remained, and the impious man had pity on their misery; so he ordered them to be assembled and exported in ships and then thrown into the sea."*

For several ages the Christian society of the Roman world was exposed to persecutions of this legal order, against which holy men continually protested, as when the abbot Sabas, being offered revenues by the emperor for his monasteries, declined the gift, but asked him to exempt the people of Palestine from taxes for a certain time. The conscription may be cited as another instance. St. Martin, at the age of fifteen, was compelled in consequence, by imperial orders, to take the military oath and enter the army. The church had a long and difficult task to fulfil, in her endeavors to infuse greater mildness into the spirit of governments which was so inclined always to relapse to its original pagan severity. Even so late as the age of Dante, her struggle continued. The Ghibeline views of the duty of subjects, as when the Emperor Albert required nothing but courage from the soldier, labor from the peasant, and servile submission from the wife, was denounced by her, and by the philosophers of the middle age, as the result of a proud and false opinion, practically at variance with faith, but no doubt capable of conducing to the eternal happiness of those who suffered from them; for, in short, all sorrows arising from a violation of natural equity, were considered as constituting one of the great powers of this world, commissioned to instruct and raise to beatitude the human race.

* Lactantii liber de Mortibus Persecutorum, c. 23.

CHAPTER III.

"UNCERTAIN path of life," cries Camoens; "in our hopes how little security! in our joy what short duration! where can weak man find shelter? where in this short life peace?"*

Leaving now this ground of suffering within the natural order, let us advance to the immediate domain of Christian history; for which purpose we must resume our researches into the deepest foundations of the Catholic mind with respect to persecution on account of justice, and observe how profound was the conviction of its necessity in the present state of the Church militant upon earth. Here again, in accordance with the custom of the schools during ages of faith, to which we have always endeavored to adhere, we must call to witness the philosophy of the ancient world, and remark its coincidence with the true wisdom taught in the middle ages, which proceeded immediately from God.

"Why are the supporters of error prosperous, and the followers of truth in adversity?" is a question proposed by the Chæronean sage; to which he replies, "Consider how difficult it is to understand even the laws and institutions of human legislators, and then you will cease to wonder why we should not be able to comprehend the decrees of heaven; why God punishes some men immediately, and others not till a long time after."† The Catholic philosophy condescended to sympathize with those who felt the difficulty, but left them not with strange surmisings and anxious doubts, in ignorance of the true solution. "Nimis profundæ factæ sunt cogitationes tuæ, Domine," truly adds St. Augustin; "there is no sea so deep as that thought of God, that the evil should prosper, and the good suffer. Nothing so profound as that: every infidel makes shipwreck in that depth, in that abyss. Do you wish to pass it in safety? Hold to the wood of the cross of Christ. He wished to suffer; wish then to suffer with him. Be patient as he is patient. Join your heart to the eternity of God, and with him you will be eternal. Wait then patiently with him, who waits because he is eternal."‡ "If your heart be in heaven, all the iniquities which are on earth, all the felicity of evil men, all the sufferings of the just, meditating on the law of

* Lusiad, i. 105. † De sera Numinis Vindicta. ‡ In Ps. xci.

God day and night, are as nothing, and you will patiently endure all."*

"It is a stupendous wonder," says Richard of St. Victor, "how God should constantly behold the evils of man, which he so greatly detests. For cannot the omnipotence of God prevent so many and such great evils, of which omnipotent wisdom cannot be ignorant, which omnipotent goodness can never love? To add to this subject of astonishment, he gives temporal good to the wicked, by means of which he seems to multiply their wickedness: for by temporal goods the wicked are rendered still more evil and separate from God. Cannot the penetration of divine knowledge discern that the evil will abuse his gifts? See then in what perplexity is the solution of this maze involved."†

The same astonishment is expressed by later theologians. "The moral order is perverted," says Veith; "justice is despised, innocence oppressed: and yet the physical world proceeds on its course. How mysterious is the omnipotence of God, which, acting secretly through the creation, gives to all things their essence and being! But more mysterious far is the seeming absence of God from that horizon, within which men move. God was essentially, yea personally present in Jesus Christ; and behold! during the awful night of his sacred passion in the house of Caiphas, all that cruelty and rage could devise was inflicted upon him."‡

Richard of St. Victor proceeds to solve the difficulty by showing to what important purposes in the œconomy of Providence, the persecution of just men conduces. "I beseech you," he says, "mark and admire in what manner the love of God fails in the wicked when they receive benefits, and how in the good, divine love is increased by a scourge. Doubtless, the love of God prevailed more in Laurence from the fire, than in Nero from empire; or rather in Laurence it was nourished by flames, while in Nero it perished by the gift of imperial power. What is more wondrous still, the flame of love in the martyr prevailed more in that bitter pain, than it would have done in any temporal glory. What counsel and admirable artifice is here! You see how that chief artificer shows the skill of his art, who, in his elect, produces and nourishes contrary from contrary things."§

St. Augustin had proposed the same solution. The prophecy was to Rebecca, "Duæ gentes sunt in utero tuo, et major serviet minori." The holy doctor observing that the elder did not serve the younger, but sought to kill him, proceeds to ask this question: How then did he serve him? to which he replied, "He served him not by obeying, but by persecuting him; for the younger would never have become what he did, if he had not been persecuted."‖ "Behold," he exclaims elsewhere, "the profane enemy could never have bestowed such benefit upon the blessed innocents by his favor, as he conferred on them by his hate."¶

Yes, "all that misery of the human race in which the world groans, is a medi-

* In. Ps. xciii. † De Contemplatione, I. Lib. ii. c. 23. ‡ Words of the Enemies
§ Ibid. I. ii. 29 ‖ Serm. x. 78. ¶ Serm. x.

cinal and not a penal woe;" as St. Augustin says; "every where we find grief, and fear, and necessity, and labor: but for the evil only are they evil; for the just it is a darkness which they can lighten, it is a night which shines as the day; it is a night which is delightful; for their delight is Christ; and their triumph is that he should be preached."*

Let us refer to the series of all ages; "from the beginning," says John of Salisbury, in a letter to St. Thomas the martyr, "where do we find an example of one of the elect having passed from delights to delights? of one having here flourished and exulted with the world, who now in the abundance of fruits rejoices and reigns with Christ?"† "Let us consider the process in the visible wine press," says St. Augustin, "that we may understand what takes place spiritually in the Church. The grapes hang on the vines, and the olives on the trees, and for these the presses are prepared; and before the pressure, as long as they hang thus enjoying the free air, neither can the former become wine, nor the latter oil; so it is with the men whom God has predestined to be made comformable to the image of his only begotten Son, who in his passion was above all pressed out. Men of this kind, before they approach to the service of God, enjoy in this world a delicious liberty, like the grapes and olives growing; but coming to serve God in justice, they know that they must pass to the wine-press, that they may suffer together tribulation, that they may be bruised, that they may be compressed, that they may no longer appear in the world, but that they may flow into the treasury of God. So the work of conversion is the pressure; and therefore the Church is styled a wine-press in the Psalm. We are subjected to the pressure, in order that by torments and tribulation, our love for worldly, secular, temporal, flowing, and perishable things, may pass into a desire after that rest which is not of this life, nor of this earth, but which the Lord has prepared for his poor. Thus we flow into wine and oil, which are good desires; for there remains after the pressure not the love of earth, but the love of Him who made heaven and earth; the desire not of this thing or that, but of that immense good which God will hereafter give us, the gift of himself who made all things."‡

"Man cannot be happy," says Cardan, "without calamity, nor enjoy pleasure without bitterness."§ "Omnis ingentis spiritus proprium est," he says again, "ibi parare mortem, aut carcerem, aut exilium."‖ The ancient philosophers had all made the same observations. "Marcet sine adversario virtus," said Seneca, and he even regarded persecution as adding to the beauty of the spectacle of the world. "Ego vero," he says, "non miror, si quando impetum capiunt dii, spectandi magnos viros colluctantes cum aliqua calamitate. Nobis interdum voluptati est, si adolescens constantis animi irruentem feram venabulo excepit, si leonis incursum interritus pertulit: tantoque spectaculum est gratius, quanto id hon-

* In Ps. cxxxviii. † Joan. Saresb. Epist. xxxiii. ‡ In Ps. lxxxiii.
§ Cardan de Consolatione, Lib. i. ‖ Id. Lib. iii.

estior fuit. Non sunt ista, quæ possunt deorum in se vultum convertere, sed pueritia et humanæ oblectamenta levitatis: Ecce spectaculum dignum, ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo Deus: ecce par Deo dignum, vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus, utique si et provocavi. Non video, inquam, quid habeat in terris Jupiter pulchrius, si convertere animum velit, quam ut spectet Catonem, jam partibus non semel fractis, stantem nithilominus inter ruinas publicas rectum."*

The voice of religion in ages of faith repeated therefore the saying of that old philosophy, "Militandum est: et quidem genere militiæ, quo nunquam quies, nunquam otium datur." Fenelon remarks the necessity of instructing the young as to the meaning of certain ceremonies of the Church, which are to indicate that life is a state of warfare with the world.

They are struck, he observes, by the bishop in confirmation, to harden them against persecution; they are anointed with oil, after the practice of the ancients, who thus prepared their limbs before going to battle. The bishop makes the sign of the cross upon them, to intimate that they should be crucified with Jesus Christ. "We are no longer," he adds, "you will say, in the times of persecution, when those who refused to renounce the Gospel were put to death; but the world, which can never cease to be the world, that is to say, corrupted, always carries on an indirect persecution against piety: it lays snares for it; it decries it; it derides it, and it renders the practice of it so difficult in most conditions, that even in the midst of Christian nations, and where the sovereign authority supports Christianity, men are in danger of blushing at the name of Jesus Christ, and at the imitation of his life.† In all this there is a continuation of the old experience, as attested by the traditions and philosophic teaching of the ancient world; though, as we shall see later, there was something more, inasmuch as the cause for persecution was enhanced by the greater manifestation and more immediate presence of justice consequent upon the diffusion of the light of Christ. Do you refuse to believe me, deceived by the sophists, who intimate that divine religion is in fault, as being a law that deserves the character ascribed to it by Julian, who said that it contained πολὺ τὸ ἄγριον καὶ βάρβαρον, or inclined to believe with the pagans of old, that the sufferings of Christians prove their religion to be false, against which argument wrote St. Cyprian,‡ Salvian,§ and St. Augustin ?‖ Shall I continue to call antiquity from the old schools of Greece to testify this fact? Then hear their evidence. "An hoc non ita fit omni in populo?" asks Cicero. "Nonne omnem exsuperantiam virtutis oderunt? Quid? Aristides, nonne ob eam causam expulsus est patria quod præter modum justus esset?"¶ "Dies deficiat si velim numerare quibus bonis male evenerit; nec minus, si commemorem quibus improbis optime. Quid dicam de Socrate? cujus morti illacrymari soleo Plat[illegible]

* De Providentia. † De l'Education des Filles. ‡ Contra Deos
§ Contra Gentes. ‖ De Civ. Dei. ¶ Tuscul.

legens." * The force of these passages is not diminished by their being so familiar to most ears. It is sufficiently clear from them, that thinking and conscientious men ought to have been prepared for the reception which the Christian religion met with from the world, and as elsewhere has been shown, that so far from that reception constituting a ground of objection to the truth of revelation, it was an additional proof that it was from God. But we are arrived on the ground at which the immediate domain of this history commences, and over these first memorable scenes we must pass hastily. Their character in relation to all former tragedies is expressed by St. Augustin in few words, where he says, "Nascente Domino luctus cœpit, non cœlo, sed mundo."†

In fact, persecution for justice may be said to have only commenced when the first adorers of the Infant Jesus had to return to their country secretly by a different road, lest they should incur death for worshipping him. The first general persecution, in which Peter and Paul suffered, when it was forbidden by an edict to be a Christian, broke out in the reign of Nero. The Roman martyrology, on the 24th of June, makes a general mention of all the martyrs whose torments are described by Seneca and Tacitus, styling them the disciples of the Apostles, and the first-fruits of the innumerable martyrs with which Rome, so fruitful in that divine seed, peopled heaven. Such are the wonderful ways by which the Spirit of God established the Church throughout the world. Our omnipotent Lord laid the foundation in labors and sorrows, and cemented it with his blood; and, as He declared, the servant was not to be treated better than his master. In labors and sorrows, sufferings and death, was the grand building to be erected and perfected; and so we witness it proceeding in every age even to the present day.

The second persecution, in which St. John was exiled to Patmos, was by Domitian; the third was in the reign of Trajan, the fourth in that of Adrian; after which, under Antoninus Pius, the church had peace. The fifth broke out in the year 168, in the reign of his son Aurelius; during which, for the first time, Gaul saw martyrs. Then it was that the Christian citizens and faithful of Lyons wrote that affecting epistle to the churches of the east, which should be imprinted on every Christian's memory. It was then that St. Pothinus suffered. But all should read and hear the original acts of these martyrdoms, which give such an interest to that river Saone, which is said to derive its name Sangona—à sanguine martyrum.‡ The sixth persecution was in the reign of Severus, in which Leonidas, the father of Origen, suffered. Peace then lasted thirty-eight years, till the year 251, when the seventh tempest burst upon the church in the reign of Decius. In the year 258 the eighth began under Valerian. Then after an interval of fifty years, in 303 the ninth and most terrible burst out, under Diocletian and Maximianus. This lasted ten years over the whole world, ceasing only when the em-

* De Deorum, iii. † Serm. i. de Innocent. ‡ Guill. Paradin. Hist. de Lyons, 1. 3.

pire became Christian in Constantine. "The tenth," says Sulpicius Severus "is expected in the time of antichrist, at the end of the world."* Though we cannot dwell on the awful scenes presented during this first period, when they who now possess the palm delivered their bodies to death that they might not serve idols, some allusion to them was indispensable to comprehend the mind of the middle ages, which was trained up and tempered by their memory.

All must have heard that affecting trait in the history of St. Louis, when the knights believed they were about to be decapitated, and the brave Joinville says, "As for me I made the sign of the cross, and knelt down at the feet of one of the executioners, as we thought them, who held a Danish axe, and I said, 'Thus died St. Agnes!'" so present to the recollection of these men was each circumstance of the primitive martyrology; and, indeed, who can pass near these sublime and affecting monuments without casting a look towards them, though he may feel powerless to convey the faintest conception of their solemnity? O Christ, how fresh is the recollection still of thy first witnesses in some places of this earth! Within the catacombs at Rome might have been lately read inscriptions which described in affecting language the misfortunes of the persecution. Mark these lines, for instance: "Alexander mortuus non est, sed vivit super astra, et corpus in hoc tumulo quiescit. Vitam explevit cum Antonio Imp. qui ubi multum beneficii antevenire prævideret pro gratia odium reddit, genua enim flectens, vero Deo sacrificaturus, ad supplicia ducitur. O tempora infausta! quibus inter sacra et vota ne in cavernis quidem salvari possimus. Quid miserius vita, sed quid miserius in morte, cum ab amicis et parentibus sepeliri nequeant, tandem in cœlo coruscant."†

"Daily," says St. Clement of Alexandria, "do we behold many martyrs burned, crucified, and beheaded before our eyes." "It may seem to us improbable," says a pious writer, "that tyrants could be found so devoid of human feeling as to inflict such tortures on their fellow-creatures merely for conscience sake; and it may seem almost impossible that such tortures could be endured by men, and that their resolution could have been so invincible, when a word from their lips would have delivered them: but the acts of the martyrs are here, which were often written by eye-witnesses. Thus those of St. Jonas and companions, in 327, conclude with these words; 'This book was written by Esaias, of the royal troop of horsemen, who was present at their interrogatories and tortures.'"

There is something in the aspect of the very spots which beheld these tragedies, which seems to attest, in language more forcible than words, what they have witnessed, so as to impress the beholder with a profound and mysterious sorrow. I call to witness those who have seen the three churches at the Salvian waters in the Campagna of Rome, where St. Paul was beheaded. Leaving the gate of St. Paul, and passing beyond the Basilica of the Apostle of the nations, after traversing a desert, you descend upon a valley, thickly overgrown with tall reeds, from

* Sacræ Hist. Lib. ii

† P. Aringhi Rom. Subter. 293.

the slopes encircling which you behold three churches standing close together, and no other building in that wilderness. This is the place.

"It has a sad and fatal invitation!
A hermit, that forsakes the world for prayer
And solitude, would be timorous to live here.
There's not a spray for birds to perch upon;
For every tree that overlooks the vale
Carries the mark of lightning, and is blasted.
The day, which smiled as we came forth, and spread
Fair beams about, has taken a deep melancholy
That sits more ominous in her face than night.
All darkness is less horrid than half-light.
Never was such a scene for death presented;
And there's a sullen mountain peeping over
With many reeds, seeming to crowd themselves
Spectators of some tragedy; but the scene has been."*

These themes belong to the immediate ages of this present history, only as having been cherished in the memory of men. I cannot, therefore, attempt to pursue them. Had I, indeed, the pen of a Chateaubriand, I might have desired to tell of earlier days. I might have sung of those who fled to barbarous countries, or to the burning sands of the desert. I might have described the long adieus and tender embraces given in the streets of Rome by those who prepared to suffer for Jesus Christ. We might have seen the venerable confessors, who had survived former persecutions, encouraging the weak or moderating the ardor of the fervent; the women and children; the youths who surrounded the old men, and who spoke of Laurence upon the burning coals, and Vincent of Saragossa in prison, entertained by angels; of Eulalie of Merida, Pelagia of Antioch, of Felicita and Perpetua in the amphitheatre of Carthage; of Theodotus, and the seven virgins of Ancyra. We might have followed the pontiffs concealing the sacred books, and the priests enclosing the viaticum; watched the opening of the most solitary and unknown catacombs, to serve instead of temples; heard the naming of the deacons, who in disguise were to bear assistance to the martyrs in the mines and in the dungeons, where the reconciliations and restitutions were often made; and thus, in fine, have witnessed the Church preparing, without noise, without ostentation, without tumult, to suffer with simplicity; "like the daughter of Jephtha demanding from her father only one moment to weep her sacrifice upon the mountain:" but these are themes too tender and divine, too full of poesy and of delicious grace for my rude pen.

"Alas!" exclaims the author of the Martyrs, in an eloquent passage which might almost be taken for an allusion to days not far removed from our own: "men inhabit the same earth, but how they differ from one another! Could one suppose that these were brethren and citizens of the same city, one part of

* Shirley.

whom pass their days in joy and the other in tears? How affecting was it, in the delirium of pagan Rome to see the Christians humbly offering to God their prayers, deploring their criminal excesses, and giving all the examples of modesty and reason in the midst of debauchery and drunkenness! Some secret altar in dungeons, in the depth of the catacombs, upon the tombs of the martyrs, drew round them the persecuted faithful. They fasted, they watched, voluntary victims, as if compensating for a world of crime; and while the names of Flora and Bacchus resounded in execrable hymns, amidst blood and wine, the names of Jesus Christ and Mary were secretly repeated in chaste canticles in the midst of tears."*

On the second period of Christian history, from the end of the conflict with paganism to the sixth general council, or to the end of the persecutions by those who attacked the doctrine of the Incarnation, that is till the year 680, the immediate object of the present history will not require us to dwell. Peace had been no sooner given to the church than the Arian heresy broke out, which caused long and cruel persecutions of bishops, priests, and laymen, who suffered in prodigious numbers for the sake of this highest justice, which consists in the defense of truth.

Here again, of the stupendous wonders presented in the moral world, religion furnished men in ages of faith with a satisfactory solution. "If any one," says St. Chrysostom, "be now indignant that there should be heretics, let him consider that there have been always, by means of the devil, from the first, enemies to the truth. In the beginning God promised good to the first man, and the devil came promising the same good. God planted a paradise; the devil also promised, saying, 'You shall be as God': then came Cain and Abel, sons of God and sons of men; Abraham and Pharaoh, Moses and the magi, prophets and false prophets, apostles and false prophets, Christ and Antichrist."† Reason herself, guided by sad experience, can enable us to untie the knot, for, as the materialist Helvetius says, "If there could exist a man who might imagine it to be his interest that two and two should make five, no one would ever persuade him that two and two make four." Hence, as St. Clement of Alexandria says, while "it is clear that there is one true ancient Catholic church, as there is one God and one Lord, having nothing equal or like to itself, heresies are multiplied; some called from the names of men, as Velentinian, Marcion, and Basileidus; others from those of places as the Peraticæ; others from those of nations, as the Phrygians; others from the peculiarity of their doctrines, as the Docetæ and the Aimatitons;—causing so many sects that the Greeks and Jews objected and refused to believe on account of their number, not observing that they never refused to become Jews or philosophers, on account of the many chosen varieties of opinions among Jews and philosophers."‡ Here however was an-

* Les Martyrs, Liv. xxiii.

† In 2 Epist. ad Tim. Hom. viii.

‡ Stromat. Lib. vii. 15; vii. c. 17.

other source of persecution, no less productive than the first; for, as St. Hilary says, "Negotium apostolicis viris semper fuit constanti et publica fidei prædicatione conatus omnes oblatrantis hæresis comprimere;" and indeed this was a duty regarded in some degree as incumbent upon all men alike; since as the fathers said, "Christianus, alter Christus;" and it was observed that our divine Lord, when presented before the proud judge, answered nothing "de discipulis," but for his doctrine raised his head and voice, saying, "Ego palam locutus sum mundo;" "it was remarked for a general example that in all his passion He seldom or never made answer to any but in the behalf of truth or of his doctrine."* Hence St. Maximus, who endured such persecutions from the Arians and Monothelites, having his tongue torn out and his right hand cut off, from the effect of which torments he died in prison, had refused to be silent on the difference between these heresies and the Catholic Church, saying that upon that principle Jews and Christians might be united, as well as Catholics and Arians. "True peace," indeed, as Florus says, in his beautiful exposition of the Mass, written in the ninth century, "makes unity; not however by causing men to unite with error, but by inducing them, whatever they might risk, to renounce error, from avoiding which no one could be ever dispensed;" and on this point the words of St. Dionysius of Alexandria were memorable: "You ought to suffer every thing rather than excite a schism in the Church. To die in defense of the unity of the Church is as glorious, and, even to my mind, more glorious than to refuse, at the expense of one's life, to sacrifice to idols, because it is dying for the general good of the spouse of Jesus Christ."

To the sufferings of the early Church, from the Arian, Sabellian, Gnostic and Iconoclastic errors, as well as, from the Donatistic and Nestorian sects, all which heresies as those, since the sixteenth century, armed by the civil power, raged with a pagan violence against her children, the faithful of the middle ages in general recurred as to ages of misery, which were never likely to return. But they were intimately familiar with the acts of these confessors and martyrs, and they cherished their memory with all the ardor and reverence of heroic men. "Truly we may see," says the chivalrous author of the Tree of battles, "how in times past the holy Church has been in many great wars. I must now mention the persons who gave battle to the false heretics. Know then well that the strongest in war were my lord St. Augustin, my lord St. Jerome, my lord St. Innocent, the first of that name, and also my lord St. Gregory. These were great in sanctity, in science, and in Scripture."† So a long with the immortal names, associated in every noble heart with the love of the highest and truest glory, were enshrined the memories of Pope Liberius, of Faegadius and Servatius; of St. John Chrysostom, persecuted under Arcadius, whom Pope Innocent I., in consequence excommunicated; of St. Basil, of St. Fulgentius, and St. Ath-

* Medit. for the use of the Eng. College at Lisbon, ii. c. 5. † L'Arbre des Batailles.

anasius, persecuted by the emperor and his courtier bishops. How did the hearts of men, in ages of faith, burn within them on hearing recounted the persecutions of that holy champion, which he so heroically endured during the forty-six years of his episcopacy, from the hatred and violence of the Arians and other schismatices! Truly his sufferings were memorable. The blackest calumnies, charges of murder, adultery, extortion, and sacrilege, were forged against him, and false witnesses suborned to swear to the truth of the allegations: he was deposed by a mock council, and it was only by hiding himself in cisterns, caverns, deserts, and by voluntary banishment that his life was preserved from the fury of the Arians. In this state of constant combat he served Christ nearly forty years, under the reign of several Arian emperors, while his resolute defense of the truth never slackened.

The persecutions of St. Cyril, of St. Gregory Nazianzen, and of the Pope St. Silverius, were recounted at every hearth. How chivalrous, how magnificent, was deemed the reply of the latter to the Empress Theodora, who espoused the cause of Anthimus and of the Eutychians, that no power on earth should ever induce him to betray the Catholic faith! for which answer she resolved to procure his disposition by violence, which was effected with such barbarity that he expired under it.

Thus names, that were familiar to the west as household words, recalled these persecutions. Then, as a domestic tradition, men recounted the sufferings for the faith which were endured by St. Hilary of Poitiers, that trumpet of the Latins, as St. Jerome styles him, when the Arian Emperor Constantius persecuted the church, deposing and banishing all the bishops who refused to adopt his measures. How were the knightly hearts of our fathers moved by that greatness of soul evinced by him when sighing for martyrdom, and proving himself superior to the fear of death! All whose memory was revered were among the persecuted. "I spent six months with Jerome," says Postumianus, "who had to maintain continual battle against the wicked; the flagitious hated him; the heretics hated him; and clerks of evil manners hated him."* Nor was it forgotten among the titles of St. Martin, whom every knight regarded as his mirror, that he too had the glory of suffering persecution from the Arian invader of the see of Milan, Auxentius, who banished him on discovering his zeal for the Catholic faith. Thus many glorious names, that were still fresh in the public recollection, kept alive that salutary horror for men of evil choice, whose title of miscreant passed into a term sanctioned, yea canonized, to express the noblest indignation. The sufferings of the church in Italy from the Arians, in the time of Theodoric, and in Spain, from the kings who had embraced the same error, had even brought down the succession of these persecutions to the period which is principally embraced by this history. St. Leander, bishop of Seville, banished and per[illegible]

* Sulp. Sev. Dialog. 267.

by the Arian king, Leovigild; Hermenegild, that king's eldest son and heir apparent, forced by his father into banishment, and afterwards slain by his order, because he would not receive the communion from the hand of an Arian bishop, were examples as of yesterday, portrayed in solemn paintings in the feudal hall, and constantly proposed by holy preachers during the middle ages for the instruction of youth, to preserve them from that deadly sin of readiness to comply with the manners and invitations of those who were traitors to the banner of the Church. To conceive the interest attached to these high lessons, in our heroic age, we should hear the narrative respecting the latter from the annals of the Gothic majesty, and mark how many stirring incidents were comprised in it to act as a spur upon the generous.

St. Hermenegild, the son of Leovigild, king of the Visigoths of Spain, who, with his brother Recarede, was brought up in the heresy of the Arians like his father, being moved and encouraged by the example and conversation of his pious Queen Ingondes, a zealous Catholic, daughter of Sigebert, king of Austrasia in France, who suffered cruel persecutions from Goswinde, the second wife of her father-in-law, threw himself into the arms of St. Leander, bishop of Seville, and taking advantage of his father's absence abjured his heresy, and was received into the Church. The father, on hearing of his son's conversion, was transported with rage, and ordered him to abdicate the title of king, which he already bore as sovereign prince, and to come and submit to his will. Hermenegild, though all the Catholics of Spain joined him, had no adequate means of defense. He sought assistance from the Roman army which the emperors of Constantinople retained in Spain, of which the chiefs swore to sustain his cause; and, at their encouragement, after enduring a siege of more that a year, he escaped from Seville, and arrived at the camp: but finding that they intended to betray him to his father, he fled to Cordova, and thence at the head of three hundred men to Osseto, which was well fortified; but not being able to hold out, the city was burnt, and the prince took refuge in its celebrated church. His father having recourse to treachery, sent his other son, Recarede, to promise him his pardon if he submitted. Hermenegild, trusting to his Arian brother, left the altar and resolved to throw himself at his father's feet; but he had no sooner led him into the camp, than he stripped him of his royal dress, loaded him with chains, and sent him to the tower of Seville. In a horrible dungeon, Hermenegild resisted promises and menaces which were employed to draw him back to heresy, while he protested, that to his last breath he would preserve his love, respect, and duty, to his father. Easter being arrived, an Arian bishop was sent to him in the night to administer the communion; but he rejected his ministry with horror, and bore witness to the truth. The king then, in a transport of rage, sent some soldiers to dispatch him, who, on holy Saturday, the thirteenth of April, 586, clove his head with an axe, and scattered his brains upon the floor. His body was still preserved in Seville, and to his merits St. Gregory the Great has asoribed the conversion of the king

Recarede, and of the whole nation of the Goths of Spain. The wretched father, without being converted, recommended on his death-bed Recarede to St. Leander, and besought him to learn the principles of the Catholic religion.

Such was the affecting history. The sufferings endured by Catholics for refusing to sanction the heresy of the Iconoclasts, being confined to the Eastern Church, had not left so deep and general an impression on the European mind, although the recollection of them was preserved as part of a glorious inheritance, to prove that, for every part of the sacred deposit of Catholic faith and discipline, some just man had generously met death. Some traits of this latter persecution were, indeed, more especially cherished, as evincing the perfidy and barbarism with which the pretensions to purer worship were supported. Such was the example of St. Theodore and his brother, two monks of St. Sabas, who, after being scourged in the presence of the Emperor Theophilus, for refusing to have communion with the Iconoclasts, whose heresy he favored, had twelve iambic lines graven on their faces, from the effects of which long and cruel operation St. Theodore soon died: his brother survived it, and was even elected a bishop in happier times when that heresy was no longer armed with the imperial power. Such again were the histories which recorded the sufferings of St. Stephen the younger, of St. Peter, St. Andrew, and of three hundred and nine monks commemorated by the Church, who, under Constantine Copronymus, shed their blood in testimony of Catholic truth, in regard to the honor due to holy images.

Truly, the originals from which the adversaries of the Church in later times copied, were worthy of their pencil. St. Theodorus, the father of St. Nicephorus, and secretary to this emperor, for maintaining the respect due to images, in opposition to his master, was stripped of his dignities, tortured, and banished. His son becoming patriarch of Constantinople in 806, followed his steps in despising the rage of tyrants, and suffering persecution for the sake of truth. Leo, the Armenian, an Iconoclast, becoming emperor, studied by every means to gain over Nicephorus to his heresy; but the confessor replied, "We cannot change ancient traditions: we respect holy images as we do the cross and the book of the Gospel." When the emperor assembled in his palace certain Iconoclast bishops, and summoned the patriarch and his fellow bishops, they besought the emperor to leave the government of the Church to its pastors. "For the last eight hundred years, since the coming of Christ, there have been always pictures of him," said Ethymius, bishop of Sardes; "who shall now have the boldness to abolish such a tradition?" "Do not disturb the order of the Church, my lord," said St. Theodorus the Studite. "You are entrusted with the care of the state; but leave the Church to its pastors." They were then driven from the emperor's presence, and when, soon after, the Iconoclast bishops cited the patriarch to appear, he returned this answer, "Who gave you this authority? was it the pope? In my diocese you have no jurisdiction." They, however, pronounced a sentence of deposition against [redacted] and the holy patriarch was sent by the emperor into banishment, in which

fourteen years, he died. Thus, brought up in the lap of luxury and wealth, and loaded with the highest honors of the empire, he held fast to the traditions of the Church, preferred the miseries of exile before all the glittering things of the world, and delivered himself into the hands of persecutors.

Previously to the rise of this heresy, the Church beheld the commencement of other sufferings, from which her children in countless multitudes were to reap beatitude; but as these extended to the period to which our history immediately relates, it was better to depart a little from the order of time, and reserve to the next chapter the consideration of the persecutions from men of misdirected wills in matters of faith to which Catholics in the middle ages were during certain intervals exposed.

CHAPTER IV.

"Avete, cœli milites,
In asperis probati,
Fuso cruore nobiles,
Christique purpurati,
Quos execranda pravitas
Tot hæresum immolavit,
Et cæcior gentilitas
Sæve neci dicavit."

SUCH was the chant under the vaults of every Benedictine abbey, annually heard on the festival of all the saints of that holy family, attesting the two-fold persecutions to which the religious and, in fact, Catholics of every kind, were still occasionally liable.

By two modes of action did the pagan persecution continue during the middle ages. It was kept alive by a partial lingering resistance within countries already converted, accompanied with occasional invasions from external pagans, and by violence to the apostolic men who proceeded as missionaries to regions still under the domination of idolaters. Of the former we find many instances, and down to a later period than is generally supposed. Thus, in the eleventh century, St. Gerard, a Venetian by birth, and by vocation an apostle and Hungarian bishop, after being favored by the king, St. Stephen, was persecuted by

his three successors, Peter an immoral prince, Abas, who evinced savage cruelty, and Andrew, cousin-german to Stephen, who received the crown on condition that he would restore idolatry and extirpate Christianity. Gerard and three other bishops immediately set out to dissuade the new king from perpetrating such a crime, though their hopes of success must have been small. On reaching the banks of the Danube, St. Gerard, after saying mass, said to his companions, "We shall all suffer martyrdom this day, except the bishop of Benetha." They advanced a little further, and were about to cross the Danube when they were assailed by some soldiers under the command of Duke Vatha, who, after covering them with a shower of stones, overturned the chariot. The saint raised himself on his knee and prayed aloud, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge;" which words were hardly uttered when he was transpierced with a lance. Two of the other bishops shared with him the glory of martyrdom, but the king coming up rescued the other. This was in the year 1046.

St. Rupert, bishop of Worms in the seventh century, suffered persecution from the idolaters, who still existed in numbers in that country, who, after many injuries, drove him from his see, which was the occasion of his proceeding to Saltzbourg. St Amand, bishop of Maestricht, suffered stripes and immersion for preaching the Gospel, to the pagan people of Ghent; and St. Mellitus, the first bishop of London, and founder of the church of St. Paul, was, after the death of the king Sebert, driven from his see by the three sons of that king, who then returned to the open profession of idolatry. Eloy at Noyon, St. Ouen at Rouen, and many bishops in other parts of France, had to contend with this original element of persecution during the whole period of their episcopacy. The pagan invasions of Christian countries, and the consequent sufferings of the faithful, enriched the shrines of Christendom with the bodies of innumerable saints. It was in the year 774, that the Saxons chiefly persecuted the Church. They were soon followed by the Danes and Normans. In later times the Hungarians ravaged Germany, Gaul, and Italy; and by the hands of these pagan invaders, innumerable persons of both sexes and of every age, suffered death, refusing to renounce their faith. Thus St. Adrian, bishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, was martyred in 874 by the Danes, along with many others. Thus St. Elphegus, archbishop of Canterbury, suffered death from the same barbarians. In the reign of Duncan, king of Scotland, an army of Norwegians under Haco ravaged the Orkneys. St. Maing, a holy bishop, interfered, saying, "I am ready to die a thousand times for God and for his flock, but I command you in his name to spare his people." His head was cut off with one blow. This was in 1104, in the island of Eglis, where he was interred. St. Eric, king of Sweden, being hated and despised for his piety by some of his subjects who continued attached to paganism, was martyred by them in 1151. They rose in arms on the day of the ascension. The king was at mass when he received the first intelligence of their march to attack him. "Let us finish the sacrifice," said he calmly; "the remainder of the festival will pass elsewhere

advanced to meet them before his guards, wishing to spare the blood of his subjects; and so fell by their hands. A true Machabee of the Christians was the king St. Godescalc, whom Adam Bremem terms the most powerful among the Sclavonic sovereigns. In consequence of his protection and encouragement, and even personal assistance as an interpreter, holy missionaries had converted the whole country of the idolaters, on the north of Germany, from the Elbe to Mecklenburg. In the year 1066, those who still continued attached to paganism in the duchy of Mecklenburg revolted. Godescalc was martyred by them in the town of Lanzin, while the priest Ebbon was poniarded upon the altar.

France for many ages beheld Christian blood shed in torrents for the faith by pagan invaders. A memorable instance was the martyrdom of St. Gohard, with priests, monks, and a crowd of the faithful, within the cathedral of Nantes, in 843, by the Normans. Similarly England, in which the first British blood shed by pagans for the faith was that of the holy Alban of Verulam, who received into his house a priest flying from his persecutors, continued for a long time liable to periodical invasions from the northern pagans, by whose hands many of her sons gained the crown of martyrdom.

Italy, in the sixth century, received the blood of many martyrs, forty of whom, who were peasants, are honored by the Church on the second of March as having suffered death from the Lombards, for refusing to acquiesce in their idolatry. The persecutions inflicted by pagans, by means of sudden inroads upon Christendom, continued to much later times than is generally supposed. In the thirteenth century, the blessed Sadoc, of the order of St. Dominic, and forty-eight companions, were martyred by the Tartars as they sang the praises of God in the choir of their monastery of Sandomir in Poland. It was in the fearful invasion in 1240, when five hundred thousand of these barbarians carried desolation into Russia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, and the frontiers of Germany, that Henry II. surnamed the Pious, the duke of Silesia, was slain. After the battle of Wolstadt, in which he fell, they marched against Breslau, where the prayers of an humble servant of God renewed the prodigies of Elijah and Elisha.

It would be difficult to conceive an adequate idea of the horrors attending these pagan invasions. When all other persons had fled before them, the recluses and the aged monks used to remain and become their victims, suffering cruel torments. Thus, when the barbarians of East Friesland made an irruption upon Lower Austrasia, in the seventh century, St. Renelle, the Sister of St. Gudule, along with two others, was found in the church, and cruelly slain at the foot of the altar. It was before observed, that the offices of the Church bear traces of the fear which paganism inspired. In an ancient manuscript, in the abbey of St. Hubert, in the forest of Ardennes, Dom Martene found a prayer against pagan persecutions, in these words: "Ecclesiam tuam quæsumus proprio sanguine Filii tui redemtam jugibus defende præsidiis, ut, persecutione paganorum procul repulsa, tibe omni tempore famuletur;"* and in the Roman missal, the missa contra paganos, of which the

* Voyage lit. p. 142.

substitutions provided in the event of its being required during the paschal time are truly affecting, is still retained. The pagan persecution continued also during the middle ages under the original form of slavery, and to such an extent, that each record of the charity of holy men is an attestation of its pressure. As in the persecution by Decius and Maximin, when the piety of the Christians furnished a spectacle of heroic mercy towards those condemned to the mines, so in later times the alms of St. Cæsarius of Arles, of St. Germain of Paris, of St. Loup, of St. Eloi, and of innumerable other holy bishops, were applied to the redemption of Spanish, Irish, English, Breton, Gascon, and Burgundian victims, whom the pagans had reduced to captivity. Nevertheless, such persecutions, though so frequently recurring, were not sufficient to satiate the desire of men in the middle ages. To the second mode of action, therefore, we must refer, by which pagans were instrumental to the diffusion of the precious seed: and here we shall be presented with majestic figures, which of themselves ought to have been more than sufficient to put to shame the rash declaimers who endeavored to obscure the piety and the justice of those generations, by representing them as deficient in the true spirit and manner of divine religion.

"Quis," exclaims Tacitus, "quis porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia, aut Africa, aut Italia relicta, Germaniam peteret, informem terris, asperam cœlo, tristem cultu, adspectuque, nisi si patria sit?" He could have little conceived the mind which led our missionaries to the regions of the north, where far other perils awaited them besides what he contemplated.

"Respicite et turbas validorum mente virorum
Qui magna in miseris pugnarunt prælia terris,
Nuncque Beatorum secura pace fruuntur."*

To the persecutions and martyrdom of the illustrious apostles St. Boniface, the eighth century, we have alluded incidentally in former books:

"Multa tulit fecitque puer, spretisque periclis
Verbum evangelii medios portavit in hostes."†

Such was his ardor for this work of peril, that he made three journeys to the country of the heathens, having returned from the first to his monastery in Devonshire, and from the second to Rome. Fifty-two other Christians suffered martyrdom along with him on the vigil of Pentecost. When the pagans advanced to massacre the pious troop assembled to assist at confirmation, the saint exhorted them to make no resistance. As for himself, he said that the day he had long waited for was come, and he encouraged the rest to meet with joy and constancy a death which was the gate of heaven. When St. Winebald accompanied him in 738 into Thuringia, the idolaters often attempted his life by poison and by open violence, but escaping, by the Divine protection, he continued his zealous labors

* Pastoral for 1841, by John Leonardus, bishop of Fulda † Ibid.

to dilate the fold of Christ. Before his time, it had long been a common thought of holy persons to devote their lives to spread light and love among the heathen people. St. Gombert, brother of St. Nivard, bishop of Rheims, in the seventh century proceeded to the sea-coast of Holland, to preach to the idolaters. He built a monastery at Oldenzel, in the diocese of Utrecht, where he used to harbor the poor and redeem prisoners; but the barbarians in the end sacrificed him.

Who could enumerate all the martyrs among the missionaries in Saxony and Friesland in the eighth century; or among the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, where such multitudes of English and Irish priests were crowned with the glory of martyrdom, from the eighth to the eleventh; or amongst the south-eastern Sclavonians, Bohemians, Lithuanians, and Prussians, from the ninth to the fourteenth century? Mark what figures pass. Here is St. Erluph, bishop of Verden, a missioner from Scotland to the east of Germany, martyred for the faith by the idolaters in 830, near Eppokstorp. Here is Tancon, or Tatta, at first a monk of Amabaric in Scotland, and then abbot, who, through desire of martyrdom, departed to preach the gospel in Germany, after the example of Patton, his predecessor. Elected bishop of Verden to succeed him, he was assassinated in 815 by one of the wicked, who were exasperated on account of his preaching against the lives of bad Christians. Here is St. Wolfred, an Englishman and a bishop in Sweden, who in 1028 suffered death from the hands of the pagans, for destroying with his own hand the great idol of the country called Thor, though he acted with the sanction of the king, Olaus II. St. Eskill, who follows, is his fellow-countryman and laborer in the same land, where he is honored as an apostle, and one of the most illustrious martyrs of Christ. On the return of St. Anschaire from Sweden, where he had founded a numerous church, the people resumed their ancient superstitions, and the news of their apostasy filled with sorrow the north of England. Then St. Sigefride, archbishop of York, resolved to undertake a mission to recover them, and Eskill, his relation, accompanied him. When Sigefride left Sweden, Eskill remained as bishop of that church, and greatly extended it, till the accession of Swenon the bloody, under whose reign paganism was re-established, the saint being stoned to death for preaching Christ. Here St. Henry, archbishop of Upsal, another Englishman and apostle of the north, along with Nicholas Breakspear, his countryman, subsequently Pope Adrian IV. who, after losing sight of his fellow-laborer, evangelized Finland, and was stoned to death in 1151. St. Eloy, whom we have before so often met, is also here; for he too at one time exposed his life every day, while preaching to the pagans among the Flemings about Antwerp and the Frisons and Suevi. These barbarians, like wild beasts, at first were ready to tear him to pieces; yet he persevered, desiring nothing more than martyrdom, and succeeded in adding a great part of Flanders to the fold of Christ. This was in the seventh century. Here is, too, St. Rumold, an Anglo-Saxon, the patron of Malines, who labored in the same country, and suffered martyrdom in 775. Here is St. Adalbert, another familiar

face, bishop of Prague in the tenth century. This holy man being shocked at the heathen manners of his flock, among whom prevailed the crimes of one man having many wives, of the marriage of clerks, and of the purchase of slaves in such numbers that the bishop could not redeem them all, concluded, after long and urgent offorts to correct them, that he would better leave them than lose his labor on an obstinate and perishing people. Encouraged in this project by a vision of our Saviour in the night, he set out as a pilgrim bound for Jerusalem, but at Rome he resolved to enter a monastery, and retired into the cloister of Mount Cassino, whence, after some time, he removed to that of St. Alexius on Mount Aventine. Being prevailed upon to return to Prague, the whole city went out to meet him, and, with every demonstration of joy and reverence, they promised to correct their former habits; but finally, being more convinced of the inutility of all his efforts, and being overwhelmed with affliction at certain events, he withdrew a second time, and returned in 995 to Rome, where he resumed his peaceful monastic life. In obedience to the desire of Pope Gregory V., he in the year 996 prepared to preach the gospel to the heathen people of the north; and for this purpose he left his beloved cloister on Mount Aventine, and repaired in the first instance to Mainz, where he had an interview with the Emperor Otho: on which occasion, it is said, he instructed him how he ought to govern the republic, and rule over himself in all his deeds, both before God and men. Innumerable perils, insults, and sufferings awaited him in Prussia. When struck, so as to be obliged to let the Psalter fall out of his hands, his only words were, "I thank thee, O Lord Jesus, that I am worthy to receive at least one blow for thy sake." Soon after his arrival he received the crown of martyrdom. But, though we descend to later times, these solemn forms now advance in such close-crowding throngs as to defy a scrutiny of each. What denotes this immense assemblage of friars of the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic? These were all martyred in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries by pagans, to whom they preached the Gospel.* Of most, the world has forgotten both the name and country. Their sepultures, even to their respective orders, are unknown. "O that some tongue had power to leave one sparkle of their glory unto the race to come, that would not lose the benefit of their triumph, if it could waken aught of memory by record sung! But, alas, profound indifference is all they can expect to meet with from men who are idolaters of ease. Pass on, ye sons of Eve! swell out, and with stiff necks turn your looks aside, lest one glance from these holy cross-bearers should mar your peace."†

Among the neophytes too was quickly diffused beatitude by sufferings for Christ. Thus Fingar, son of an Irish king, was banished by his father for having received honorably St. Patrick, and for having embraced Christianity at his preaching. This prince sought refuge in Britanny, where he afterwards suffered martyrdom

* Martyrologium Franciscanum.

Would you hear the moving strains with which all these pacific men advanced to the terrible nations that sat in darkness, saying with a placid breast, like Ilioneus, to the sovereign of a strange land,

" Parce pio generi, et propius res aspice nostras ?"*

The Catholic poet does but faithfully recount them in the words which he ascribes to the apostle of Ireland:

" ——Great sir, we come not to distract
Your peace: look on our number; we bring no
Signs of stern war, no invasive force, to draw
Fear or suspicion, or your frowns upon us.
A handful of poor naked men we are,
Thrown on your coast, whose arms are only prayer,
That you would not be more ummerciful
Than the rough seas, since they have let us live
To find your charity."

Would you mark, at the same time, the high tone of supernatural authority with which they announced their purpose? Then hear the sequel:—

" ———Know, great king, I have
Commission for my stay. I came not hither
Without command, legate from Him, before
Whose angry breath the rocks do break and thaw;
To whose nod the mountains humble their proud heads;
The earth, the water, air, and heaven, are His;
And all the stars that shine with evening flames
Show but their trembling when they wait on Him:
This supreme King's command I have obey'd,
Who sent me hither to bring you to Him,
And this still wandering nation to those springs
Where souls are everlastingly refresh'd;
Unto those gardens, whose immortal flowers
Stain your imagin'd shades and blest abodes."†

There is, in truth, no point of view in which the history of the middle ages appears more admirable, than when we attend to the prodigious ardor which continually impelled holy men to win beatitude, by suffering persecutions for justice in converting pagan nations. The mere view of the relics of five Franciscan martyrs, brought from Morocco by Don Pedro, infant of Portugal, made such an impression on St. Anthony of Padua, who was then at Coimbra, that he formed a resolution of shedding his blood in Africa for Christ. St. Boniface, chaplain of the emperor Otho III., and born of one of the most illustrious families, on entering a church dedicated under the invocation of St. Boniface the martyr, felt suddenly

* I. 526. † Shirley.

inflamed with a desire to imitate him. "I am called Boniface," said he; "why should not I also be a martyr?" From that moment he never ceased sighing after the happiness of dying for the faith. With these dispositions, having obtained permission from St. Romuald his superior, he proceeded to Prussia, where he preached to the idolaters, and thence to the frontiers of Russia, where he had his wish fulfilled, suffering death in 1009 from the barbarians, along with eighteen other Christians.

Towards the close of the middle ages the most distant regions of the old and new world witnessed the fruits of that heroic spirit of martyrdom which was fostered within the feudal castles and monasteries of Europe; but at these we can only cast a glance in passing. What multitudes in the sixteenth century suffered persecutions for the faith in Japan, where Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, and even the boys who used to serve at mass, were actually crucified; while innumerable persons of all conditions bore tortures with invincible constancy till death. The blessed Alphonso Navaret, of the order of St. Dominic, and Ferdinand, an Augustinian Friar, were arrested while in the very act of preaching, and beheaded.

Among these martyrs of Japan was Father Charles Spinola, of that noble house of Genoa, who became a Jesuit, at Nola, when his uncle Cardinal Spinola was bishop of that city. Desiring to shed his blood for Christ, he joined the missionaries for Japan in 1602, and suffered by fire on the second of September, 1622. His letter from a dungeon to his cousin Maximilian Spinola breathes all the fervor of the martyr. "O how sweet it is to suffer for Jesus Christ!" saith he; "I cannot find words to express what I feel since we are in prison. What happiness for me if at next Easter I may be permitted to sing in heaven with the blessed! Of the joy which I feel in this state I cannot give you the most remote idea."

How many martyrs again, during the same century, from among the Spanish clergy in the Brazils, who from first to last evinced the spirit of the primitive witnesses of Christ! How perfectly did the manner of these converters of nations resemble those of the Apostles who first diffused the light of the Gospel through the gentiles! In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries innumerable persons suffered martyrdom for the faith in China, amongst whom were many Jesuits and Dominican friars, who suffered tortures indescribable and death for the Christian religion. An instance of the calm premeditation with which these glorious confessors prepared for the fate which awaited them, may be witnessed in the letter which St. Francis Xavier wrote, after agreeing with the Chinese merchants who were to introduce him into Canton. "In this affair," he says, "I see two dangers almost inevitable: on the one hand, there is great reason to fear that the idolatrous merchant, having received the price of my passage, may throw me into the sea, or abandon me on some desert island; and, on the other, that the governor of Canton should resolve to make an example of me, to discourage all future strangers, making me either die in torture or condemning me to a prepetual prison;

but so that I obey the voice of my Lord, which calls me, I count for nothing my liberty and my life."*

But there was another source of persecution, on account of the highest justice, during the middle ages, furnished by men who openly and professedly resisted the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It was in her second period, between the years 313 and 680, that the Church beheld the origin and rapid progress of Mahometanism, by resisting and enduring the cruelties, of which execrable superstition such multitudes of her children were to reap beatitude. In the year 632 Mahomet proposed his doctrine; in 642 his followers laid waste Sicily; in 717 they invaded Spain, of which they soon took possession; in a short time they were masters of Asia, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Judæa, Rhodes, Greece, Thrace, Bulgaria, Illyria, Mysia Pannonia, and a great part of Africa. In 875 they again invaded Campania, and devastated Italy. Finally, in 1453, after a sanguinary struggle, they seized Constantinople, which became their seat of empire. Such was the progress of this terrible persecution; and if we demand in what condition were the Christians who witnessed it during all these ages, truly in words less than in tears should be the reply. We have had occasion to remark, in a former book, that it was the persecution of Christians in the east which led to the crusades. The master of the templars, Bertrand de Blancford, in his letter to King Louis VII., expressly styles the Turks "the persecutors of truth and faith."†

In fact, many of the heroic men, who sought to restrain them, became themselves victims, or rather sealed the glory of their enterprise by true martyrdom. St. Adjuteur, son of John, Seigneur de Vernon, and of Rosemonde de Blaru, after receiving a holy education from his mother, took arms in the crusade with the French knights, and, being made prisoner by the Sarassins, endured every kind of cruel treatment rather than renounce his faith. St. Louis in the memorable act of burying with his own hands the body of a crusader, applied to all who had fallen in resisting them, the epithet of martyr—"Allons enterrer les martyrs de Jésus Christ." Joinville says, that in consideration of the sufferings of that holy king, "one does not exalt him enough when one does not count him as a martyr." And it appears, from a circumstance related by the seneschal, that the Sarassins themselves understood the motive of the Crusaders; for on one occasion they reminded their prisoners that they were only suffering persecutions for the sake of Him who suffered for them, and that they ought to be consoled by the remembrance of his example.

As we before remarked, it entered into the chivalrous mind of the middle ages to endeavor that all persecution for justice should cease throughout the world. The idea was assuredly generous, and, in a society so wonderfully subject to the domination of faith, perhaps less absurd than some may be disposed to think. But

* Bouhours, Vie de S. F. X. 11. 186.

† Ap. Brial, Recueil des Historiens de la France, tom. xvi. 38.

still, of course, as events demonstrated, the order of Divine Providence did not require that it should be realized, or productive of any other results beyond the admiration which must be ever due to heroic deeds of charity. But if this thought of the middle ages appear in history only in the light of a sublime speculation, there were other wheels in movement provided specially to meet the dangers and sufferings of Christians, which led to positive results in strict accordance with that divine economy which ordains beatitude for those who suffer persecution on account of justice. To redeem the captives who languished in the dungeons of the Moors, to encourage to perseverance in their faith the Christians whom they had reduced to slavery, to procure spiritual and corporal assistance for the victims of their cruel persecution ; such were the objects to which innumerable persons in Spain, Italy, France, and in the British islands, devoted their wealth, their genius, and their lives. The Trinitarians, for the redemption of captives, whose founders were St. John of Matha, and St. Felix de Valois, possessed forty-three houses in England, fifty-two in Ireland, and nine in Scotland. On a former occasion we observed in relation to works of mercy, the deep interest inspired by every book relating to the origin and progress of these institutions ; and here we should note, that respecting persecution on account of justice, the history of the order of our Lady of Mercy by the fathers of the same order.* and the account of the different voyages for the redemption of captives to the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis by the Trinitarians,† contained a mine of most curious information, which can no where else be found.

In a monastery of the order of our Lady of Mercy in Spain, one saw represented, in a long series of paintings by Zurbaran, the different tortures and modes of death suffered by these fathers in the Moorish lands, which had been thus pictured from the testimony of eye-witnesses, as recorded in the archives of the house. Of some, the great renown had inclined most men to inquire their history, at which we can only glance in passing.

It would be long to recount the persecutions for the faith which were endured by St. Peter Nolasco, in the thirteenth century, and by the brethren of his order of Mercy, during their heroic labors in Algiers to convert the infidels and ransom the Christian slaves, while burning with such a holy desire of martyrdom.

St. Seraphion, an Englishman, and one of the first disciples of St. Peter Nolasco, made two journeys, one to Murcia and the other to Algiers, to redeem captives. At Algiers, while detained as a hostage till full payment was made of the sum agreed upon, he converted and baptized many Mahometans. But his zeal cost him his life, in 1240, and Benedict XIII. declared him martyr in 1728, the fathers of the Redemption having esteemed him as such from the first, observing his festival on the fourteenth of November.

At Tarragona, the blessed Peter Armengol, of the same order, is honored in an

* In fol. 1685. Amicus. † A Paris, 1721; à Rouen, 1731.

especial manner. After suffering many persecutions in Africa for the redemption of the faithful, he finished his course in the monastery of St. Mary of the Meadow. How many sufferings again were undergone by St. John of Matha, founder of the order of the Trinitarians, in the twelfth century, for the redemption of captives! How may persecutions did he endure, exhorting the slaves to patience and constancy in their faith!

It was in the thirteenth century that St. Raymund Nonnatus was moved by the sufferings of the Christians to embrace the new order of our Lady of Mercy. For encouraging the captives in Algiers, and for converting and baptizing some Mahometans, he was condemned to be impaled; but the sentence was commuted for a cruel bastinado; but as he continued to exercise his ministry, his lips were bored with a red-hot iron, and his mouth closed with a padlock, the key of which was kept by the governor, and only given to the keepers when he was to eat. He was loaded with irons and cast into a dark dungeon, where he lay eight months, until his ransom was brought, and he was commanded by his general to return to Europe. Even when well received by the greedy governors, who longed to count the treasures they were laying at their feet for ransom, these holy monks, from the hour of their landing, were almost always exposed to the hisses, and insults, and blows of the populace.* Yet nothing could daunt or diminish their zeal

St. Peter Paschal, a monk of the order of Mercy, who suffered death through his charitable zeal to redeem the Christian slaves, and to preach to the Moors, and who was murdered in Granada by the infidels at the foot of the altar while making his thanksgiving after having said mass, was descended from the ancient family of Paschal, which had given five martyrs to the Church.

Another class of devout men, who often closed their labors in behalf of the persecuted slaves upon the Barbary coast by martyrdom, was that of the vicars apostolic in Algiers, who were always chosen from the congregation of St. Lazarus, since its establishment there by the zeal of St. Vincent de Paul. To the admirable constancy of these men amidst incessant dangers, all the religious missionaries bore witness. In 1683, Vacher, who then held that office, suffered death by being placed in a cannon's mouth by the order of the dey Meze-morto; and in 1688, his successor Montmasson obtained the crown of martyrdom by the same kind of death.† But above all, it was in the sufferings of the slaves, that the persecution produced an abundant harvest. In fact, the Church was almost daily gaining new confessors or martyrs, who, by some chance falling into the hands of the Mahometans, chose slavery or death, rather than renounce their faith.

St. Leo, bishop of Bayonne in the ninth century, the apostle of the Basques, was thus martyred by Sarassin pirates. St. Porcaire and five hundred monks were put to death by the same enemies in 731, when they attacked the abbey of Lerins, and slew the whole community one by one, each refusing to renounce Christ.

* Hist. de Mouley Ismael. 16. †Voyage de Alger et de Tunis en 1720, par les P. P. Maturins.

what was the consternation in the abbey of Cluny one day in the tenth century, when a letter containing four lines arrived, to announce that St. Mayeul, the abbot returning from Rome, had been seized by the Sarassins of Fressinet, with a great troop of people, who had thought themselves safe in the company of such a holy man. The saint, who for himself desired martyrdom, but who trembled and wept for the fate of the poor people, of whose capture he was the occasion, used ever after to glory in the wound he received, while stretching out his hand to screen one of them, who was about to be pierced by a dart hurled from the top of a rock by one of the Sarassins.

Down to the present century, the persecutions suffered on the Barbary coast and in Constantinople by the captives, equalled the sufferings of the primitive Christians condemned by pagans to the mines. The king of Morocco, at the suggestion of the Marabouts, caused some of his Christian slaves, while a monk of the order of the holy Trinity was negociating in their favor, to be thrown into a den with lions. This tyrant, Mouley Ismaël, used to sacrifice multitudes of them with his own hand. If he found any of them resting from their labors he used to wound or slay them; and the fathers of the Redemption record the names of many who thus perished.* It is said that he caused the death of more than six hundred slaves of the French nation alone, whom no tortures could prevail on to apostatize.† In 1702, a Neapolitan captain, having at first had the weakness to renounce the Christian name, repented so deeply that he went to the governor, and declared that, to repair his crime, he was ready to die for the faith. He received absolution from a monk disguised as a slave, and then being placed alive upon a pile, expired in the flames. During some years, the slaves in Morocco were allowed to celebrate the four festivals of Easter, Christmas, the Nativity of St. John, and that of the blessed Virgin, but on each occasion it was necessary to have the license renewed; and, for demanding it, many of them suffered cruel bastinados, and even death. In 1690, the slaves deputed to ask leave to celebrate the feast of St. John received five hundred blows; and on the day of the festival, as some of them were not to be found at work, the king with his own hand slew François de Tuissy, who had a certain authority over them, and condemned all the rest to receive blows, and to work during three days and nights without ceasing. But to understand the horrors of this persecution, we should consult the writings of the monks of the different orders who were employed in redeeming them. The numbers whom they delivered were indeed prodigious, but how many remained in this bondage till their death! Meanwhile, the Christian slaves in the galleys at Constantinople were, if possible, in a more deplorable state, as no Latin monks were permitted to have access to them, though some fathers of the company of Jesus contrived to elude the law, and administer to them spiritual succor. Through the whole Turkish empire, every year added fresh supplies of victims.

* Hist. du Règne de Mouley Ismaël, p. 156 † Id.

Innumerable French, Italian, and Spanish families, from their neighborhood to the Mediterranean or Adriatic, or to the frontiers of the Moorish Kingdoms, had members carried off, and from slavery and martyrdom sent to heaven. In one of the tales of Cervantes, a whole family, enjoying a party of pleasure in a garden on the sea-shore, is thus surprised and seized by a band of corsairs who had landed from two galleys, and escaped the observation of the sentinels who kept watch on the towers along the shore. Deeply affecting, wildly romantic, and not less faithful to historic truth, are the adventures furnished by the corsairs of Africa to the old Spanish and Italian writers. In the lists of redeemed slaves published by the religious orders which had delivered them, we find enumerated persons of all conditions and ages, many of whom had been captured in their youth, and retained till old age had rendered them incapable of laboring in chains. La Blanc was delivered in his eighty-second year after thirty-three years of slavery; Piqueline, aged sixty, who had been a slave forty-five years; Dunic, of Ostend, only ten years of age, had been a slave eighteen months; Mary-Anne du Bourk was in her ninth year, and her servants said, that amidst the horror of their captivity, they owed to her courage and remonstrances, their resolution to die rather than fail in fidelity to God. In the palace of the doges at Venice, Leander Albertus remarked many solemn pictures of illustrious Venetians, who preferred dying by the hands of the infidels, to renouncing their faith. There he beheld amongst them the figures of Albano Armario, and of Marc Antonio Bragadini, and of many others. Innumerable were the glorious martyrs of Italy, when the Turks used to take cities in Calabria, and offer for the only condition of life the renouncement of Christ. Examples are given by Leander Albertus,* and by many of the old local historians, as by Antonio Galatea.†

In several provinces of Spain too, during many centuries, Christians had not to leave their homes or fall into corsairs' hands, by singular mischances, in order to suffer persecution for their faith from the Moors. Between the year 850 and 960, under Abderrahman II., Muhammed I., and Abderrahman III., violent persecutions raged. Torrents of blood, the blood of priests, monks, and laics, flowed over the land, and especially in Cordova, the seat of the Moorish power. Then was the holy Eulogius, archbishop of Toledo, who has described as an eye-witness the sufferings of the martyrs, many of whom he encouraged to persevere, glorified with a martyr's crown.

In the year 860, St. Perfect, a priest of Cordova, merely in consequence of his sermons to the Christians, was martyred by them. In 853, St. Columba, a nun of the same city, was beheaded by them for professing herself a Christian before their tribunals. During the violence of the persecution in the year 850, Reccafrede, a bishop, through fear of displeasing the Moors, declared against the martyrs, and even caused many priests to be thrown into prison. Two years later, a

* Descriptio Italiæ, 467.

† De Japiag. in Thes. Ital. Antiq.

great number of Christians received the crown. St. Eulogius, of a senatorian family of Cordova, a priest, in 859, was among the glorious martyrs who suffered for the faith from the hands of the Moors in that capital of their kingdom. His amiable mildness was united to evangelical zeal. With joy he exposed his life by espousing the cause of a young lady, Leocritia, of Moorish family, who being a Christian, was persecuted for conscience sake; and the Almighty was pleased to reward his zeal with the purple crown of martyrdom. In fine, as in the history of the pagan persecutions, we must observe the multitudes of holy apostolic men who suffered death from the hands of the Mahometans, for preaching the Gospel to them, as missionaries appointed for that purpose, and authoritatively sent. These were chiefly friars of the two families of Francis and Dominic. With what deep interest, while perambulating the cloisters of their religious houses on the continent, have I marked the old paintings representing the martyrdom of different brethren of their respective orders! How few among the strangers who ask admittance here, have ever even heard of such men or of such events! But open the martyrologies of the different orders, and there you will find, at least, sometimes in minute detail, the history of each, often containing episodes of the most affecting nature. Reading the Martyrologium Franciscanum, one is struck with amaze, at the number of friars martyred by the Turks and Moors, to whom they preached the Gospel, evincing that intrepidity and self-devotion, which in their seraphic founder appeared so marvellous to the sultan, that he sent him back under an escort to the camp of the crusaders, after recommending himself to his prayers.

Some of these persecuted missionaries, by means of the Church, have secured on earth a perpetual renown. Such are the five friars, Berardo, Pietro, Accursio, Ajuto, and Otho, charged by St. Francis, in 1219, to preach to the Moors, who were decapitated for the faith in Morocco, in 1220, whence their relics were ransomed and brought to Coimbra, where they still are found in the Church of the Holy Cross. Such are again the seven friars, Daniel, Samuel, Angelo, Donulo, Leo, Nicholas, and Hugolin, who suffered the following year at Ceuta, for preaching Christ, whose beautiful letter, addressed to the Christian merchants of the suburbs, written in their dungeon, forms such a precious relic for the veneration of all ages. St. John de Prado, a Spanish Franciscan, is another example which, in consequence of the bull of Benedict XIII., is familiar to the ears of the faithful. This holy friar preaching in the kingdom of Fez and Morocco, by order of the congregation of the Propaganda, experienced all the fury of the Mahometans, imprisonment, chains, cruel bastinados, and other tortures, and, in fine, consummated his sacrifice by fire in 1636. The blessed John, of Perugia, and Pietro de Saso-Ferrato, of the same order, having been sent into Spain to preach to the Moors, were beheaded for fulfilling their mission, by order of Agoze, king of Valencia, in 1230. Gentil, born of an illustrious family of Matelica, in the marshes of Ancona, after being twice guardian of Alvernia, obtained permission to pre-

in the east. He baptized more than fifteen thousand Persians, and finally received the palm of martyrdom on his journey to Mount Sinaï.

St. Joseph, of Leonissa, a Capuchin friar, being sent in 1587 by his order to Constantinople, on the mission of Pera, converted many apostates, of whom one was a pacha. After being twice imprisoned by the Mahometans, he was condemned to death. They suspended him on a gibbit by one foot and one hand, and left him in that state for a long time. The sultan, however, commuted his sentence to exile, and he was taken down. He landed at Venice, and after an absence of two years, returned to his convent of Leonissa, in the states of the Church, where he died in 1612.

But to retrace our steps to earlier times. We have so often had occasion to remark the many points on which the history of Europe, in the middle ages requires to be re-written, that in noticing a fresh instance of the error of popular opinions resulting from a study of the modern works, it seems hardly worth while to repeat the observations respecting that blindness of history as now conveyed, and to lament again its old accustomed ways. In a former book we had occasion to refute the charge of intolerance adduced against the middle ages, in regard to the treatment of the Jews. It remains in this place to assume other ground, and show briefly, from the testimony of historians, that Christians during these ages suffered frequently a real persecution for their faith, from these very Jews whom they are accused of having oppressed, and against whom unquestionably they were occasionally inflamed with a spirit of cruel retaliation. And here, not to glance at the conduct of the latter throughout the vast regions of the east, where, as at the present day, they frequently took occasion to persecute their fellow-sufferers, either by direct violence, or by instigating against them the Mahometan authorities; or at their conduct in Spain, where many of them were the ministers and generals of the Arabic kings,* and where, during the Moorish domination, others of their nation opened the gates of more than one Christian city to the Arabs;† but confining our observations to what passed commonly in the very center of Christendom amongst the European nations, we find evidence to demonstrate that the position of the Jews in regard to the Christian society in general, however deficient in point of dignity, was one of great influence and power, enabling several individuals amongst them to oppress the people, and often secretly to conteract the exertions of the Church in propagating religion; while isolated and unavowed deeds of darkness, emanating from the mysticism of night, revealed from time to time to the terrified population the malignant hatred with which their faith was regarded by those to whom they had often rashly, and sometimes through necessity, subjected themselves.

"Persecution by the Jews is not wanting to us," says Bellarmin, "for by usuries the Hebrews every where injure the faithful, and where they can, they impose

* Levinsohn's Conversat. 84. † Roderic. Toletanus, de Reb. Hisp. iii. 20.

upon the Christians and deceive them."* We have seen the horror with which the sin of usurious oppression was regarded in the middle ages. "A usurer by the ancient laws was to walk round the church on three successive Sundays, holding in his hand the holy water, barefooted, and with a Jew's hat on his head."† If such laws still prevailed, we should witness singular processions now; but in the middle ages, among Christians, these were rare examples. In 1478, a certain Francis de Pizicardis, a great and cruel usurer, was buried in the church of St. Francis, in Placentia. "It happened," says a contemporary writer, "to rain torrents during many days; till a report spread through the city, that it would never cease as long as the said body was in holy ground. The young men of the city in a body, as if convoked by the bishop, went to the said church, burst the gates, dug up the body, and dragged it by a cord through all the streets of the city; and as they passed the house of one old woman, she ran out and insulted it, saying, 'Give me back my eggs,' for she had given him two fresh eggs every day, interest for a ducat which she owed him. At length it was dragged out of the city, suspended from a certain willow, and finally thrown into the Po. And strange to relate, adds the quaint annalist, the rain then ceased."‡

Usury was the sleepless sin: "its master sleeping," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "it sleeps not, but always mounts, and increases." "The usurer who remained at home quietly seated, and despising the labors of those who took up the cross for the love of Christ, was seen, it was said, in visions, at the time when the cross was preached in the diocese of Utrecht, receiving in hell a seat of fire."§ Meanwhile, however, he enjoyed a position in this world which his heart most coveted.

We have seen elsewhere, that these Hebrew usurers were the bailiffs of many of the feudal nobility, in which capacity they could exercise an almost uncontrolled tyranny over the poor. Often, too, they were closely allied to the rulers of states, some of whom were but faint sticklers for the faith. "We of the court," says the Franciscan Antonio de Guevara, in a tone of bitter irony, "we of the court are so embarrassed, that we have constantly to write epistles ad Hebræos, though not exactly like that of the apostle." If it were so at the court of Charles V., what must it have been under a Henry II. in England, or a Philip-le-Bel in France? Assuredly these Hebrews were not always the persecuted. It is acknowledged by themselves that the kings of Poland at one time showed them more favor than they did their Christian subjects, and that the Christians in Poland were first induced to look upon them with jealousy, in consequence of the superior estimation in which the Polish rulers and governors held them."‖ But let us attend to what occurred generally. Facts best will witness if I speak the truth. Hear then what Peter of Blois says:

* De Gemitu Columb. ii. 4. † Michelet's Origines du Droit, 394.
‡ Diarium Parmeuse, ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxii. § Illust. Mirac. Lib. ii. 7, 8.
‖ Levinsohn's Conversat. 92.

"If a bishop or priest be killed, the crime is winked at; while, for killing a Jew, the most exact justice is exercised. Of all the multitude concerned in the murder of blessed Thomas, not one lost an ear; but when the wife of Aaron the Jew was killed, the whole earth shuddered at the exquisite punishments inflicted upon the authors, and counsellors of the act.*

The tract of Agobard addressed to Louis-le-Débonnaire "De Insolentia Judæorum," conveys a curious picture of the relation in which that people stood to the Christians amongst whom they dwelt. To the emperor he says, "Gerricus and Frederic and Everard came here to Lyons, your envoys, though not in your interest, but in that of another; and they showed themselves terrible to the Christians, and mild to the Jews, especially at Lyons, where they caused a persecution of the Church. These envoys said that the Jews were dear in your eyes."

Agobard declares that the persecution he has suffered from those who favored the Jews, has arisen solely from his having told the Christians in his sermons that they ought not to sell their serfs to the Jews, nor permit the Jews to sell Christians to the Moors in Spain, nor to have Christian servants for themselves, lest the latter should be compelled by them to keep their Sabbath, to work on Sunday, and to eat meat with them in Lent. "While I was writing this tract," he says, "there has arrived here a man who escaped from Spain, flying from Cordova, who says, that he had been stolen by a certain Jew at Lyons, twenty-four years ago, while a boy, and sold. He made his escape this year with another who had been stolen at Arles by another Jew, six years before. We have heard also, that others have been stolen and sold at Lyons this present year."

Was it not then, we may ask, a persecution on account of justice, when wretches could be found, as now, who bargained for their son or daughter, as did corsairs for their slaves.

——"O avarice!
What canst thou more, who hast subdued our blood
So wholly to thyself? they feel no care
Of their own flesh!"†

In a letter to Nibridrius, Agobard speaks of the evils and immoralities arising to Christian servants from their intercourse with the Jews, who often endeavored to corrupt them; to the results of which perversion, Dante perhaps makes allusion, where he says,

——"when by evil lust enticed,
Remember ye be men, not senseless beasts;
Nor let the Jew, who dwelleth in your streets,
Hold you in mockery."‡

Nevertheless, Agobard was animated by that true Catholic spirit which desired to defend the Jews from violence, whenever the sufferings of the people from them

* De Instit. Episcopi. † Dante, Purg. 20. ‡ Par. v.

led to an explosion, or the policy of kings to a legalized attack. "Notwithstanding," he says, "these things, since the Jews live amongst us, we ought not be malignant towards them, nor be adverse to their life, or health, or riches, but we should observe the limits ordained, and clearly laid down by the Church, to teach us only how to be cautious and humane towards them."*

This and nothing more was meant by St. Hilary, when, as Agobert observes, he teaches us to refrain from social intercourse with Jews. St. Cæsarius of Arles, with thirty-five bishops and vicars assembled in the name of the Lord for the defense of Catholic truth, ordained that all clerks and laymen should avoid the banquets of the Jews, and avoid entertaining them—and Priscus, bishop of Lyons, with other bishops, decreed that no Christian should presume to partake of banquets with the Jews, on pain of excommunication. Now, in fact, it was the kind of men against whom these synodial decrees were directed, who were the real persecutors of the Jews by being utterly careless of their spiritual interests, provided they could reap advantage from their services; while the Church, without any regard to what might expose her to sufferings, was constantly interposing to promote them. The position of the Jews was often virtually and even legally independent of the Christian society, to such a degree as to interfere with the most sacred obligations. Not merely after acquiring vast possessions could they defy the clergy, who demanded the tithes which had been paid by all former proprietors, but it appears that the clergy were forbidden by law to exercise their ministry in favor of persons who might desire it, while dependent on the Jews. Against this persecution Agobard raised his voice. "Every man," he says, "is the creature of God, and though a servant to one man, he belongs more to God, who created him in the womb, and brought him forth to the light of this life, and preserved him in it, than to him who gives him twenty or thirty solidi for his corporal service. Therefore, I conclude, that we are bound to admit the pagan servants of the Jews to baptism, when they desire it, whatever the master of the palace or the law of the emperor may say to the contrary; for beyond all doubt a servant, while he owes the service of his limbs to his carnal master, owes the religion of his mind to his Creator alone:" thus writes the prelate to Adalard, Wala, and Helisacharus. Nor can we omit mention either of those dark mysterious deeds, scattered here and there through the history of the middle ages, the reality of which, as we remarked in a former book, was placed beyond all doubt by calm and minute investigations; deeds truly horrible, by means of which many children of the faithful were called to a participation in the lot of those blessed innocents, who, as the Church sings, are so justly called the flowers of the martyrs, springing up out of the cold of infidelity, as if the first gems of the Church. These poor Christian boys, crucified and bled to death by some perfidious Jews, were justly counted among blessed martyrs. The instances at Mestare between Chalcedon and Antioch, as related by

* De Insolentia Judæorum.

Socrates ;* of St. Hugo at Lincoln ; of St. Richard in France, in the time of Philip Augustus ; of St. William at Norwich ; of St. Wernher at Wammenrat, near Baccarac, on the Rhine, in 1287 ; and of St. Simon at Trent, were fully authenticated ; proving, not indeed that a whole nation was guilty, or that its rites and learned men required crimes, but that amongst a people, of which every individual may in a great measure do as he likes,† the same spirit which in the beginning raged against our divine Lord could still find breasts to harbor it, however contrary it might be to the Scriptures or to the Talmud, or however its fruits might seem incredible to those who sought to disprove its existence by the force of reasoning alone.

But we must not remain longer here. It suffices to have shown, in opposition to the reasoning of those who would dissolve all difference between Peter and Iscariot, that the Jews, in ages of faith, with the Pagan and the Moor, have put our ancestors to proof of constancy. O it is not by now enrolling them with the descendants of the men who followed Richard to the Holy Land, sunk as they are below the types of usury ; it is not by constituting them judges in these tribunals, where, thanks to lords and commons, they may sit with Pontius Pilate on Good Friday, that you can, as the Church desires, either cause the plenitude of the whole world to pass into children of Abraham and into the Israelitic dignity,‡ or emancipate and exalt in an intellectual sense the race who lost Jerusalem.

Having now cast a rapid glance at the sufferings of Christians from the Arians and Mahometans, two of the great persecutions of the Church after the fall of the Roman empire, before we proceed to a consideration of the third and last of the visitations of Almighty vengeance, which commenced in the sixteenth century, it will be necessary to observe some other sources of suffering for the faith, that could yield the seeds of beatitude during the intervening period of the middle ages, to those for whom the angels in the skies were waiting. Although the Church in general was then delivered from the attacks of false teachers, there were still found traces of the danger from time to time, as if to verify the divine sentence, that heresies must be.

Towards the end of the fourth century Manichæism, in the east, a perennial poison, had reached the farthest west, where, under the form of Priscillianism, it struck such root in Spain, that at the end of the sixth it was not extirpated. In the seventh it emerged through Constantine from Syrian Armenia in the Paulician sect, spread in the eighth through Asia Minor, and possessed Byzantine Cæsars. In the middle of the ninth age its arrogance gave rise to a battle of almost a hundred years' duration, which ended in its overthrow. Then, after being fostered in some Thracian valleys, it again came forth under the name of Bogomilens, and in the middle of the eleventh, under that of the Messalians or Enthusiasts, it had spread by missions through Dalmatia, till about the year 1000 it reached Italy, were chiefly it took root in Milan, under the name of Passagini and Bulgarian,

* 16. Lib. vii. † Levinsohn's Conversations, 22. ‡ Prayer on Holy Saturday.

or, as it styled itself, of Catharan or Puritan,—titles which it exchanged as it advanced for Patareu, Beghard, and Lollard. France then received the seed in secret, and reaped a bitter harvest, when suddenly in the year 1017 it shot forth at Orleans: thence spreading through other provinces, it seized on Aquitaine, and grew so terrible that in 1030 a synod in Toulouse was held against it: through the twelfth century it grew in might, till, at length, it caused the bloody war of the Albigenses;* when that impure sect persecuted the Catholics by open violence, ravaging Languedoc with bodies of six or eight thousand men, pillaging churches and monasteries, and murdering the clergy, under the sanction of the count of Toulouse, that execrable prince who left his subjects at the mercy of an army of assassins. But the insidious element of persecution was not confined to France. In 1052, returning on its steps, it broke forth in the region of Goslar, and then in the twelfth century by the lower Rhine passed over to England. Later, in the peasants' war, and with the Anabaptists, it gave traces of vitality; and in France, since the year 1830, many of its roots were traced.†

Among the elect of God, who from martyrdom by the hands of Manichæan heretics passed to beatitude, were many friars of St. Dominic, who sought to convert them to the light of Christ.

It was on the sixth of April, 1252, that St. Peter Martyr received his crown on the road between Como and Milan. He had long been an object of aversion to the Manichæans, from the success of his preaching; but when sent with authority to inquire into the disseminators of their principles, they conspired his death, and hired the assassins, who slew him on his way.

The blessed Humbert, alluding to the preaching of St. Dominic, in the province of Narbonne, says that "he was wholly devoted to the salvation of souls by preaching, and that he suffered with all his heart many affronts, ignominies, and tortures, for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is recorded of him that he preferred preaching at Carcasson to any other place, on account of the contradictions and insults he was sure to meet with there.

The barbarous atrocities committed on the faithful by these miscreant bands left so profound an impression on the people's minds, that even at the present day they are remembered, as can be instanced by a legend, which the reader must receive as it was told to me while journeying in the south. Lomenie, who for his crimes was justly named rather Ignominy, came to a convent on his visitation, where the mother abbess evaded lodging him in the visitor's apartment. Questioned severely as to the cause of such neglect, that venerable lady hinted, by dark broken words, that no one with a conscience unreleased could rest securely there. Laughter at her fears, and stern commands to have the rooms prepared on his return from the chase, cost the bold bad man no scruple. The day was passed in the forest, chasing the gaunt wolf, and at night returning, the

* Goërres. Die Christliche Mystik, IIId. 30. Muratori, Antiq. It. Diss. ix. † Id.

company drank before they separated. Alone in the chamber of his choice, sleep and confidence fled from him; the miserere smote on his ear; he heard ever and anon a sigh of agony, and "Hast no food for me, my sisters?" uttered in a half-smothered voice, which shook his unnerved frame with terror. At the first streak of morning light he rose, called his attendant minister, and told him how he had passed the night. "It is a plot, my lord, of these veiled sisters to affright your grandeur. Let architects be summoned, who may detect it." Before tierce was sung, the man of art arrived; but all that could be discovered was ineffectual. Behind one wall was the convent church; through the others, which only concealed open galleries, no voice could reach. Then, with an air of more assurance,—"It was the natural effect, my lord, of wine and over-wearied limbs," said he who played the master of the sport; "this day let our course be shortened, and our evening mirth more moderate." "Rightly suggested," replied the irreverent visitor: "we had thought to leave this convent instantly; but let it not be said that we could give such heed to women's tales." That day they hunted, but less joyfully than before. On their return constrained merriment but ill concealed the gloom which hung over the evening meal. Night again drew over the convent its sable curtain: the wretch was a second time alone: he slept; but with a sudden start awoke. The penitential strain, the moans, and sad complaint of pining famine were more audible than before; till, at length, by a faint beam from the far casement of that vast chamber, he saw the figure of a nun, emaciated beyond all seeming of the flesh we wear, and with a thong placed in her jaws, through which the words found broken utterance. The horrid sight seemed to give him an hysteric strength: he rushed to the door, and he who received him fainting in his arms was the attendant minister, who had been watching without. None besides those two heard aught. The vision was not told. The visitor departed, as he came, impenitent; but he who till then had followed him more as a boon companion than a priest, had received the dart of heaven in his soul; and in a cloister of that neighboring city, to which the next day he fled, lives still a man of sanctity to vouch the tale. Years had elapsed since this event, when builders, who were employed on scaffolding within the church, discovered, immediately behind the visitor's apartment, in a niche of the choir, too deep for any eye to pierce it from below, a skeleton, with wood infixed between the jaws; and then the records of the house were searched, and it was found that it had of old been pillaged by the Albigenses, from whom all had fled but one poor sister, who had remained as was supposed in safe concealment, but who was never on their return heard of more. Such was the tale; let those object to it who will; but I have chosen to relate it, being in the vein of Froissart, who loved to chronicle all narratives, however wild, which brave knights had recounted to him in foreign lands. Let us, however, return to the domain of history.

This would be the place, if we had time, to behold the grand and solemn figure

of Simon de Montfort, who, in the spirit of that devoted chivalry of which I lately spoke, came nobly forward to defend the Catholics and the cause of truth, as far as driving back the material obstacles which opposed its reign. But as recent works of the best stamp have made this name familiar to all who study history, it is needless for us to pursue it now. There remains yet abundant matter to occupy us before entering on the terrible drama of the sixteenth century, which closes all.

CHAPTER V.

"DICIT Domiuus: Sermones mei, quos dedi in os tuum, non deficient de ore tuo; et munera tua accepta erunt super altare meum." These solemn words, which from the introit of the Mass of the blessed martyr, Pope St. Clement, may be imagined graven over the portal through which we now must pass to witness those who obeyed and verified them.

So far we have seen the sources of beatitude to sufferers in ages of faith, furnished by the persecution of men who were without the Church. The most abundant springs to refresh the divine garden remain to be visited; and of these the first we meet with on the page of history is the opposition of wicked Christians to the good, who endeavor to persuade them to reform their lives.

It is a perilous thing to attempt to stem the tide of passion swelling in the breasts of men, who says in their hearts, There is no God. Of the dangers, indeed, attending merely an external reform of manners, the pagan world had not been left without experience. Ulpian, the minister of Alexander Severus, a friend of the laws and of the people, endeavoring to reform the army, was sacrificed to its fury. The Emperor Probus, because he consulted the interests of mankind more than those of the army, hoping to establish universal peace, for expressing that hope was slain. Pertinax, in consequence of his zeal to reform the corrupted state, was murdered. Majorian endeavoring to reform the people, both civil and military officers were exasperated against him, since they all derived some advantage from the abuses which he sought to suppress: he by constraint abdicated, and within four days died. It would be long to enumerate instances; nor could any other result be expected, even when the empire had become Christian; since, within the Church itself the same elements of persecution must always exist, to ex-

cite many against those who would move forward the standard of Christ in opposition to that of Lucifer. There was no reason for supposing that the consequences would be different, or that the old cry, as we hear it chanted during the Passion, would not be resumed: "Dixerunt impii: Opprimamus virum justum, quoniam contrarius est operibus nostris."

Let us hear St. Augustin: "There is a crowd of men, profligate, most wicked, who cherish their sins, who, turning vices into custom, lose even shame. Such is the multitude of these men, that the body of Christ, placed amongst them, scarcely can dare to reprehend what it is not compelled to admit; and it thinks it a great matter if it can preserve the integrity of its innocence, lest either it should commit that which through custom it does not dare to blame; or, if it should dare, the reprehension and vociferation of those who live ill, should more easily break forth than the free voice of those who live justly."*

Against this criminal compliance of tepid Christians the holy doctor raises his voice, and shows that such acquiescence with the custom of life is incompatible with their most sacred obligations; for thus he proceeds: "You do not suffer persecution? You do not wish to live piously in Christ. Do you wish to prove whether this be true? Begin to live piously in Christ. What is to live piously in Christ? It is to feel what the Apostle felt: Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror? The infirmities of others, the scandals of others, were persecutions to him. Are they wanting now? They more abound in those who heed them. Begin therefore to live piously, and you will desire the wings of the dove to fly away and remain in the desert; for amidst the multitude there must be found evil men, whom we must love, reprove, chasten, excommunicate, and with love separate from ourselves."†

Then, as if describing the condition of the faithful in these latter days, he continues to show the necessity of not appearing to make slight of the errors of men who have broken unity. "Save me," said the Psalmist, "ab his qui appropinquant mihi. I can easily be on my guard against those who are far off, but not so easily against him who says, 'I am a Christian; in many things I am with you. In baptism I am with you: in reading the gospel I am with you: in celebrating the feasts of the martyrs I am with you: in frequenting the solemnities of Easter I am with you; but you are not altogether with me. In schism you are not with me: in heresy you are not with me; in many things with me, in few not with me; but these few are greater than all the rest in which you are with me.'"‡ "Tota die verba mea abominabantur. It is even so; as you have found by experience. Speak truth; preach truth; announce Christ to pagans; announce the Church to heretics; announce salvation to all; they will contradict; they will abominate your words."§ "Coronemus nos rosis antequam marcescant. What more delicate, more gentle! Could you expect from this suavity, crosses and swords? Yet

* In Ps. lii. † In Ps. liv. ‡ In Ps. liv. § In Ps lv.

if any one teach them, he finds them thorns with which he will be pierced;* if any one reprove them, he will hear with threats and defiance, Recede a nobis, scientiam viarum tuarum nolumus."

All this is taught by the great poet of the ages of faith; for when saying that old fame reports the herd of Fiesole in the world for blind, covetous, envious, and proud, adding,

"Look to it well;
Take heed thou cleanse thee of their ways;"

he adds,

"But that ungrateful and malignant race
Will for thy good deeds show thee enmity.
Nor wonder; for amongst ill savor'd crabs
It suits not the sweet fig-tree to lay her fruit."†

They expose themselves to persecution of this kind, however, the Catholics of the middle ages regarded themselves as bound by strict obligation; and consequently in almost every page of their history we find a recurrence of the same facts, attesting what they suffered. "Necessity," says St. Augustin, "is the mother of all human actions. I do not speak of crimes, which are not to be counted amongst human actions. Take away litigators; where will be the advocates? take away wounds and diseases; what will the physician cure?"‡ Similarly St. Ambrose says,—"Take away the combats of the martyrs, and you have taken away their crowns,—tolle cruciatus, tulisti beatitudines;" or, as St. Jerome says, "Tolle tyrannos; ubi martyres erunt?" Tyrants, therefore, were still found; kings and feudal lords were not wanting, who acquitted themselves well of the part they were permitted to act in company with the elect of God; and, as we shall see before the end of this history, they were found in no country more frequently than in our own, where was still verified the old experience, "Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum," according to the expression of St. Jerome and the opinion of the Roman world. Such were the men described by prophecy of old. "The princes of the nations, who have dominion over the beasts which are on the earth; who play with the birds of heaven; who heap up treasures of silver and of gold; in which they trust, and there is no end of their acquisitions."§

How were such men to be approached with impunity? There was but one method; as the prince of Piedmont pointed out to Mary de Medicis, who inquired how she might regain the favor of Louis XIII. her son: "Love, truly and sincerely, whatever he loves. These two words contain the law and the prophets." Therefore there must be words of compliance, words of praise, words of encouragement for these men, often so well known to the just as choleric and bloody. "I was reported unto him," says Gardener, speaking of Henry VIII., "that I stooped not, and was stubborn; and he had commended unto me certain men's gentle nat-

* In Ps. lii. † Hell. xv. ‡ In Ps. lxxxiii. § Baruch, iii.

ure (as he called it) that wept at every of his words ;" that is, who were ready at every gust of his passion to reply,—

> " Sir, you shall have revenge, revenge the joy
> Of flesh and blood, life and delight of nature,
> The poor man's luxury, and the rich man's bath,
> Above all wealth, sir."*

Sycophants ! like so many of the heathen philosophers, ready to flatter a tyrant and defend a parricide, even when they lamented secretly his crimes, as when Tacitus says, " Et mœrens Burrus ac laudans." If such then are the conditions, the sole conditions of favor with so many of the great, and, indeed, with the people often and the whole world collectively, what are those persons to expect who know that, like the holy baptist, their mouth should be as a sharp sword, while raising their voice for truth, for the oppressed, for the freedom of the Church, for the interests of the people, for the honor and happiness of all ? Not human favor assuredly, but eternal beatitude, if they discharge their duty, suffering persecution in this life on account of justice. O how magnificent, how imposing is the history of Catholic ages, in regard to the calm undaunted mind which formed such anticipations, and beheld their accomplishment.

The mass of St. John the Baptist, and, indeed, the office of every martyr, was a preparatory lesson which most of the faithful knew by heart. Each felt interiorly strengthened by hearing these words of the introit,—" Loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu regum, et non confundebar : et meditabar in mandatis tuis, quæ dilexi nimis. Bonum est confiteri Domino ; et psallere nomini tuo altissime." "When you approach any one," said the rule, "let the fear of the Lord be in your heart, and guard your mouth that you may return to your place in peace."† "Nihil equidem vobis adulatorium scripsisse me recolo, nec sum olei venditor :" such is the boast of Peter of Blois, writing to Henry II.‡

There was a chivalrous sincerity in the spirit of the middle ages, which accorded well with the desire of beatitude, by giving faithful counsel, and suffering in consequence, persecution, or at least that loss of personal advantage which the Greeks expressed by saying, *κόλακι τἀληθῆ πέντε, συμβούλῳ καπνόν.* Thus John of Salisbury praises and urges that Catonian precept,

> "Cumque mones aliquem, nec se velit ipse moneri,
> Si tibi sit carus, noli desistere cœptis."§

"There are friendships of glass, which can be broken," says Brunetto Latini, "and there are friendships of iron, which never bend." In regard to the former, Cicero observes, "Molesta veritas, si quidem ex ea nascitur odium, quod est venenum amicitiæ ; sed obsequium multo molestius, quod peccatis indulgens, præcip-

* Shirley. † S. Antonii Serm. ‡ Pet. Bles. Epist. ii. § Joan. Sarisb. Epist. lxxv.

item amicum ferri sinit. Igitur et monere et moneri proprium est veræ amicitiæ." Such were the rules of friendship in ages of faith, when each free monitor would say with the philosopher, "Non amo illum, nisi offendero;"* or with Prometheus, that he would tell the plain truth, not with riddles and mystery,

————ἀλλ' ἁπλῷ λόγῳ,
ὥσπερ δίκαιον πρὸς φίλους οἴγειν στόμα.

Thus the friend of the middle ages had often occasion to practice that high virtue which was so essential to the counsellor of state, to the bishop, and to the priest who guided souls. All were able to bear to themselves a testimony like that of Peter of Blois. They had never flattered; they had never sold oil; for why, thought they, should truth faint at the name of greatness? Thus Sir Thomas More told his judges, that "he candidly confessed he always told the king his opinion respecting his second marriage, as his conscience dictated to him; that this dictate of his conscience he was neither inclined to conceal from his highness, nor ought he in duty to have done so; and that so far was he from thinking himself guilty of treason on this account, that, on the contrary, had he basely flattered him against his own conscience, and not uttered the truth as he thought, then might he worthily have been accounted a most wicked subject, and a perfidious traitor to God and his king." Such was the testimony that they could bear to themselves; but to possess that power, what shall we say of the sufferings they had to endure? It is true, as we observed in the beginning, during the supernatural ages included in this history, there were exceptions presented to all former rules drawn from the experience of mankind. If it was the spirit of the manners which then prevailed to give free utterance to just thoughts, it was no less characteristic of them to bear admonition meekly. We read that when St. Bernardine was a student in the school of Sienna, where he would never suffer a single improper word to be dropped in his company without the severest reproof, that the most dissolute were kept in check by him; so that whenever they saw the pious youth coming, they would break off, saying, "Hush! here comes Bernardine." In fact, boys, and even children, might then discharge with impunity the office of admonishing the unjust. "At Lisbon," says Berlaymont, "it was the custom to explain the catechism not in churches but in the streets. A certain lad, who frequented this instruction, hearing a person swear, ran towards him, and on his bended knees said, 'I beseech you, swear not; for it is not a light sin.' The man called after him as he went back, and asked him his name, and who were his parents, and when the boy gave no answer, 'You are not a boy,' he said, 'but an angel of God, who have given me such salutary counsel, and henceforth I will swear no more.'"† But we are not left to cite puerile examples.

We read of St. Henry, that "through affection for St. Ambrose, the freedom

* Seneca, Epist, xxv.

† Paradisus Puerorum, xi. 21.

of whose tongue he loved, the emperor turned out of his way to visit Milan."* Of this love for a free tongue we have many traces in the annals of the middle ages. The chronicles of St. Demis are indeed themselves a monument to prove its existence in a long succession of princes; for, as Michelet remarks, "These monks, who received so many marks of favor from the great, were the authors of a history which freely and justly censured them when they were in fault, as in their conduct at Agincourt; a history to which it would be very happy," he says, "if a parallel could be found for impartiality among modern historians;" and the latest editor of this great collection, after observing that from the first words to the explicit, it is a work of perfect sincerity, remarks that it reflects credit on the princes of the state who admitted its continuance. "Kings," he says, "have often encouraged historians, and permitted courageous writers to relate the events of their reign without betraying the truth; but to accept the sentence, generally very severe, which the ancient annalists pronounced upon each of their predecessors, to tolerate the permanent existence of a tribunal which menaced them with the same severity; above all, not to attempt to weaken their decisions by creating judge against judge, apologies against censures,—that is what was done by our kings of France in countenancing the great chronicles of St. Denis."

Generally, in fact, one must now feel astonishment on observing the bold uncompromising style of the writers of the middle ages, when alluding to the enemies of the great. With what eloquence does Bartholomew de Neocastro describe the impiety of the French king in Sicily! "King Charles," he exclaims, "perhaps blinded by pride, you have thought that God, who created heaven and earth, and other creatures, did not create kings; or that He has no power over them. Do you suppose that the Lord of strength will not punish those who rage against his elect?"† The best subject would speak thus.

But while honor is thus freely given to those to whom it is due, let us not shut our eyes to the facts recorded on almost every page of our history, attesting the sufferings, on account of justice, which holy men brought upon themselves by reproving sinners with a free language, and exercising their just authority, whether to restrain kings, or nobles, or the multitude; for reproofs were administered to all. In this category the clergy, as was to be expected, take the lead.

The tower of the bishop of Valence, if we credit the old chronicles, had a mysterious influence attached to it, in consequence of which no watcher could rest on it by night. If the wish of many kings and great men of the earth could have been realized, there would have been no watchers, either by day or night, from any of the towers of those who had to keep a look-out for the Church of God and for the welfare of the people. We hear of no such tradition attached to any feudal towers of the secular power. All these, without exception, were to be defended by the guet de nuit, in which the peasants of the surrounding country were constrained

* Adelbold. Episc. Traject. Vit. S. Henrici Imp.

† Hist. Siciliæ, cap. xlix.

to serve, as the records of the ancient tribunals attest, and often after suffering every kind of vexation and injustice. * Happily for mankind, however, all things on earth were not exactly accordant with the desires of the impious.

There were men to keep incessant watch for the inmates of the holy city in ages of faith, when the world saw accomplished the desire of the wise, "Si longa est manus regis, longior debet esse manus episcopi."† Hear how Alcuin writes to Edilhard, archbishop of Canterbury: "Remember always that your mouth ought to be the trump of God, and your tongue to all a herald of salvation. Be a shepherd, not a hireling; a glorious soldier of Christ, not a vile apostate; a father and preacher, not a flatterer. It is better to fear the Lord than man, to please God than to fawn upon man. What is a flatterer, but an insidious enemy? He destroys both himself and his hearer; isti sunt qui consuunt pulvillos sub omni cubito. Why should you fear a man on account of the sword,—you, who have received the key of the kingdom from Christ? Recollect that He suffered for you, and fear not to speak in his behalf. Through love for you, He hung upon the cross, transfixed with nails; and will you, seated on the throne of your dignity, through fear of man be silent? Not so, brother; not so. If you should suffer persecution for the word of God, what is there more blessed? If you reprove a delinquent, and at your admonition he should correct himself, for you there will be a reward with God, and to himself from God salvation. If he should hate you for reproving him, for him there will be damnation, and for you beatitude."‡

The prospect of dangers and difficulties might cause holy men moments of discouragement, when they would complain, like Peter of Blois writing to Pope Innocent III., and saying, "O how much more of quietness and safety should I have enjoyed if I had remained hidden, instead of being raised to the archdeaconry of London, a city containing forty thousand inhabitants and a hundred and twenty churches!"§ But, on the whole, they shrank not from the burden; they knew that they were called to exercise the authority with which heaven intrusted them, not alone by the canons of their holy order but by the one voice of sufferers, who looked to them for a refuge from an oppression against which they alone could impose a shield. "The word of the Lord was not to be tied in their mouths, nor was human fear in them to take away the spirit of liberty," as Eleanor, queen of England, reminds Pope Cælestine, when she implored him to procure the deliverance of King Richard.‖ "The cross of Christ," said that princess, "excels the eagles of Cæsar, the sword of Peter that of Constantine, and the apostolic chair the imperial throne. But you will say," she continues, and her expecting the objection from that quarter should be noticed, "that this power is committed to you over souls, not bodies. Be it so. Certes it is suffi-

* Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Normandie, i. 193. † Petr. Blesius, De Instit. Episc.
‡ Ap. Caniss. Lect. Antiq. Rom. 11. § Epist. cli. ‖ Petr. Blesius, Epist. cxliv.

cient for us if you bind the souls of them who hold my son bound in prison. You can free my son, if the fear of God overcome human fear."* So in his letter to the archbishop of Rheims, desiring that the alms taken from the brethren of the hospital of Jerusalem by the duke of Louvain be restored to them, Pope Alexander III. adds, "We who ought more strictly to coerce with the sword of ecclesiastical severity, noble men and powerful persons who seek to oppress others, and especially the poor of Christ, command your fraternity by apostolic letters to exhort and admonish the said duke to make speedy restitution, and, if he should refuse, to bind him by the bond of excommunication."†

The vigilance of the sovereign pontiffs, whatever sorrows it might cost them, was always exemplary. The assassination of an obscure citizen committed in the city of Rheims, is enough to draw a letter from Pope Alexander III. to the shepherd of that flock.‡ The least act bordering on injustice induces him to write again: Peter, a certain Jew, on his conversion, received a prebend for the refectory from the abbess of St. Peter, of Rheims, who had received him from the sacred font. This being taken away by the archbishop, the same pope writes to charge him to restore it.§ It would be long to illustrate with instances the solicitude of supreme pontiffs. Let us observe the duty of admonition discharged by subordinate pastors, who in each locality were in immediate contact with those who were to exercise the elect of God. But while citing proof, let us bear in mind our former observation, that the monitors of the ages of faith were careful that nothing should give offence in them, but the justice of their wish. With sacrifice and humble prayer to God they commenced their undertaking. There was, as we before observed, the mass against tyrants. There was also the missa contra judices male agentes ;‖ and against the latter, while traces of the pagan manners lasted, they had often to raise their holy protestation, as when Ratherius of Verona wrote to the Empress Adelheid, saying, "O how well would it be for all constituted in authority, as I have often suggested to your domination, if others would not pass such precipitous sentences, but observe that of blessed Job, Causam, quam nesciebam, diligentissime investigabam.' "¶

When they proceeded to a personal admonition, their manner was to be in strict accordance with the charity which was their motive. They were to have that address required in the Brevis Religiosorum Practica of the Benedictines, when among the "conditiones bonorum Fratrum," we read, "oculos deprimere, manus et pedes componere, devote inclinare, humiliter prosternere, omnibus servire, leniter transire." Their steps were to be soft and reverential, as monks that walk cloisters murmuring their prayers. Gentleness, delicacy, often pushed to the extremest verge, were to characterize their whole manner; not like those moral philosophers described by Sir Philip Sidney, coming forward "with a sullen

* Petr. Blesius, Epist. cxliv. † Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 771. ‡ Id. 810.
§ Id. 786. ‖ Muratori. Antiq. It. liv. ¶ Ap. Pez. Thes. Anec. tom. iv. 68.

gravity, as though they could not abide vice by day-light, with books in their hands against glory, whereto they set their names; sophistically speaking against subtlety, and angry with any man in whom they see the foul fault of anger, casting largesses as they go, of definitions, divisions, and distinctions."* They were to be affectionate, simple, natural; so that at the first glance any one could discern the contrast between them and that class of monitors, to which Callisthenes belonged, who was said to have been actuated more by the pleasure of condemning other people, and of displaying his own eloquence, than by a sincere love of truth. But they could not lose dignity; and the Catholic poet does but catch their spirit in this grand reply,

——"when sovereign princes dare
Do injury to those that live beneath them,
They turn worth pity and their prayers, and 'tis
In the free power of those whom they oppress
To pardon them; each soul has a prerogative,
And privilege royal, that was sign'd by heaven."

In a word, as the Church sings, God assisted them with his countenance, and they were encompassed with a benediction of sweetness; yet for this ministry of love, discharged with angel's grace, what did they gain for themselves?—Insults, contradiction, often tortures and death. "Principes persecuti sunt me gratis;" they sang of their own experience, adding that noble testimony to their insensibility to human fear, "Et a verbis tuis formidavit cor meum." It is expressly recorded that St. Ælred, abbot of Rievaulx, though sweetness and gentleness itself, was often insulted and reproached by great men, and once even in the kings's presence.

Would you now see proof of what has been advanced? Then mark the forms which approach, of which the history may be briefly told from records which the Church has cherished. The pontiff whose deeds have thus by chance occurred to me the first, is St. Eucherius, bishop of Orleans. He condemned the confusion introduced into the ecclesiastical order by the encroachments of Charles Martel, in conferring the revenues of episcopal sees and abbeys upon laymen, to defray the expenses of his wars: his zeal was represented to the prince as an indignity to his person, who in consequence banished him to Cologne, till finding that his great virtues raised him many friends in that city, he ordered him to be conveyed thence to the castle of Haspengau, in the territory of Liege, under the guard of Robert, governor of that country, who however was so charmed with him, that he allowed him to retire to the monastery of St. Tron. He who follows is that great light of England in early times, St. Dunstan, who, while abbot of Glastonbury, for remonstrating with Edwi on his crimes, was banished the kingdom. Even at the court of Athelstan his virtues, conformable to the spirit of the gospel, had given offence, though his humility and modesty equalled the purity of his

* Defence of Poesy.

manners. Edwi persecuted the monks, and ruined all the abbeys which had escaped the ravages of the Danes. After a year of exile in Flanders, St. Dunstan was recalled to England on the deposition of Edwi, and the election of his brother Edgar. He who advances next is holy Stanislas, bishop of Cracow, who received his crown on the eighth of May in 1079. Boleslas II. was then king of Poland. This prince tarnished the glory of his victories over the Russians by his unbridled lusts, and by horrible acts of tyranny and injustice. None of his courtiers, such dread had he inspired by his fiery mood, dared to remonstrate with him. Stanislas had the courage requisite to discharge this duty. Having recommended the affair to God, he boldly presented himself at court, and with the most pressing solicitations, conjured the king to put an end to his scandalous disorders, and in the end declared that he would be in danger of excommunication, if a change for the better did not take place. The king considered this expostulation as an insult not to be endured, and avowed revenge. At first he contented himself with exciting persons to calumniate the saint, and suborning false witnesses. But Stanislas cleared himself in a public trial, in presence of the king, and Boleslas seemed to be reconciled with him.

However, his continued cruelties called forth again the zeal of the saint, who again forced himself into his presence. Furious and desperate, Boleslas threatened him with death if he persisted in disturbing him; but Stanislas, still unappalled, fulfilled his trust, and after another visit, excommunicated him. He then left the city and retired to a little chapel at a small distance. Thither the king followed him with his guards, and on entering the place, ordered them to put him to death. They refused, saying that they saw a light from heaven over him. Finding no one who would dare to execute his orders, the tyrant himself rushed forward, and dispatched him with his own hand. The next so short of stature, breathes a spirit most magnanimous; for it is St. Gregory of Tours, who for nobly defending Pretextatus, bishop of Rouen, whom Fredegonde, wife of Chilperic, wished to ruin, and for reproving some prelates who were assisting her, gave offence to that queen, which she never forgave. She sought to gratify her vengeance by exciting wicked men to calumniate the holy bishop, who suffered from them what the prophet king eschewed. With him walks St. Pretextatus, whom he defended; for it was by his zeal against the injustice and cruelty of the Queen Fredegonde, that this holy bishop had drawn upon himself the vengeance of that terrible princess. After many persecutions, as he still persisted in preaching to her truth, he was assassinated by her orders, while singing matins with his clergy, on Sunday the twenty-fifth of February, 588. He who comes next is holy Colomban, apostle of the Picts. Having given offence to King Dermot by reproving public sinners, he was obliged to retire from that stormy scene, when he passed over into Scotland. His saintly namesake walks in the same procession; he who by reproving Thierri for his licentious life gave mortal offence to Brunehaud, the king's grand-mother who feared the influences of

a legitimate wife; and when the saint refused to give his benediction to the king's natural sons, she resolved on vengeance. She took occasion to excite the king against him, and in consequence he was banished first to Besançon, and then, being conducted like his holy countrymen in 1830, to Nantes, he was placed on board a ship to be conveyed a prisoner to Ireland, but being driven back by contrary winds, he was suffered to retire to Neustria, whence he afterwards proceeded a holy wanderer to Switzerland.

He who follows is St. Raymund, of Pennafort, who after being taken by King James of Arragon, into the island of Majorca to cultivate the infant church, in consequence of remonstrating with the king, who, although otherwise a religious prince, was addicted to some criminal excesses, gave him groundless offence, and was obliged to return to Spain, where his miraculous passage to Barcelona, as attested by testimonies unexceptionable to all who do not doubt the continuance of miracles in the Church of God, caused the conversion of the king, who had sought to detain him who sped the messenger of Heaven.

The next venerable form wrapped up in the weeds of hermits of Mount Carmel, is St. Angelo, of that austere order. Having come into the west, he preached in Sicily. There a certain powerful lord, having been several times reproved by him secretly for his incestuous life, and seeing himself deserted by the former partner of his crimes, turned all his fury against the holy Anachorite, whom he caused to be assassinated at Licate, in the year 1225. Ives de Chartres is another great light witnessed in this glorious company. Having refused to approve of the divorce of Queen Bertha and of King Philip's marriage with Bertrade, he was thrown into prison, from which he was not liberated till after the pillage of the estates of his church by the royal army commissioned for that purpose.

Then follow those chosen arrows,—St. Amand, bishop of Maestricht, who for warning Dagobert against the disorders of his life, was banished by him into Gascony and Navarre; St. Lambard, who ruled the same flock in the days of Pepin, and who was martyred for reproving that prince for the scandals of his life, in the castle of Heristal; St. Emmeran, the patron of Ratisbonne, who was barbarously assassinated in the diocese of Frisingen, by orders of a corrupt woman who had vowed his death; St. Frederic, bishop of Utrecht, in the ninth century, who was murdered in the church after saying mass, in consequence of having generously reproved the Empress Judith for the scandals of her life; and a throng of other pontiffs, who all suffered more or less from envy, that harlot Dante sings of,

> —"who ne'er turn'd her gloating eyes
> From Cæsar's household, common vice and pest
> Of courts."

Here walk holy martyrs too, who died for the faith expressly, while urging

upon kings the "non licet" of St. John; amongst whom we may distinguish Fisher, who declared that "that as to the business of the supremacy, he must needs repeat to his majesty, what he had often told him before, and would so tell him were he to die that very hour, that it was utterly unlawful, and that the king should beware of taking such title upon him, as he valued his own soul, and the good of his posterity."

Amongst sufferers of latest date, in this specific fellowship, every eye must recognize Fenelon. Not only was he dismissed with ignominy from his office at the court, but all his relations were disgraced and deprived of their places. One of his brothers was even expelled from the navy; another of his relations, a young man who had served in the army with distinction, was expelled from the guards. A correspondence with the archbishop became a crime against the state. "I knew well," said the king, "by the Livre des Maximes, that the archbishop of Cambrai had a false judgment, but I did not know that he had a bad heart. I have now learned it by reading Télémaque. It is impossible to push ingratitude farther. He has undertaken to cast eternal reproach upon my reign."*

Among the blessed throng who suffered persecution for reproving men in power, one may distinguish also those who stood up to defend especially the peace, and the general interest of society; of whom foremost ever stands conspicuous, the majesty of the Roman pontiffs, following St. Gregory the Great, who drew on himself the resentment of the exarch, and of the Emperor Maurice, by condemning their violations of justice, and their oppression of the people. But the episcopacy in general throughout the Church kept faithful watch on this side. St. Maurille, bishop of Cahors, in the sixth century, is thus cited as a model of firmness, in enduring the persecution to which he subjected himself, by opposing the injustice of the magistrates and lords who oppressed the people.

In the year 670, according to the chronicle of Sigebert, St. Prix, bishop of Clermont, in the reign of Chilperic II. having opposed some great lords who were oppressing the people, was martyred with the abbot of St. Martin and the priest Elidie. The persecution of this holy pontiff was first excited by the partisans of Hector of Marseilles, who suspected that he had excited the king to punish that infamous offender, of whose crimes, it is true, he formally complained. On his return from the court, passing by Volvic, his enemies waylaid him. The saint, perceiving their intention, said, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge, for they know not what they do." He had hardly finished these words, when one of the soldiers clove his skull with a sabre. Ebroin, mayor of the palace, fearing the remonstrances of St. Chaumond, bishop of Lyons, respecting the vexations with which he harassed the people of that city, accused him of high treason; and when he attempted to escape by flight, caused him to be murdered near Châlons sur Saône.

* Mém. de l'Ev. d'Agen. 779.

"The most excellent hymn of St. Othmar," by Notker Medicus, ascribes the same zeal to this holy man, whose sufferings and death it caused.

" Principum sævas doluit rapinas,
Inde raptorum studiis gravatus,
Martyris palma meruit superna
Scandere regna."*

St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, similarly incurred the displeasure of King Henry II. by resisting the tyranny of the king's foresters, who were invested with inordinate power, which they exercised over the people most tyrannically.

St. German, abbot of Granfel, in Alsace, now called Munster-thal, endured the persecution of his monastery by Duke Boniface without murmuring; but when that tyrant oppressed the poor of the duchy, the holy abbot remonstrated with him. In consequence of which courageous act he was assassinated by some of his soldiers, in 666, along with a companion, the blessed Randoald, as they returned from expostulating with the duke.

The freedom with which St. John of Sahagun reproved the vices of the great, exposed him also to severe persecutions. A certain duke, whom he had exasperated by charitably reproving him for oppressing his vassals, sent two assassins to murder him; but at the sight of the holy man, the ruffians were struck with remorse, and, casting themselves at his feet, begged pardon for their crime.

Now presses forward a multitude of holy monks, friars, and eremites, who gained martyrdom by reproving the vices of the great: but of these any attempt at a particular scrutiny would be vain. To our observations in the last book, respecting the monastic boldness, we may, however, add some few examples here.

The Franciscan liturgies contain repeated allusions to heroic acts of this kind, as in the office of St. Anthony of Padua; and the chant of the friars will be a fitting accompaniment to the remainder of the spectacle, as when they sing of St. Anthony, "Contra virum sanguinum clamat et dolosum, quod hoc genus hominum Deo sit exosum," and in the hymn commemorating his joys

"Gaude, quod, zelo succensus
Justitiæ, redarguebas
Omnes, et propter hoc eras
Multis vitiosis offensus."

When Fulgino was groaning under the oppressive yoke of the tyrant Trincio, his satellites, on suspicion of a revolt, proceeded to Bevano, a town in Umbria, where all things were soon filled with slaughter, and rapine, fire and sword. Brother James and brother Philip, minor friars of that town, preached in the market-place on this occasion, exhorting the people to patience, but expressing horror at th sanguinary rage of the tyrants. Presently the satellites rushed through

* Ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. 11.

the crowd, slew them, and then threw their bodies into the Tessino. This was on the second of September, in 1377. Generally, whenever the cities of Umbria, Lombardy, and the marshes were oppressed by their tyrants, the minor friars came forward as martyrs in their cause.*

The duke of Milan took such offence at the preaching of St. Bernardine of Sienna, that he threatened him with death; but he durst not touch him through fear of the people, who loved the friar. In this dilemma his counsellors advised him to send money to the friar, which, if he accepted, he might then have a pretence to expose him to the people as a deceiver; but the friar sent back the gold cup and ducats; and when a second time the messenger returned and refused to take back the duke's present, "Then," said he, "follow me with your lord's gold," so he led the way to the prison, entered and liberated all but two, for whose redemption there was not sufficient. These poor men, having besought his compassion, he declared that he would remain in their place rather than desert them: the people hearing what passed, made a collection sufficient to redeem them also; and thus the artifice of the duke only turned to the greater merit of Bernardine.†

After the expulsion of the French from Sicily, when Peter of Arragon had been invited to accept the crown, and King Charles was preparing hostilities, brother Bartholomew de Placea of the order of St. Francis, a wise man and greatly revered, says the historian, was induced by the prayers of the captain and count of Messina to repair to the latter. The king, on seeing him, demanded for what purpose he had come from traitors; and he replied, "I am no traitor, neither have I the appearance of a traitor, nor do I come from traitors. I have come to advise my brethren of our order who my be with you, not to adopt a mind contrary to this Christian people, who are devout to God, and friends to the house of blessed Francis. But if you ask, pretending ignorance, whence this fury of the Messenians has risen, know, O impious man, that you have exasperated to madness this innocent people whom the Lord committed to your care: for you placed over them dogs and wolves to devour them; and when they cried unto you for succor, their voice was not heard by the king; but when they turned to the Lord, He heard them. Thus bearing the form of Pharaoh, you have deservedly lost the people of Sicily; for those whom you could have conquered with one look of clemency, will not easily be subdued by your anger. Lo, the cry of all is battle—for liberty! choosing rather to die than to live thus. Strange it is, that you should be so perverted and insane as to endeavor with all your strength to destroy a city, whose rage you never attempted to destroy by the clemency of a king."‡

This particular ministry of the friars partly explains the affection with which they were cherished by the people, of which history records many instances.

* Wadding. Annal. Min. vol. ix. † Ibid. x.

‡ Bartol. de Neocastro, Hist. Sicil ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. tom. xiii.

Bartholomew of Neocastro says, that on the death of the Emperor Frederic II., when the religious brother, Ruffinus de Placentia, of the order of St. Francis, was sent legate by the apostolic see to Sicily, he was received by the citizens of Palermo with great joy ; that " children sang, Hosanna in excelsis, priests and old men carried palms and branches of olive, youths rejoiced, and all the devout female sex were filled with gladness."*

To the ear of even that fearful emperor, the free voice of the Mendicant orders had sounded. Let us hear an historian of the Dominicans: " One day brother Jordan of Saxony, who was then general of the order, waited on Frederic II., who ordered him to be seated. After they had both remained for a considerable time without speaking, the friar broke silence, saying, 'Seigneur, I travel through various provinces for the affairs of my order, fulfilling my duty ; and I am therefore surprised that you do not ask what rumors are abroad.' 'I have my ambassadors,' replied the emperor, ' in all courts, who are exactly informed of what passes every where. I am not ignorant of what is said in other kingdoms, as you seem to suppose.' The friar rejoined : ' Jesus Christ knew all things; since he was God ; and yet he asked his disciples what did men say of Him. Seigneur, you are but a man, and you are ignorant of many things that are said of you; and it would be well if you knew them. Men say that you oppress the Church, that you despise the bishops and ecclesiastical censures ; that you believe in auguries, that you favor Jews and Sarassins in preference to Christians, and that you do not honor the vicar of Jesus Christ. Assuredly, seigneur, such conduct would be unworthy of you. Permit your servant to represent to you how it concerns your glory and your salvation to stop these popular reports, by actions which may merit for you the approbation of God and the esteem of men.' The emperor, to whom such language was but little familiar, heard him however to the end."† Yet rarely could such words be addressed with impunity to princes of that stamp. Some advi e, given to Ferdinand, king of Naples, and to his two sons Alphonso, duke of Calabria, and John, cardinal of Arragon, was sufficient to draw on St. Francis of Paul, a true persecution ; and as a pretence was necessary, he was accused of building monasteries without the king's permission, an act which subjected him by law to punishment.

However, it was not the fault of these holy men if they escaped persecution; for, in regard to the discharge of their duty in this respect, they were fearless and devoted. John Birel, that general of the Carthusians who was a contemporary of Petrarch, was an example, ever on the tongue of the Italian philosophers. Famed for the sanctity of his life, and his zeal for the glory of God, no human influence affected him. He preached repentance without respect of persons, and wrote to princes with the utmost freedom, to exhort them to reform their lives. A late historian

* Bartol. de Neocastro, Hist. Sicil. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. tom. xiii. c. 4.

† Touron, Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'ordre S. D. liv. vi.

remarks, that at the time when Cosmo de Medicis was in such imminent danger, and when the partisans of his house, although very numerous, were so intimidated that there was scarcely one who said a word to defend him, it was a monk who had the courage to become his public defender, Ambrogio Traversari, general of the order of Camaldoli, a man celebrated for his Christian piety and learning, who coming in haste from Ferrara to Florence, with that intrepidity which his virtue and habit afforded him, presented himself to the governors, speaking to them with courage and truth in favor of Cosmo, and receiving fair though empty words. He had also the courage to use the same importunities with Rinaldo Albizzi, who, in consequence, bitterly rebuked him.*

But it was not alone in reproving and admonishing the great that holy men found an opportunity for enduring persecution. The ordinary duties of the episcopal and pastoral care, going about the vineyard, "that soon turns to wan and withered, if not tended well,"† exposed them to the resentment of sinners, by which many of them reaped sufferings in the present, and beatitude eternal in the future life. "The whole day did not suffice to them for giving counsel," as we read of St. Anselm, and their reward was often persecution. To what dangers was St. Antoninus exposed, when he left the cloister of St. Dominic to fill the archiepiscopal throne of Florence? Many crimes having been imputed to a clerk named Ciardi, the archbishop cited him to appear to answer the charge. This led to an attempt upon his life; but God protected him, when, as we before observed, he not only pardoned, but converted the assassin. The blessed Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, was assassinated in 1214, at St. John d'Acre, while assisting at a procession of the holy cross on the feast of its exaltation, by an impious wretch whom he had reproved for his crimes.

During the illness of Louis XV., when the duchess of Chateauroux and the duc de Richelieu took care to prevent the succors of religion from reaching him, Francis de Fitz-James, bishop of Soissons, assisted by the duc de Chartres, forced his entry, and announced to him his state and his obligations. Reparation was made; the king recovered; but the arts of the court succeeded in leading him back to vice. The bishop, who had only fulfilled the strict obligations of his ministry, was banished and disgraced. This was, indeed, during a sceptical and most corrupt epoch; but even in the middle ages there were men to whom it was a perilous thing to offer the same assistance. We had occasion before to mark the traces of such spirits, that sought to be conquerors in hell, proud and isolated, and apart even from demons, as Manfred says to the spirit that gives him the summons, "Away! I'll die as I have lived—alone. I have not been thy dupe, nor am I thy prey, but was my own destroyer, and will be my own hereafter. Back, ye baffled fiends! The hand of death is on me—but not yours."

With respect to the danger of attempting a reform of manners by sermons, it is

* Pignotti, iii. chap. ii. † Dante, Par. xii. ‡ Wadding, Anual. Min. vol. x.

certain that they were of a different order from those which now exist in countries where faith is wavering. In the middle ages, men who retained any regard for the Church, did not wish preachers to aim no higher than at delivering a lecture in correct language, less calculated to excite compunction than to lull to sleep the hearers. In this respect they resembled the Athenians of old: *οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οὔτε ῥήτορα, οὔτε στρατηγὸν, δι ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν εὐτυχῶς.**

Preachers had not to fear the supercilious criticism of a lady committee, ever fearful lest the rich, from whom it drew supplies, might find their words saucy and overbold. The sermons of the Franciscans and Dominicans contain terrible anathemas against such unworthy priests as could be influenced by such considerations. "Bad priests," says St. Anthony of Padua, "and all these clerical speculators are mute dogs, having in their jaws a diabolic bit which hinders them from barking." In general the preachers of the ages of faith were too intrepid to have submitted to such trammels. Their spirit was expressed by the holy Columban in his letter to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, saying, "Let us combat for the good cause; and, if it be the will of God, let us die for it. Let us not be mute dogs, sleepy and mercenary sentinels, flying at the sight of the wolf. Let us be vigilant and attentive pastors. Let us preach to the great and little, to rich and poor, in season and out of season."†

Such, down to the latest times, continued to be the spirit of Catholic preachers, which could not but entail on them persecution of some kind; for hear how it is described: "After dinner," says Madame de Sevigné, "we heard the sermon of Bourdaloue, who always strikes like a deaf man, speaking truths right and left at a gallop, through thick and thin: sauve qui peut, he goes always straight on."‡ The preacher thus could often use the words of Nicias in his despatch to the Athenian people: *τούτων ἐγὼ ἡδίω μὲν ἂν εἶχον ὑμῖν ἕτερα ἐπιστέλλειν, οὐ μέντοι χρησιμώτερά γε*, though, on the whole, he too might add, *ἀσφαλέστερον ἡγησάμην τὸ ἀληθὲς δηλῶσαι.*§ However, perhaps, even in consequence of the power of faith, from which not even the wicked could emancipate themselves, there were, in the middle ages, attached to this office, dangers of a different kind, which required no little courage in the holy to encounter.

Touron, the historian of the Dominican order, begins his account of the life of Savonarola by citing the evangelic text, "Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam."‖ In fact, the preaching of repentance was a fruitful source of this beatitude; and hence, in later times, those who followed blessed Ignatius of Loyola, bearing that new succor to the militant church by first endeavoring to excite devotion among Catholics themselves, by causing the observance of more exterior respect in regard to the divine worship, by requiring more catechistical instructions, by advising that the sacraments should be more frequented, by training youth

* Demosthenes, de Corona.
† Ep. 105.
‡ Lett.
§ Thucyd. vii.
‖ Hist. des Hom. Illust.

more devoutly, by serving God only for his greater glory, without regard to temporal interests, and by their spiritual exercises conducing to the greater sanctity of all, had great need of being prepared in patience to suffer persecution for the sake of justice.

When St. Francis received his friars at Rivo-Torto, returning to him after preaching in various countries, we read that they related whatever had occurred to them, and, with chief pleasure, the different insults and injuries they had received. When Savonarola was to preach in the cathedral of Florence, he found the pulpit purposely defiled. The profligate, who detested his eloquence, endeavored to desecrate the whole church. They poisoned the feet of the crucifix, which the people used to kiss; and they attempted to assassinate him in the act of preaching penance. "One is tempted to ask," says Touron, "whether the men who acted thus were Christians, or Mahometans, Florentines or Iroquois." But, from the earliest ages of the Church, the same cause had existed, attended with similar effects. When St. John Chrysostom exerted his zeal against the vices of the stage and circus, and withdrew the people from them, occasion was taken by his enemies, among whom were even bishops, to suggest to the empress that his denunciations against the sins of the great were levelled chiefly against her. Then, with her sanction, a false council was held, headed by Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, and a sentence of deposition and banishment passed against him.

St. Barbatus, bishop of Benevento in the seventh age, while curate of St. Basil's in Morcona near that city, suffered persecution for endeavoring to reform the manners of his parishoners, who, as they desired only to slumber on in their sins, could not bear his remonstrances to awaken them to repentance, or his efforts to establish order and discipline amongst them. They treated him as a disturber of their peace, and persecuted him with violence. Finding their malice conquered by his patience and humility, they had recourse to slander, and with such success that he was obliged to withdraw from them.

St. Egwin, descended from the blood of the Mercian kings, and raised to the see of Worcester in 692, was another early example. The generous freedom with which he reproved vice, displeased certain hardened sinners, and such was the persecution he suffered in consequence, that he retired for a time, and made a pilgrimage to Rome.

All through the middle ages there were similar instances occurring from time to time. St. Didier, bishop of Vienne, was martyred in consequence of the offence he gave by his sermons before the court of King Thierri. Three assassins were ordered to lie in wait for him as he returned to his church; and the spot on which they murdered him is called to this day, St. Didier de Chalaraine. St. Gaudin, bishop of Soissons, in the beginning of the eighth century, like another St. John the Baptist, had the courage to condemn the grievous sins of many of his diocesans. Fatigued with his apostolic freedom, they conspired against him, waylaid him, and threw him into a deep well, in which he perished. Similarly St. Lambert, bishop

of Maestricht, was put to death in a cowardly manner by Dadon, a grandee of the court of Pepin, for having condemned the criminal lives of two brothers, Gal and Riold. The lapse of ages seemed not to have diminished the danger; for St. John Francis Regis was repeatedly exposed to assassination for his zeal in converting sinners.

Soon after his ordination, St. Philip Neri, by exciting in the confessional multitudes of sinners to compunction, gave offence to evil men, who could not bear so great a light; and certain persons were found who uttered the most outrageous calumnies against him, which he endured in silence, thanking God that he was accounted worthy to suffer reproach.

While St. Norbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, was effecting a reformation of manners in that extensive diocese, then overrun with thorns, which he accomplished in three years, by his patience and unshaken courage, he was several times in danger of assassination. Some persons affected a sovereign contempt for his person, and held him up to ridicule as a stranger who did not know the manners of the country. St. Francis de Girolamo, while pursuing his apostolic labors in Naples, found often his intentions misinterpreted, his good works counteracted by malice, and his virtues turned into ridicule.

We may remark that, before the institution of the Jesuits, the religious orders had often come to the assistance of the parochial clergy, where the latter were afraid to correct some abuses which they deplored without daring to suppress them. St. Vincent Ferrier, after ascribing the growth of heresy chiefly to a want of instruction among the people, writes as follows in a letter to Jean de Puinoix, general of the order in 1403, from the mountains of Savoy and Dauphiné: "At Geneva, after the fête of Corpus Christi, the people celebrate another under the name of Saint Orient. At Lausanne the same abuse prevails. Some curates of the country tell me that they dare not combat this superstition publicly, as the people would refuse their alms, or even attack their lives if they attempted it. God gave me the grace to despise these vain terrors, and His divine word has already eradicated this impiety."*

Evangelic intrepidity, in combating the passions and vices which related to the political order, had also been a source of suffering to holy men from earliest times. Thus St. Aldric, bishop of Mans, during the reigns of Louis-le-Débonnaire and Charles-le-Chauve, drew on himself a cruel persecution by denouncing the spirit of revolt which then prevailed. Not content with banishing him from his church, the more violent of the people endeavored to destroy his reputation by the blackest calumnies, but truth prevailing, he was brought back after a year of exile. How this instance recals events that have lately passed before our eyes!—events to which I cannot now refrain from alluding, to cite the example of a prelate who honored me with his friendship, in whom, as in a mirror of history, one beheld

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'ord. S. D.

the courage and the holiness of the ages of faith. Lately, in the chamber of the peers of France, Count Molé spoke of the reappearance of my lord de Quélen, the archbishop of Paris, in the church of St. Roch, when he preached for the children whom the recent pestilence had rendered orphans. "Rich and poor," said the count, "all classes of the population ran thither to catch a glimpse of him. O if this scene, of which so many persons still preserve the memory, had passed in the time of St. Vincent of Paul, or of St. Charles, we should not be able to find colors sufficiently deep and bright to perpetuate its remembrance. Let us leave to the past all its glory, but let us not depreciate the present times. Futurity, depend upon it, will render them justice, and will not forget this archbishop of Paris breaking his ban, issuing from his retreat, where violence and persecution had forced him to conceal himself, to ask charity for the orphan children of his persecutors." So far the noble peer: but a circumstance, of which he was perhaps ignorant, and which I remember having heard from the lips of the saintly prelate, added a far different lustre to this scene; for this archbishop, coming forth to the succor of his flock on that day, must have had angels hovering over him, with the palm which, by the divine grace, he had deserved from Him to whom he had internally made the offering of his life; for by letters from unknown persons, without number, he had been assured that there was a conspiracy to assassinate him in the very pulpit; so that he went prepared to die like the good Shepherd for his sheep; and as he mounted those long steps before the church, he assured me, with a smile of holy resignation, that here were frowning and malignant looks fixed upon him, which seemed to confirm all his expectations. It is of such men that the Church says, "Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo, et inventus est justus, et in tempore iracundiæ factus est reconciliatio!"

CHAPTER VI.

EXTENDING now our regards from the sufferings chiefly of one class, to which was committed a particular administration, let us observe the persecutions to which all men were exposed in ages of faith, simply in consequence of evincing a more strict fidelity to the divine law.

"Christianus, alter Christus," says the holy fathers. In the Christian, by the eucharistic act, Christ is to abide, as it were, personally. Now the world persecuted Christ, and, as in the massacre of the innocents, declared war against Him from his birth: therefore, in ages of faith, every Christian knew what he was personally to expect from it. "Christ, the head of martyrs," says St. Augustin, "suffered first for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps. Omnis gloria ejus filiæ Regis ab intus; for from without curses and persecutions, and detractions, are promised."* Each faithful disciple was prepared to suffer like his Divine Master, "quasi latronem,"† and as a deceiver of the people;‡ like His apostle, "quasi male operans;"§ and to say with him, "Laboro usque ad vincula." Each was ready to hear, in allusion to himself, "Away with this man, and give unto us Barabbas! for in all ages there are men who hate God already with somewhat of the hatred of the reprobate, and whose gross unholy infidelity amounts to the forsaking of Jesus and the clinging to Barabbas;"‖ and, in fact, each member of the Catholic Church might have often used the verses at the Passion in reference to himself, "Tradiderunt me in manus impiorum, et inter iniquos projecerunt me: congregati sunt adversum me fortes: et sicut gigantes steterunt contra me." "Through all the pores of His sacred body issued a sweat of blood," says St. Augustin, "because in His body, that is, in His Church, the blood of martyrs was to flow."

The solemn sentences in which the holy men of those times conveyed their intimate convictions of the necessity of such suffering, are familiar to most Catholics; but it is interesting to remark with what readiness persons of all conditions were willing to trace a connexion between their own sufferings, or those of contemporaries, and the passion of their Divine Prototype. Even within the worldly society, where doubtful elements existed, there used to be an attempt to claim an

* S August. Lib. i. De Serm. Dom. in Monte, cap. v. † Luc. xxiii. ‡ I [redacted]
§ Ad. Tim. ii. 2. ‖ Veith. Dr. Cox, tr. ¶ In Ps. [redacted]

identity, which in some instances was not discerned without ingenuity or greater charity. "Recollect," says Queen Eleonore, writing to the archbishop of Mayence, desiring him to procure the deliverance of King Richard, "whether from the infancy of the rising Church there was ever any pacific, faithful, innocent king, and a stranger, so craftily taken or maliciously detained. Where is the law of nations? where is equity? where the reverence for strangers evinced even by the crucifiers of Christ, when they transferred to the potter's field for the burial of strangers the price of the sale of Christ?"*

Thus insensibly persons contracted the style and mode of thinking of their contemporaries, even when they were making a false application of both. But let us take an instance which is not liable to such an objection, to observe with what fervor and simplicity the greatest intelligences cherished this desire of conformity to the world's Immortal victim! John Picus of Mirandula writes as follows to John Francis: "This is apostolic dignity, to be counted worthy of being traduced by the impious on account of the Gospel. If the world hated Him by whom the world was made, why should we miserable creatures, who deserve so ill, bear with impatience the injuries done to us by others? If men praise you when living well, as far as living well indeed you resemble Christ; but inasmuch as men give you praise, you are unlike Him. Optabilius crucifigi a mundo ut exalteris a Deo, quam exaltaris a mundo ut judiceris a Deo: for the one crucifies to life, the other exalts to glory; the one exalts to perdition, the other judges to hell. Happy calumny, happy contumely, which renders us safe, and prevents the flower of justice from being withered by the pestilential blast of vain-glory, and the rewards of eternity from being diminished to us by the vain augmentation of popular favor. Let that sweetest voice of our Lord ever sound in your ears: Sine mortuos sepelire mortuos suos, tu me sequere: for they are dead who live not to God; and in the space of temporary death laboriously do they acquire for themselves eternal death. And if you inquire from men whither do they tend, or whence look they for happiness, they will have nothing to reply, or only words contradictory, like the ravings of the insane; for neither do they know themselves what they do, but, like those who swim in rivers, they are borne along with the flood of custom as if with the force of a mighty stream. Therefore, dearest son, stop your ears against them, and whatever men may say or think respecting you, make no account of it, but consider only the certainty of death and the judgment of God, who will render to every man according to his works, in his revelation from heaven with the angels of his virtue, in flames of fire, taking vengeance upon those who knew not God, and who obey not the gospel. Fly then from the company of such men, who always love to draw others aside from the narrow path, and let no day pass without humble and ardent prayer to the Saviour. Despise the false, shadowy, and imaginary joys of this brief world, and desire only to be

* Ap. Pet. Bles. Epist. cxliii

received into that country whose king is God, whose law is love, whose duration is for ever."*

Lovely and amiable is the race of men; and yet, that in the order of nature, since the fall, goodness itself must be the cause of hatred is a proposition which, however the shallow moralists of the present day might be disposed to contradict, the voice of all antiquity proclaims. "To you the very name of virtue," says Seneca, "is displeasing. You deem it expedient that no one should appear to be eminently virtuous, since the virtue of others would be like a condemnation of your vices."† The poet bears a similar testimony:

"——Quatenus, heu nefas!
Virtutem incolumem odimus."‡

Cebes, in his Tables, remarks how men who refuse to follow truth detest and revile those who persevere in ascending to the citadel. "It is not easy," says Plato, "for those who adopt the best course, to be well spokon of by those who follow the contrary."§ "Innocentiæ plus periculi quam honoris est." Plato, in almost all his dialogues, calls attention to the fact. "Must not the lovers of wisdom," he asks, "be necessarily reproached by the vulgar? Assuredly they must."‖ Defining a just man, he says, *μηδὲν γὰρ ἀδικῶν, δόξαν ἐχέτω τὴν μεγίστην ἀδικίας.*¶ "Among the people in general, and among his acqaintances, he will be disliked, simply because he will never consent to any injustice."** The first Christian apologists called to witness the avowals of the old philosophy, that truth produced hatred, to account for the enmity with which they were regarded.†† What an astonishing testimony does Socrates bear to the perpetual existence of the disposition which produces the effects we are here to contemplate, where he says, in that memorable passage of the Republic, "that if a person perfectly just should come into the world, he would be scourged, tortured, bound, blinded, and, after suffering every species of torment, crucified; and that it should be thus manifested that it was not a thing desirable to be just, but to seem just!"‡‡ After this, however, we may sympathize with Antigone exclaiming, at her death,

Δεύσσετε, Θήβης οἱ κοιρανίδαι,
οἷα πρὸς οἵων ἀνδρῶν πάσχω,
τὴν εὐσεβίαν σεβίσασα,§§

more philosophical must sound the words of Abner to the high-priest in Athalie,

"Pensez vous être saint et juste impunément?"

No, for where there is no convention and connivance, "throughout the world is virtue worried down, as 'twere a snake, for mortal foe."

* Epist. Lib. i. 47. † De Vita Beata, ‡ Hor. Od. iii. 24. § De Repub. vi. ‖ Ib. ¶ Ib. ii. ** Ib. i. †† Tertull. x. Apol. Lactantius. ‡‡ De Repub. Lib. ii. §§ Soph. Ant. 940.

But if the heathen philosophers could arrive at such conclusions from the limited observations that such men could make in a benighted world, or from the mere speculations of their intelligence, what was not to be expected after the son of justice had risen upon the earth, confirming all former predictions and aggravating the sources of hostility, by bringing men into contact with real and divine virtues? when sheep were to be sent, not alone amongst wolves, but also amongst wolves in sheep's clothing? For what? In the middle age all men are Christians. But as St. Augustin demands, "Nunquid et diabolus Christianus erit? Therefore he does not cease to tempt and to instigate."* What is the Church? Hear the answer of this holy doctor: "You enter a barn, and see hardly any thing but straw and chaff. An inexperienced man would think that there was no wheat, and that all was straw and chaff. Yet there lies the corn amidst it, which will be found when it is thrashed and winnowed. So in the Church. Do you wish to find the wheat? Be good, and you will find it."† You see then in what proportion, even in ages of faith, are always the instruments for persecuting men simply on account of their sanctity.

"Who can enumerate," exclaims St. Augustin, "all the things by which the Body of Christ is tortured, which lives within in the spirit of Christ, and which groans as wheat amidst the chaff? Scarcely are they who thus groan discernible; they are as hidden as the wheat before the thrashing. One would suppose it all chaff."‡ Now this chaff was an element of persecution employed not only against individual members, but always, as we shall see presently, against the collective body of the Church, and even against the earthly society of men as constituted by divine religion.

Leonard de Chio, archbishop of Constantinople, declared, from what he witnessed, that at the last siege of Constantinople, before it was taken by the Turks, there were actually Christians of all nations in the Turkish army: they were Christians who taught the infidels how to conquer the Christians, who discovered to them whatever could aid them in their enterprise.§ Wonder not then to hear rising, day and night, from the Churches of the middle ages such voices as refer to the Passion of Him whom all the just must follow:

"Eripe me, Domine, ab homine malo. A viro iniquo eripe me.

"Viri impii dixerunt, Opprimamus virum justum injuste, et deglutiamus eum tamquam infernus vivum: auferamus memoriam illius de terra; et de spoliis ejus sortem mittamus inter nos.

"Insurrexerunt in me viri iniqui absque misericordia, quæsierunt me interficere.*

Yes, the middle ages, as well as all other times, beheld the divine words verified. As under the law, he that was born after the flesh, according to the lan-

* In Ps. lxix. † In. Ps. xlvii. ‡ In. Ps. xxx.

§ Touron, Hist des Hommes Illust. de lord. S. D. tom. iii. liv. 20.

guage of the Apostle, persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so was it then. The carnal mind, which is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can he, was enmity against his servants, whether kings, pontiffs, priests, or laymen, women or children, who sought to observe it. The world, which had hated the Just One before, hated them. If they had been of the world, the world would have loved its own; but because they were not of the world, but had been chosen out of the world, therefore, the world hated, and, as the Church sings, abhorred them." " Hi sunt quos fatuè mundus abhorruit."

"Truly, brethren," says St. Augustin, "we see by daily examples that division is made by Christ. It pleases a youth to serve God; it displeases his father; they are divided against each other. The one promises an earthly heritage, the other loves a celestial one. So it is with the mother and daughter; and sometimes in one house are found a heretic and a Catholic."* Thus it continued.

St. Anselm, when a boy, was hated by his father for wishing to become a monk. What persecutions did St. Thomas of Aquin endure from his mother Theodora and his two brothers, when he first received the habit of St. Dominic's order, being confined by them for more than a year in a tower of the castle of Rocca-Sicca, from which sufferings he was only delivered at the instance of the pope and the emperor. When St. Stanislas Kostka entered the society of Jesus, his father's rage was kindled to such a degree that he even threatened he would procure the banishment of the Jesuits out of Poland, for having involved his family in what he blindly termed a disgrace. St. Aloysius Gonzaga, too, when he disclosed his wish to devote himself to God in the society of Jesus, had much to suffer. His father said that he would have him scourged naked. " O that it would please God," replied the holy youth, " to grant me so great a favor as to suffer that for his love!" Even without seeking to renounce the world for a cloister, whoever seeks to realize in the crowd the pious wishes he has formed in solitude sitting alone in the forest, will have to suffer persecutions for producing without what he had conceived within; for doing in the city what he had resolved on in the woods. "The will in man," says Dante, "bears goodly blossoms; but its ruddy promise is, by the dripping of perpetual rain, made mere abortion."† That rain is the ridicule or the reproaches ready to fall on faith and innocence, when speech or action shows them forth.

> "Oh, what a world is this, when what is comely
> Envenoms him that bears it!"

"Facti sumus opprobrium vicinis nostris; subsannatio et illusio his qui in circuitu nostro sunt."‡ It is still the same with all who follow the way, and the truth, and the life. " He who wishes to be like the few," as Petrarch says, "becomes odious to the many."§ "How strange is the world!" exclaims the duc de

* In. Ps. xliv. † Par. xxxvii. ‡ Ps. lxxviii. § Epi[redacted]

S. Simon, speaking of the duke of Burgundy and of his conversion. "It had abhorred him in his first state, and it was inclined to despise him in his second. The prince felt the wound: he supported it. He attached with joy this sort of opprobrium to the cross of his Saviour, in order to confound himself in the bitter remembrance of his past pride. What most sensibly affected him was to find it in its heaviest form in the bosom of his own family."

James II. experienced the same hostility from some even who were separated to God. "Behold a good simple man," said the archbishop of Rheims, on seeing him leaving the chapel at Versailles; "he has left three kingdoms for a mass."

St. Elizabeth of Hungary was despised for her sanctity and innocence by her mother-in-law and the other relations of her husband, who endeavored to make her appear contemptible and unworthy of her station. The woes which she endured within the Gothic walls of Wartbourg, described with such affecting simplicity by the contemporary writers, and brought back to the memory of this age by the pen of young Montalembert, are all to be traced to the same source. Truly all holy persons, especially they who were of Caesars household, *have from the time of St. Paul suffered persecutions of this kind; and the Emperor Frederick II., in ordering his courtiers to contrive some temptation that might overcome the sanctity of St. Francis, disclosed with sufficient clearness the secret of much of the hostility directed against them.

Cowley's essay, entitled "The Dangers of an honest man in much company," requires to be completed by a reference to those dangers which peculiarly affect Catholics; for compliance with the commands of the Church was often sufficient of itself, as at the present day, to draw upon men not alone the ridicule, but the indignation of the unholy. St. Kucley, St. Milhey, and St. Nizilon, the two first brothers, and all of illustrious families of Lithuania, were chamberlains to Olgerd, grand duke of Lithuania, and father of the famous Jagellon. On their conversion to Christianity, their refusal to eat meat on a day of abstinence cost them their liberty and their lives. All were first tortured; but the last, a mere youth, suffered atrocities that only Satanic cruelty could devise. They were martyred at Wilna in 1342.

A certain hostess, merely from observing that St. Dominic and his companions abstained from meat, and took only bread and wine as they sat at table with other travellers in her inn, burst into a rage and loaded him with insults and maledictions. The observance of these holy practices, by reminding the impious of the law they outraged, naturally excited that indignation which will often find vent in words like those of the demons of our Lord, "What is there in common between thee and us? Art thou come to torment us before the time?" Merely the look and air of poverty and mortification, which belonged to St. Gregory of Nazianzen, caused him to be ill received when he first went to Constantinople.

* Epist. ad Philip.

Great were the insults he had to endure in consequence, not only from the Arians, but even from the Catholics of high condition of that polite and proud city.

St. Jerome describes such persons. "These are they who say continually, All is pure for the pure. My conscience suffices to me. Why should I abstain from these meats which God has created for the use of man? And when, in their profane fêtes and criminal rejoicings, they are gorged with wine, adding sacrilege to excess, they propose to participate in the blood of Jesus Christ; and if their eyes meet with any one pale and mortified, they treat such a person as wretched and a Manichæan. And certes they have a show of reason: since for those who live in similar excesses, fasting and mortifications are a real heresy."* Substitute the word bigotry for Manichæan, and you have the modern complaints. Thousands of men, in short, feel towards persons of celebrated holiness, and would act, if they had an occasion like the clown who went to vote against Aristides, and who, when asked, whether he knew Aristides personally, replied that truly he did not, but that he was tired of hearing him styled the just; σιωπήσας, adds Plutarch ἐνέγραψε τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ὀστράκῳ, καὶ ἀπέδωκεν.

But there were even more deadly wheels in movement to explain the result observed by the father of history, τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιόν ἐστι.† "Herod feared John," says the evangelist, "knowing him to be a just man and holy."‡ "Vice is not so much dreaded in men, because it makes them slaves, as virtue is feared because it makes them masters." § It is feared also, because it seems to menace the acquisitions of the unjust. When Fenelon was made archbishop of Cambrai, he surrendered his only abbey of St. Vallery. The Archbishop of Rheims took alarm. "It is reported," he said to him, "that you are about resigning your benefice: what folly!" "Whether it be so or not, the thing is done," replied Fenelon. "You ruin us all," rejoined the other: "what would you have the king think of my lord of Rheims, who is still asking for more?" "I do not condemn any one," said Fenelon. "That is to say," replied the other, "every one should follow his conscience: well, my conscience orders me to keep my abbeys."‖

We need not ask what side such men would take between a Gregory VII. and an emperor, between a St. Thomas and a Henry II., between a Droste Vischering and a Frederic of Prussia. "What is his offence?" asks St. Bernard, speaking of Count Theobald; "if it be a sin that he loved justice, and hated iniquity, he cannot be excused." "The evil persecute the good," as St. Augustin says, "because the good will not consent to their evil. Some one does ill. The bishop takes no notice? he is a good bishop. The bishop remonstrates? he is an evil bishop. Whoever reprehends evil is an enemy to those who say, Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die."¶

* Epist. ad Eustoch. Virg. † Herodotus. ‡ Marc. vi. 20.
§ Savedra, Christian Prince, i. 109. ‖ Beaumelle, Mém. de Mad. de Maintenon.
¶ In. Ps. cxxviii.

But let us mark the effects under a grosser form in ordinary life. St. Honoré the son of a cattle-dealer of Buzançais, near Bourges, at the end of the thirteenth century, succeeded to that trade on his father's death, and became a model and virtuous young man. Returning from Poitou, and perceiving that his servants had mixed with his drove a stolen cow, he reproved them and insisted on their restoring it to its owner. Incensed at his words, they resolved to make away with him, and to sell the drove for their own profit. On reaching a solitary spot, half a league from Thenezai, near Parthenai, in Poitou, they seized him, cut off his head, and threw the body near a fountain, where, by God's fiat, miracles proclaimed the glory of his crown. At Thenezai, the body was solemnly enshrined, the church dedicated to him; Buzançais took him for its patron, and in 1444 he was by the pope beatified.

Wulfade and Rufin, the brothers of St. Wereberge, on account of their frequently resorting to the cell of St. Chad, near Lichfield, by whom they were instructed in the faith and baptized, became hateful to Werbode, a powerful wicked knight, who considered that they were obstacles to the attainment of his wish, in regard to his marriage with their saintly sister who had consecrated herself to God; and, in consequence of this suspicion, and with the consent of her father, king of Mercia, he contrived their murder.

The blessed Thomas, prior of the abbey of St. Victor, having induced Stephen bishop of Paris, in 1133, to reform certain communities, was assassinated in his company at Gournai-sur-Marne, by the nephews of Thibaud Nothier, archdeacon of Paris, who was jealous of his influence over the bishop. The holy man, after forgiving his murderers, and protesting that he died for justice, expired in the bishop's arms.

St. Godegrand, bishop of Séez, on his return from Rome, was murdered on the road between Almenèches and Séez, by order of Chrodobert, to whom he had confided the diocese in his absence, and who feared to be called to an account by him for his crimes.

How many just men in the middle ages were persecuted for a similar reason, like St. Malo, on the death of Haeloch, count of Aleth, his protector, when he was obliged to fly from Brittanny! So true are the words of the Pythagorean poet,

αἰεὶ δ' αμφ' ἀρεταῖσι πόνος.*

Nor did retirement and silence remove the cause of persecution. In retirement, the faithful were still regarded as adversaries under a hostile banner, and their silence was reproach and clamor. "Nunquam inutilis est opera civis boni," said the philosopher; "auditu enim, visu, vultu, nutu, obstinatione tacita, incessuque ipso prodest. Virtus, sive cogitur vela contrahere, sive otiosa mutaque est, in quocunque habitu est, prodest. Quid? tu parum utile putas exemplum bene quies-

* Pindar.

centis?" It is silent, retired, unobtrusive? But for that very reason, it must expect to be detested. Why so? St. Augustin furnishes an answer, when he describes the luxury of the Romans, and its consequences.

"Vast and magnificent houses," he says, "are constructed; banquets are held; die noctuque ludatur, bibatur, vomatur, diffluatur. They devote themselves to dances, dramas, and every kind of cruel and shameful pleasure. He is a public enemy to whom this felicity is displeasing: whoever should attempt to change it or take it away, will, by the liberal multitude, be removed from their hearing, will be hurled from his seat, will be cast out from among the living."*

"Scandals abound," says St. Augustin, "but no one perceives them, unless he who follows the way of God."† "Those whom God suffers to walk according to the affections of their heart, who defend, some the circus, others the amphitheatre, others the theatres, and so on, are necessarily alienated from those who walk according to his precepts;"‡ "and it is of no avail," as he adds, "to find a city in which there is no pagan, because those Christians who live ill, are sure equally to insult those who live well; not, indeed, because they are Christians, but because their manners are conformable to their faith."§

Hence it was that St. Elizabeth was so persecuted by Agnes, the young landgrave's sister, and her mother. Her crime was despising the pomps of the world, which they loved; it was her preference of Jesus Christ, in the persons of the poor, to the charms of polite society. For the same reason, St. Stanislas Kostka suffered persecution from his brother Paul, and his tutor Bilinski; for the former, regarding the saintly manners of the youth as a censure of his own, treated him continually with insults, and often struck and beat him; and the latter, being in his interest, pretended formally to condemn St. Stanislas for neglecting what he owed to his rank in the world. It was against such victims that the slanderous tongue was often directed, from which persecution not even the innocence of St. Rosa of Lima, or the purity of the Empress St. Cunegonde, could escape. It has been said, that the spirit of moderation, and a certain wisdom of conduct, leave men in obscurity; and the ancient philosophers indulge in many curious observations respecting the grounds of secret dislike with which the just will be regarded by those around them.

"You complain," says Epictetus, "that you are not invited to entertainments like others; but you should remember that as you do not perform the same things, you cannot be thought worthy of the same recompense: for how can it be doing the same to go to the door of some one, and not to go to it? to omit something and not to omit it, to praise and not to praise? Therefore you will be unjust and insatiable, if, not paying the price for which these things are sold, you should wish nevertheless to receive them. For how much is the lettuce sold? Perhaps for an obol. Whoever then gives the obol, should take the lettuce;

* De Civ. Dei, 11. 20. † In Ps. lxxi. ‡ In Ps. lxxx. § In Ps.

but you must not have it, who refuse to pay the money; nor yet are you to suppose that you have less than he who receives it; for as he has his lettuce, so have you your obol. In like manner you are not invited to any one's house. But you do not give to him who invites, the price for which he sells his supper. He sells it for praise; he sells it for obsequious service. Give then the price; but if you do not choose to pay for it, and yet crave after the entertainment, you are insatiable and absurd. Have you then nothing instead of the supper? Truly you have your equivalent. You have your not praising the man whom you inwardly despise." We may remark here, that the simple holy manners, resulting from a Catholic education and the domestic traditions of a noble and religious family, expose men to a sentence of exile from the houses of all those persons who have not possessed the same advantages.

" J'eus dans ma blonde enfance, hélas! trop éphémère,
Trois maîtres,—un jardin, un vieux prêtre et ma mère."

Then whatever be your age or genius, back to your Gothic manor, surrounded with tall trees, where in the autumn you can indulge your melancholy, treading on the old leaves, and hearkening to the plaintive sound of the wind, through those that are about to fall. But if you approach our precincts, expect not our society.

Your mere preference of assisting at Benediction, to sitting at our table, disqualifies you for the circle in which we move. Your maxim, if you would join it, must be that of the old Roman, only with decent reserve.

"Ad cœnam si me diversa vocaret in astra
Hinc invitator Cæsaris, inde Jovis;
Astra licet propius, pallatia longius essent,
Responsa ad superos hæc referenda darem:
Quærite, qui malit fieri conviva Tonantis;
Me meus in terris Jupiter, ecce, tenet."*

However you may wish to conciliate our esteem, you will never succeed. There will be always some cause of offence that one can avow, and hear an approving voice. If Ramus could be persecuted under Henry III. of France, for pronouncing Q as in quanquam, and not as kankam, what will be thought of your signs of the cross, and benedictes, and abstinence, and other ecclesiastic rites, which you practise, as St. Augustine says, "in order to be consistent."

The duc de Saint Simon, speaking of the offence taken at the piety of the duc de Bourgogne, which, he says, incensed even the king, mentions one trait among a thousand, as having put the king quite off his guard, and revolted the court, which only consisted in the young prince desiring to evince this consistency in regard to the festival of the Epiphany; for the court being at Marly, he declined

* Martial.

appearing at the ball, alleging that it was a triple festival; and that without presuming to blame others, he preferred remaining the whole evening in his chamber, rather than take part in such an amusement on so holy a day. The king was piqued, indignant; he said that such conduct was a condemnation of himself. The courtiers represented it as wanting in the respect due from a subject: the historian himself condemned it as extravagant. Yet assuredly the church viewed it not in such a light.

St. Augustin even desired that in common society the days of the week should be named feriæ according to their number, following the ecclesiastical mode, as more suitable to Christian lips than that derived from pagan usage. In the middle ages, a thousand customs were popular, which served to distinguish Catholic families from those of Jews, Moors, and heretics, which, if observed in these latter days, would render any man an object of suspicion to this new kind of anomalous nobility, which could not survive the loss of its titles, being not founded in a name. If you adhere to these usages, and it is hard to give them up while retaining any trait from Catholic times of historical grandeur in the memory, you will be avoided, and marked as one with whom there can be no strict fellowship: you will be able to apply to yourself the words, "Considerabam et videbam, et non erat qui cognosceret me." You will be left alone, like Dante, deprived of all intercourse with any but with young persons, or the poor, exposed perhaps within view of others, even in the streets, if you pass near the rich saunterers. to the finger and the look of scorn.

Nor be amazed at this; for men who had the least resemblance to the type you follow, have always experienced the same treatment from a society of analogous dispositions. Martial, therefore, addresses Fabian in the lines,

"Vir bonus et pauper, linguaque et pectore verus,
Quid tibi vis, urbem qui, Fabiane, petis?
Unde miser vives? homo fidus, certus amicus:
Hoc nihil est."

Observe how the Roman philosopher was abandoned by his friend Marcellinus. "Raro ad nos venit," he says, "nulla alia ex causa, quam quia audire verum timet; a quo periculo jam abest." There can be little pleasure to either party from an intercourse between men, when like Charles II., one of them being admonished respecting his vicious life, deems it enough to reply, that the other who advises him is in the wrong, and has an understanding different from all other men who have experience in the world.

In truth it must needs be so. Men of views so opposite, and manners so dissimilar, cannot but cause each other mutual embarrassment. "Nous nous ennuierions les uns les autres," said a French minister, on leaving the court.

In the Theætetus, Plato remarks, "that even if there were no other cause of

offence, true philosophers would be disliked in consequence of their attaching little importance to the fact of other men possessing immense estates, and being able to reckon a long succession of rich ancestors. Being accustomed εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀεὶ βλέπειν, and, therefore, to look with indifference on such distinctions, they are disdained by the vulgar as ignorant of the first and most common things of life, and considered as presumptuous and insolent;" a fate which must be shared by those who have drunk of that Catholic philosophy which makes all men feel on an equality, as far as regards the difference of fortune, and which exempts them from the desire of paying court to any one, however rich or powerful; for in consequence of evincing that indifference, they will be secretly disliked by those who expect to be courted. The Pythagorean poet's ὁδὸν Διὸς is set down as the way of the weak or superannuated. Thus, alluding to the last years of the great Condé, which were spent in retirement and piety, Voltaire says, "I ne fut que son ombre, et que même il ne resta rien de lui." If we repair to the scenes of ordinary life, we find the same consequences attending religion. How should the devout woman and the woman of the world find it otherwise? The one, however exalted in station, desires in her house the holy calm of past times. She has been taught, as a French writer who contrasts them says,* not to waste her youth in those thousand trifles and senseless passions, which are a source to others of eternal regret. She has been taught, that it is her duty to remain faithful to God, faithful to the Church, separated from heretics. She is married; she becomes a mother, and is a tender and serious one. If women of the world say of her, She is stupid and eccentric; her servants and the poor say, She is an angel.

There is no idleness in her house, no contemptible futility; the whole day is employed. There are no vanities in her house, no secret notes, no adulterous papers. She receives few letters, for she has nothing to learn from without, or when she receives any, they are letters written on coarse paper, and scarcely legible, coming from poor suffering humanity. Her amusements are not those of paltry ambition, and the ruinous display of frail prosperity. She has, however, the finest fêtes in the world. She celebrates in all their seriousness, the festivals of the Church throughout the year, the patrons of her children and of her aged kindred. She has for herself all the joys of the holy calendar, the festivities of heaven and earth. Her visits are to the poor, to the cottages, or to the roofs beneath which one burns in summer and shivers in winter; there are her dramas. She is seldom seen in the public drives, softly extended in her carriage, as if she lay on a bed of parade; but to the church and to the hospital; she is familiar with the streets: "Lead me to the street near the cathedral, for from that point I shall know my way home to my father's house," says the maiden Leocadia, in the tale of Cervantes, entitled the Force of Blood, to the wretch who had captured her. In a word, if they meet one another, the woman of the world, who retains any memory

* Janin.

of truth, feels ashamed, discouraged, and for that reason, at least, secretly exasperated.

One could account for the repugnance by even referring to the observation of the old philosophy. Alcibiades used to fly from Socrates, fearing the secret charm of his wise discourse, and that self-reproach which he always felt when sitting near him, knowing that he could never answer or justify himself, for not doing what he called him to do. *ξύνοιδα γὰρ*, he says, *ἐμαυτῷ ἀντιλέγειν μὲν οὐ δυναμένῳ ὡς οὐ δεῖ ποιεῖν ἃ οὗτος κελεύει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀπέλθω, ἡττημένῳ τῆς τιμῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν, δραπετεύω οὖν αὐτὸν, καὶ φεύγω· καὶ ὅταν ἴδω, αἰσχύνομαι τὰ ὡμολογημένα, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἡδέως ἂν ἴδοιμι αὐτὸν μὴ ὄντα ἐν ἀνθρωποῖς.**

Here is a frank confession. After hearing it, who will wonder that the society of the faithful, in manners as well as in faith Catholic, should, at times, at least, experience the fate which the philosopher ascribes to true philosophy: "A plerisque neglecta, a multis etiam vituperetur?"† But it may be urged, perhaps, that this neglect should not be noticed among the persecutions of the just. It is true, we cannot suppose that the elect of God can feel as a privation the being rejected from the society of those who follow the world's banner; or that, like the sophist of Geneva, they unite the obscurity of retreat with the desire of being universally known: but still, as indicating the malevolence of others, they cannot, being after all men, and more than others qualified for all offices of love, become insensible to its systematic manifestation. Speaking of Nicole's treatise on the means of preserving peace with men, Madame de Sevigné observes that "the indifference which he requires for the esteem or censure of the world, implies a perfection above humanity; that she is less capable of comprehending it than any one, though she derives pleasure from listening to him, and that, by dint of ascertaining the justice of an argument, she may possibly be led to make use of it on certain occasions." Religion, indeed, was known to approve of such timid language; and we may remark too, that for every transient discouragement that flesh is heir to, the Catholic Church has words of sympathy. To how many hearts do her words penetrate, when at sext she sings that affecting confession of David, so expressive of the profound sadness arising often from an accumulation of these lesser wounds and of its remedy: "Nisi quod lex tua meditatio mea est: tunc forte periissem in humilitate mea!"

"Must not the lovers of wisdom," asks Socrates, "desire to please those with whom they live?" "Assuredly, therefore," he adds, "as these latter necessarily hate those who love wisdom, how will it be possible to preserve the philosophic nature?" To him the difficulty seemed to admit of no solution, as he knew not the secret of the divine wisdom, which consisted in receiving neglect and all mortifications as part of the burden of the cross; but even for those possessed

* Plat. Conviv. † Tuscul. iv.

of that secret, the need and practice of it implied a trial of patience amounting to persecution, however they might be magnanimous in submitting to vituperation and calumny, from which the man after God's own heart prayed that he might be saved. Therefore, after citing the divine words, " Beati eritis cum vos oderint homines et cum separaverint vos, et exprobraverint et ejecerint nomen vestrum tanquam malum, propter Filium hominis," Albertus Magnus remarks that the word is eritis, not estis; " for, truly," saith he, " in enduring there is misery, though after enduring the most certain beatitude."*

" That which is pleasing to others will go forward; that which thou wouldst have will not succeed: that which others say will be hearkened to; what thou sayest will not be regarded: others will ask, and will receive; thou wilt ask, and not obtain. Others will be great in the estimation of men; but of thee no notice will be taken. To others, this or that will be committed; but thou wilt be accounted fit for nothing. At this, nature will sometimes repine, and it will be no small matter if thou bear it in silence."† It is the ascetic who speaks thus.

" The injustice of the world towards the good has three characters," as Massillon observes; " an injustice of temerity which always suspects their intentions, an injustice of inhumanity which never pardons them for the least imperfection, an injustice of impiety which makes their zeal and sanctity a subject of contempt and derision. And these again he subdivides, finding in the first a temerity of indiscretion, since it judges of what it cannot know, a temerity of corruption, since generally it only ascribes to others what it finds in itself; and, in fine, a temerity of contradiction, since the same suspicions which it thinks well-founded against others, would be considered, if directed against itself, unjust and insane."

But now, descending further down this dismal ledge, new pains, new troubles I behold, at which my heart is with sore grief assailed; for persecutions on account of justice extended beyond the limits of secular life, and sometimes followed men of eminent sanctity even to the very sanctuary of peace within the cloister. When the three holy canons of Rheims, of whom one was St. Bruno, accused their archbishop Manasses, who oppressed his flock by tyrannical vexations, the legate of the pope, having cited him in consequence to appear before the council at Autun, to which summons he refused to listen, that unworthy prelate, being exasperated against them, caused their houses to be broken open, and their property seized. They fled to the castle of the count de Ronci, where they remained, as in an asylum, while their persecutor, although deposed, wrote against them to the pope.

Within the cloister those monastic abuses already spoken of, those perverse men under the religious hood, to whom we alluded in the last book, were a fruitful source of trial to the blessed saints, who sought to correct and reform them. I have delayed till now to speak of this; for while under the roof of the house of peace, I was deterred from approaching the subject by that maxim of the Bene-

* Albert. Mag. in Luc. v. tom. x

† Imit. Lib. iii. 49.

dictine rule, which, in allusion to the Sarabaits or worthless men who become monks, says, "De quorum omnium miserrima conversatione melius est silere quam loqui;"* but the fact cannot be passed over in silence any longer; though, on proceeding to make mention of it, the reader should be warned from imitating those who conceal the justice of the monks, and hear but the report of their accusers, who never mention shadows of any virtue in the men they would depress; like the sad raven that

> "Flies by the fair Arabian spiceries,
> Her pleasant gardens and delightsome parks,
> Seeming to curse them with his hoarse exclaims,
> And yet doth stoop, with hungry violence,
> Upon a piece of hateful carrion."

Persecution within the cloister existed occasionally under two forms. Men of eminent sanctity suffered it from degenerate brethren, sometimes simply on account of their superior justice, and, at others, in consequence of their endeavors to correct and reform them. Of the former, an instance occurred in the monastery of Classe, when the piety and austerities of St. Romuald raised an odium against him in the minds of some tepid monks, and, in order to avoid the effects of their wicked hatred, he obtained the abbot's consent to leave the house, when he put himself under the direction of St. Marinus. Afterwards, when elected abbot of that house, which office he was compelled to accept by the bishops, at the instance of the Emperor Otho III., his inflexible justice caused many to rise against him, whose violence he bore with gentleness, till finding them incurable, he again left the monastery, and resigned the abbatial office.

Another example was seen in the mortifications suffered by St. Joseph Calasanctius; for having admitted into his order, for the education of youth, an unworthy member, he was persecuted by him with the most outrageous violence. The holy man saw all his intentions frustrated by him, and his order suppressed; what could be more painful than to see all his hopes blasted by the machinations of a wicked man? But he did not murmur. Let us hear an instance of the kind minutely related in an ancient chronicle. "It happened once that the pious Gobert, a monk of Villers, set out on a journey about some affairs, in company with another monk of the convent, named Peter. Arriving late in the evening in a certain town, where they were to pass the night, being fatigued and exhausted with the labor and heat of the day, Peter having caused a table to be spread, produced out of a bag which he carried, abundant provisions, and ordered cups to be served and many things made ready. It seemed to the pious Gobert that here was more than what was necessary, and more than agreed with perfect moderation; he silently accused his conscience; but after both had supped he did not dare at that time to reveal to his brother what passed within his soul: but early

* Reg. cap. 1.

the next morning, as they were riding through umbrageous lanes, he began humbly and mildly to disclose his thoughts, and to say that he feared lest the expense which had been made yesterday, was beyond what their wants required, and that the patrimony of Christ ought not to be spent in superfluities, but given to the poor; that beneficed clerks are only dispensers of the Church, not lords of its substance; for, as St. Ambrose says, when we assist the poor, we give not our own, but that which the Church appoints us to dispense; therefore ecclesiastical goods do not belong to clerks, but to the poor of Christ. Saying these and other things, Gobert lamented that he should have squandered money which did not belong to him: but brother Peter did not receive this reproof with a humble mind; for, on the contrary, he felt so angry, that he did not answer him a word. So they rode on for nearly three hours, and Peter would make no answer to Gobert; which the holy man observing, began to try every gentle mode of soothing him, and of turning away his displeasure, speaking to him in the mildest tone and with the sweetest words. At last he said, 'My brother, it is time for us to discharge the service of hours to our Creator;' to which invitation the other silently assented; so, according to the custom of the Cistercians and all monastic orders, they dismounted from their horses, and knelt down to begin the office. When brother Peter was prostrate on the earth, Gobert, with joined hands, turned towards him, and bursting into tears, humbly implored his forgiveness, for having by correction moved his wrath; but as his prayers did not seem to move the other, he continued to implore him, and he declared that he would never rise from his knees till he had forgiven him; at length, brother Peter raised him up with indulgence. Such was the admirable humility of this man, beloved of God, and adorned with all virtues."* Thus far the chronicle, in the sufferings of one, recording those of many. But it was chiefly as reformers of their respective communities or orders, that the holy men of monastic life suffered persecution on account of justice.

In estimating the fortitude of the saints who labored in this vineyard, one should observe, that there never were wanting some specious arguments, and some men of talents, to excuse the evil for which they sought a remedy. Orderic Vitalis mentions, that the monks of St. Benedict, who resisted the reform introduced by the abbot Robert in the time of Philip, king of France, defended themselves on this ground urging that the different circumstances of the times required a life different from that of the hermits of Egypt. "God forbid," said they, "that valiant knights, that subtle philosophers and eloquent doctors, because they have renounced the world, should be obliged as mean slaves to occupy themselves in ignoble works and little suitable!"†

The real source of hostility, however, on these occasions was seldom avowed. Much was advanced in the time of St. Bernard, respecting the venerable usages of

* Historia Monast. Villariensis, ap. Martene, Thes. Anecdot. tom. iii. † Id. tom. viii.

past times in respect to the color of habits; but St. Peter the Venerable, in writing to that holy abbot, disengaged the question from its adventitious appendages. "Perhaps," said he, "there is another cause, deeper still, of this dissension between the Cluniacs and Cistercians, between ancient and the more modern communities. We are restorers of piety that was grown cold; we are distinguished from others in manners, as well as in habits and customs: behold, behold, the more hidden, but far more urgent cause for the breach of charity and for the sharpening of tongues like a sword against us. And oh! lamentable boast, to be lamented with never sufficient tears, if the pure chastity of a long life, if invincible obedience, if unbroken fasts, if perpetual vigils, if such a yoke of discipline, if so many palms of patients, and, in short, if so many labors not so much of an earthly as of a celestial life, should be dispersed by one hiss of the serpent; if the old dragon should thus in an instant, with one breath, dissipate all your treasures, collected by the grace of God, and render you empty in the sight of the supreme Judge."*

Sometimes, when a monastery fell under the dominion of an evil superior, the monks who persevered in sanctity fled from his persecution. Thus the historian of St. Gall says: "For ever to be deplored is the day, by us and by all the inhabitants of this place, in which this noble and flourishing monastery, which can be called another paradise, passed under the rule of Kerhard. The brethren, beholding all his evil, and having no hope that he would cease as long as he lived, chose to leave the monastery and become exiles, rather than sustain any longer the sight of his folly and incontinence."†

St. Gautier, before becoming abbot of the canons regular of Esterp in Limousin, in the tenth century, for making some remonstrance of the observance of discipline, while a canon of Dorat, drew on himself the indignation of the prior and was obliged to retire to Conflans, near the abbey of which he soon became a superior.

St. Richard, prior of the Benedictine monastery of our Lady in York, with twelve others, desiring to serve God according to the rule, and restore the ancient discipline of that house, was obliged to leave the monastery, after enduring innumerable persecutions from the lukewarm brethren who were unwilling to have a reform; and it was then that, Thurstan, the archbishop of York, giving them a desert valley called Scheldale, they founded the afterwards farfamed abbey of Fountains, in 1132. When the lord abbot heard of their intention, he told the archbishop that he could not promise to effect it without the consent of his chapter; and on the day of the chapter, when the archbishop arrived with some of his clerks, the abbot met him at the door, and refused to admit him unless he sent away some of his clerks. A tumultuous sound arose of angry voices, declaring that he should not enter. The archbishop said that he came as a father; but as they rejected his authority, he should provide for their necessity by exerting

* Epist. Lib. iv. p. 17.

† Burkhard de Casibus S. Galli.

it against them. The monks who sought the reform were however obliged to remove for safety to the archiepiscopal residence until the others had been compelled to cease their persecution.* Sometimes those who endeavored to effect a reform, even with the authority of superiors, drew persecution on themselves. This was the case at the monastery of Lerins about the year 700, when St. Aigulfe, the abbot, and thirty-two monks, were murdered in consequence of their attempt to establish a reform. On these occasions, the unworthy monks used to win over some seigneurs of the country to use force of arms against those who were more holy.

The monks of Vicovara, though they had chosen St. Benedict for their abbot, conspired to destroy him when they found that he was resolved upon reforming their manners. Then when he had returned to Subiaco, the reputation of his virtues caused Florentinus, a neighboring priest, to persecute and slander him, from whom he had to remove lest he should inflame the envy of his adversary.

When St. Colette, in the fifteenth century, being constituted by Pope Benedict XIII. superioress of the whole order of St. Clare, attempted to revive the primitive rule and spirit of St. Francis in several convents in France, she met with the most violent opposition, and was treated as a fanatic by those who knew not to distinguish the work of God; until passing to Savoy, where minds were better prepared, she effected the reform which soon extended to the entire order.

St. Andrew Avellino, for laboring to reform abuses which had crept into a religious community, of which the direction was confided to him, experienced many contradictions. He was even exposed to violence from the rage of certain profligate men whom he excluded from entering the parlor to speak to the nuns, and who twice attempted his life in consequence.

St. Adon, afterwards archbishop of Vienna, suffered persecution from the jealousy of some unworthy monks in Prum, who succeeded by calumnies and injuries in driving him from the monastery, where, while professor of sacred sciences, he had labored to make true servants of God. He was expelled the house, and oppressed by slanderers.

While some thus suffered for reforming particular communities, others were exposed to a more fearful persecution by their labors in restoring whole orders to their primitive discipline.

When St. Theresa first formed the design of reforming her order according to the primitive rule, though encouraged by the approbation of many, the consent of the provincial, and a brief from Rome, there was a cry raised against her, which resounded through all ranks of society. The nuns of her convent, the nobles, the magistrates, and the people, united to oppose her. Reproaches, injuries, calumnies, all were employed while she retained her peace in silence. It was even determined to demolish her new convent at Avila; and the chief magistrates at

* S. Bernard, Ep. cccxxxix

one time declared they would not suffer it, though it was to furnish the spectacle of the fervor and innocence of the first ages of the Church. But the holy project triumphed over all opposition.

When St. John of the Cross was laboring to effect the reform of the Carmelite order, though it was undertaken by St. Theresa with the approbation of the general, his own brethren treated him as a rebel to the order, and persecuted him, and in their chapter at Placentia condemned him as a fugitive and apostate. He was thrown into prison, first at Avila, and then, through fear of the people there, at Toledo. In the convent in the latter city he was confined in a little cell, only six feet wide and ten long, without any opening for light, but a hole of about three inches in length in the roof, so that to say his breviary he was obliged to stand upon a bench which was left there; and this opening was only to the floor of a gallery above, so that the light was very dim. In this prison he remained nine months, while no one knew what had become of him; for he was carried off forcibly during the night of the 4th of December, 1577, from the monastery of the Incarnation at Avila; and all the efforts of St. Theresa, aided by the authority of the king, were ineffectual to trace him to the place of his confinement.* His miraculous escape, of which the account by his own pen is extant, did not prevent him from always recurring to this persecution as a source of his illumination. "God has taught me the value of sufferings," he used to say, "when I was in prison at Toledo." Again, in 1591, when in the chapter held at Madrid he gave his opinion with freedom respecting the abuses which some superiors tolerated, or wished to introduce, fresh offence was taken. Being in consequence stripped of all the employments which he held in the order, he retired to the convent of Pegnuela as a simple friar. In like manner, St. Charles Borromeo, attempting the reform of the order of the Humiliati, which had fallen into great relaxations, such enmity was excited against him that his life was attempted, one of these deluded men shooting at him in the chapel of his palace, when the ball struck him, and he was preserved unhurt.

But no instance is more memorable than that of the persecutions endured by the poor and simple men, disciples of St. Francis, who sought at different times to revive the spirit and the discipline of their blessed founder.† They occur early in its history; for when Elie, the general who immediately succeeded St. Francis, deemed it necessary to make alterations in the rule,‡ St. Anthony of Padua, and an English friar named Adam, for opposing him were treated as seditious brethren, and sentenced to confinement in their cells; the execution of which decree they only avoided by flight to Rome, where their appeal to Pope Gregory IX. caused the deposition of the superior. The last reform of the order was not effected without long and cruel sufferings; and the persecutions which the poor Capuchins

*Dosithée, Vie de S. J. de la Croix, liv. iii. † Apparat. ad Annales Capucinorum.

‡ M. Chavin de Malan defends him for so doing. Hist. de S. Francis, 246.

suffered at the commencement gave rise to singular scenes, which in their old annals should be read. In 1534, when the Pope Clement VII. thought it best to yield to the storm, and to expel them from Rome for a season, he published an edict, commanding all Capuchins who were in Rome to leave the city within the space that one candle would continue to give light. It was on St. Mark's day, and at the hour of dinner, while the Capuchins were at table, that this decree was made known to them. The superior having read it aloud, made a short moving exhortation to patience and obedience, and then all rose: each took his breviary, and raising up their wooden cross, they left the convent, walking two by two, and proceeded without the walls to the Basilica of St. Lorenzo; explaining their exit to those who inquired with astonishment, by saying that they were sinners unworthy to remain within the sacred city. It is said that their adversaries, on proceeding to their convent, where they found the crusts of bread, and the poor onions and beans in earthen dishes on the table in the refectory, which had not a cloth to cover it and the portions only half-consumed of the brethren, who had broken off their dinner to yield instant obedience, and nothing but the hard boards for beds in the cells, and the wooden crosses, and the few books of devotion, and no other furniture, were struck to the heart, and repented of what they had done. Meanwhile the friars were found prostrate in the church of St. Lorenzo, where the holy family of the Lateran canons, who serve that Basilica, gave them lodging and the most generous hospitality.

Meanwhile Brandan, a certain hermit, greatly venerated in Rome, went about the streets, crying out, "Rome receives adulterers and slaves of the demon, while she banishes the servants of God. Usurers and oppressors of the poor can remain, but the saints of the Church are ejected from her bosom. Woe to thee, Rome! who disdainest the Capuchin masters of humility, and dost embrace marble statues, which teach Gentilism and pride." The Roman people were so alarmed by these vociferations, which he continued to utter during three days, that the adversaries of the Capuchins durst hardly appear in public. Then Camillus Ursino, their old protector, hastened to Rome, and made such good use of his interest, that the decree against them was revoked, and they were permitted to return, though not processionally, and to inhabit again their former convents.*

Nor was it only at Rome that they suffered. When they they first came to Verona they were treated injuriously as hypocrites, and not permitted to say mass. No less a person than John of Fano, formerly provincial of the Franciscans, was one of those calumniated men. In vain had he attempted several times to gain an audience of the bishop Matthew Gilbertus; the servants, thinking him a nefarious person, would never suffer him to pass the threshold. At length, it happened, that one day the bishop looking from his window saw John, and being struck with his venerable aspect, ordered him to be admitted. Then having ques-

* Annales Capucinorum ad ann. 1534.

tioned him concerning his rule and mode of life, and finding by his answers of what perfection he was, he conceived a great affection for him, and even charged him on the next Sunday to preach to the people. The result of this sermon was a total change of the public opinion at Verona, respecting the Capuchins and the foundations of a monastery in that city for their reception.*

It should be observed, that amidst all the persecutions and obloquy to which the Capuchins were exposed, a vast number of great and learned men every year chose to share in their reproach, and passed to them from the other Franciscans; thus renouncing all things on account of Him who for our sakes was made poor.

After the apostacy of Ochin, a fresh storm broke over the poor family of the Capuchins. Paul III. convened the sacred college, and the cardinals were generally of opinion that the order should be suppressed. The pontiff was inclined to accede to their opinion; and those who sat next him were urgent to have the affair terminated at once. Alone Antonio Sanseverino, and some few other cardinals, remained silent with dejected looks. The pontiff remarked his long silence and his dejected air, and said, "Why, cardinal, are you alone silent, as if you had not liberty here to speak freely? Tell us at once what you think of this question." Heaven gave such force to the words of Sanseverino in the discourse which he then proceeded to deliver, that the pope and the other cardinals were determined to change their previous resolution; and from that hour the Capuchins have always regarded the illustrious family of the Sanseverini as having been, under God, the second founders of their order.†

These were distressing scenes, but yet full of divine action, since they furnished an occasion of exercising great virtue by those not engaged in the dissension, who protected the good cause, heedless of personal inconvenience and injury; for then it was that Victoria Colonna, marchioness of Alerni, Ascanius Colonna, Camillus Ursino, Nicolas Buffalino, and other Roman nobles, extended their benevolent protection to the persecuted order. The noble family also of Bentivolio at Ferrara, in peace and war equally illustrious, took these holy men under its protection, and founded a convent for them in that city.‡ But, above all, it was Catherine Ciboa, duchess of Camerino, who like a mother protected them at their commencement. Not undeservedly does the wise man say, "Fundamenta æterna supra petram solidam, et mandata Dei in corde mulieris sanctæ."§ "For such love," adds the annalist of the order, "had this noble woman for the new reform of the Capuchins, that she seemed raised up by God for its nurse and mother."‖ "When these first Capuchins, excited the resentment of the superiors of the observance, who represented them as apostates, the duke and duchess of Camerino received most harsh letters from the minister of the province, condemning them for suffering these friars to take refuge in their states, and even in their

* Do. ann. 1539.
† Annales Capucinorum ad ann. 1543.
‡ Ibid. 1529. 1533.
§ Eccl. xxvi.
‖ Annales Capucinorum, ad an. 1525.

palace. The duke's reply, a model of good sense, firmness, and respect, furnished them a striking instance that laical docility may be united with a just discrimination and a magnanimous protection of the oppressed."* Such then is the episode of monastic history which I had reserved for the present book, as more immediately belonging to the results of instruction in the spirit of the eighth beatitude, in relation to which we may now resume our general history of Catholic manners.

We have seen the consequences of goodness in the ordinary society of men. But it was not alone on account of interior sanctity and exterior justice of life, that Catholics suffered persecution even in the ages of greatest faith. That spiritual illumination, that mystic wisdom, resulting from the union with God, which was enjoyed by the blessed clean of heart, produced the same effects, and exposed them of itself to persecution, independently of every other cause. Those splendors of the blessed wreath, which Dante saw, like the eternal light of Siger,† escaped not envy when arguing of truth. And here again, the wisdom of the ancients might be summoned to our aid in answering those who might in consequence be prejudiced.

"The praises of other men," says Pericles, "are endurable; so far as each person thinks that he can himself do what he hears of others doing; but if any one exceed that limit, men become envious and incredulous." Thus it is with the supereminent gift of which we are now to speak. It is superhuman, supernatural; to acquire it, the highest graces must be asked for and employed; therefore, it is regarded with displeasure, and treated as a delusion. In regard to it, as the Greek said, men are envious and incredulous. Men of the world, in Christian times, might stigmatize the intellectual elevation of the holy with every opprobrious epithet: they did nothing but what the pagans had done from the beginning to those amongst them, who were of superior discernment in things relating to the soul; and their own poet pronounces it "an evil shame which makes one among the insane fear to pass for insane."‡ What does Plato say on this point? He observes, "that the just, who do not wish to act unjustly towards those who injure them, are regarded as the most wretched of men, ἀθλιωτάτους."§ He shows further, that "people of the world, being convinced that secret injustice is the most useful conduct, esteem whoever differs from them, and who is really and universally desirous of being good, as a person deficient also in abilities; ἀθλιώτατος καὶ ἀνοητότατος."‖ "Although," he adds, "they may avoid saying so openly, and on the contrary praise him." In the Theætetus he shows that a lover of wisdom, on going into the world, will be ridiculed and esteemed a man of no understanding; that he will be considered weak, absurd; and that on every

* Id. an. 1527.

† Siger of Brabant, or of Courtray. D'Artaud, Hist. de Dante, 423.

‡ Hor. Sat. ii. 3.

§ De Repub. i.

‖ Id. Lib. ii.

occasion he will be derided and treated as a haughty disgusting person, ignorant of the most common things of life, and subject to continual misery. The man whom he supposes let out of the cave, and then returning again to his former companions, who are still within it, would seem to them, he says, to have lost his senses; and if he were to attempt to loose others, and to lead them out with him, the rest, if they could, would rise and kill him.* That men of eminent wisdom are considered insane by the insane, was the remark of Varro too, who says, "Nam ut arquatio et veternosis lutea quæ non sunt æque ut lutea videntur, sic insanis sani et furiosis videntur insani."

Hippocrates supplies a memorable instance in the letter in which he describes his visit to Democritus. When he was sent for by the people of Abdera, that he might cure the supposed madness of their philosopher, who had retired from among men to lead a solitary, and, as they affirmed, an extravagant life, the physician on landing was greeted by crowds of men and women, nay even by boys and children, all sad on account of Democritus. They ran before him, and on each side, to guide him to the retreat of the eccentric creature; for so they termed their wisest man. After leaving the walls, and coming into the fields, he found a high hill covered with many tall and thick trees, and under their shade he beheld Democritus, who sat alone under a platanus, barefooted and covered with an old tunic, pale and emaciated, and wearing a long beard. By his side was a rivulet, which sounded as the water passed down the bank and fell upon the rocks; and on the summit of the hill there was a grove, which seemed sacred to the nymphs. Democritus held a book upon his knees, while several loose sheets were scattered round him on the ground, along with the limbs of animals which he has been dissecting. Sometimes he would write with great earnestness, and then, after a little, he seemed to repress himself and to pause for meditation. The Abderitans with a sad countenance looked upon Hippocrates, and could scarcely refrain from tears.— "See," they said, "how mad he is; and how he does not know what he ought to wish or do!" Hippocrates, however, is not so easily convinced of the madness of his patient, but leaving the people below he ascends the hill and accosts him. After a short conversation he discovers the mistake. The philosopher, who receives him with grace and dignity, informs him that he is writing upon madness, and proceeds to point out the madness of the irritated crowd who are wondering at him below, and ascribing his retired solitary life to madness; while, on the contrary, it is they who are miserably deluded, loving a calamitous and obscure earth, and calumniously ridiculing that which is above them; devoted to the insane love of gold and pleasure, and hating those who speak the truth; never satisfied, and perverting all things to their lust; laughing at the crimes of others, and blind to their own. "'This it is,'" he adds, "'which gives rise to my laughter, when I see these wicked men, these slaves of avarice,

* Id. Lib. vi.

of insatiable cupidity, enmity, and envy, paying the penalty of their crimes. There is no medicine to cure them. O Hippocrates; no Pæonian medicament. Your predecessor Æsculapius himself perished miserably for having endeavored to serve them: *οὐχ ὁρῇς ὅτι καὶ ὁ κόσμος μισανθρωπίης πεπλήρωται;* there is no knowledge of truth, and no testimony.' Saying these words, he smiled again; and, O Damagetus, he seemed to me as if he were invested with a divine dignity, and as if he had laid aside his human form. And I said to him, 'O noble Democritus, I shall bear back with me great gifts and pledges of your hospitality; for you have filled me with the admiration of wisdom. I depart the herald of your truth; for you have investigated and meditated upon human nature.' Saying this, I rose up and descended to the people, who were all waiting for me at the foot of the hill, and I said to them, 'O men, I am greatly indebted to you for your embassy; for I have seen Democritus, the wisest of men, who alone is able to make men wise.'"*

The fate of Empedocles of whom the poet says,

"Ut vix humana videatur stirpe creatus,"

was a memorable instance of the danger of imparting those high lessons which he styled *καθαρμοὶ*, as professing to teach how to purify and perfect the soul; and the comedies of Aristophanes, after making due allowance for all that the sophists really deserved, furnish another illustration of the mind and manner adopted by profane men towards those who represent before their contemporaries the religious and the wise, in regard to whom they are disposed even to reverse the meaning of terms, in order that virtues may be made to appear ridiculous and hateful, and that, according to the expression of Thucydides, speaking of the Greeks, they may be laughed down, *οὕτω πᾶσα ἰδέα κατέστη κακοτροπίας—καὶ τὸ εὔηθες (οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει) καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη.*†

"Probus quis
Nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo; illi
Tardo cognomen pingui et damus.
Communi sensu plane caret, inquimus."‡

He can be calumniated and ridiculed too with impunity, by men who think with Meno the Thessalian, that the perjured and profligate are persons to be feared as well armed, but that any one may trifle with the holy, and the worshippers of truth.§ At all times, says the poet, it is easy to cheat the good;

"semper bonus homo tiro est."‖

Some may stand in need of these observations of the ancient world, to prepare them for witnessing the treatment experienced by persons of great spiritual illumination in the Church, from that class of Christians which St. Augustin desig-

* Hippocratis Epist. † Lib. iii. ‡ Hor Sat. i. 3. § Xenoph. Anab. ii. 6. ‖ Martial.

nates as the chaff: for history commemorates no man possessed of that high mystic wisdon, which belongs, as a divine privilege, to those who in the Catholic Church are truly humble, who has escaped the ridicule of his comtemporaries—that persecution which Albertus Magnus styles, "sagittæ parvulorum."*

When Bernard de Quintaville was sent by St. Francis to raise the poverty and folly of the cross against the proud wisdom of the philosophers of Bologna, he was received with many insults. While the people mocked him, and the children pulled him by the hood, and threw stones at him, the learned regarded him with that look of scorn which wounds more deeply than any blow. When St. Francis, in the camp of the crusaders, asked the friar who was with him, whether he ought to make known his opinion respecting the measure about to be adopted, observing that if he divulged it, he would be regarded as a fool, the other replied, "Frater, pro minimo tibi sit ut ab hominibus judiceris, quia non modo incipis fatuus reputari."† In fact, men of that pure ascetic grace, who in each act and word evince those delicate, subdued, delicious tones, which indicate the hand of the greatest artist, are from the first disdained as insignificant persons, by those who regard humility and charity as a deficiency of talent. If with the highest gifts endowed, each of these at some period or other of his life must have been treated as incompetent, perhaps as a dangerous visionary, a communi hominum sensu abhorrentem, or despised as one led away by the dreams of a devout imagination, by which was meant "an exaggerated idealist, who, soaring always in the clouds, uselessly strove to realize the impracticable." Like Theoclymenus, after warning the high-fed suitors, of whom Homer said,

—— οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡδὺ γέλασσαν,

he receives no answer but what is conveyed in laughter. He may say of himself, in the words of Socrates to the sophists, ὑπὸ ὑμῶν προπηλακίζομαι,‡ as when the blessed Oriol, of Barcelona, used to be the object of derision and insults, without the least act of his life giving cause; though St. Augustin would say rather that his chief occupation could explain it; since he was one of those who search their spirit, "Et scrutabar spiritum meum." If he had searched the earth to find veins of gold, no one would say he was foolish; nay, many would proclaim him to be a wise man, who wished to arrive at gold. But if a man digs for what he has within, (and how many things has he within!) then he is despised.§

In the office of St. Francis there is especial mention of the insults suffered from the multitude by the seraphic father; as in this response in the first nocturn, "Squallenti vultu cernitur, putatur insanire. Luto, saxis impetitur, sed patiens vir nititur ut surdus pertransire."

"Attend to the opprobrium of the Church," says St. Augustin, "now and in past times: see the Christians banished, slain, thrown to beasts. As with the

* In Ps. lxiii. 8. † St. Bonavent. c. xi. ‡ Plat. Hippias Maj. § In Ps lxxvi.

head, so with the body. Wherever a Christian is found, he is insulted, derided, called foolish, insane, good for nothing."* "The disciple will be treated as his master. And do you ask, Who is there that still derides Christ? I wish there was but one; I wish there were but two; I wish they could be numbered; but the whole multitude of the chaff derides him, while the wheat laments his being derided."† "Multi dicunt, Quis ostendit nobis bona? the daily question," adds St. Augustin, "of all the foolish and wicked."‡ "Quæ interrogatio quotidiana est omnium stultorum et iniquorum;" to whom there is allusion in the prayer, "Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentes tibi!" Who will show them any good? You name St. Louis? In vain: for as the Franciscans tell us of that holy king,

"Sæpius stulti ratione capti
Simplicem, sanctum, nihili putabant;
Gloriæ vanæ quia non studebant
Incolæ cœli."§

You name the great contemplatists, the great mystic lights of the middle ages? Then we may ask, in the words of the old mystery,

"Parles-tu point, Sathan accusateur,
Persécuteur de tout humain lignaige?"

and reckon with assurance upon that archaccuser finding instruments to spread abroad his suggestions against them. What are these instruments? "Lukewarm Christians, the worst of all," says St. Augustin, who compares them to decayed beams, while the pagans, he says, are like the trees of the wood, without the Church, which can be made use of afterwards for a good purpose; whereas these rotten timbers, already hewed, and sawed, and polished, and used, are only fit for the fire.‖ What illustrious saint, what illuminated intelligence, can such men admire or understand? Mark how they treat even the wise men of the ancient world. "Socrates substituted fanatical ideas," says Lord Bolingbroke, instead of real knowledge." He says again, "that Socrates and Plato were mad enough to think themselves capable of contemplating God, and of abstracting the soul from the corporeal senses;"¶ "that Plato treated every subject like a bombast poet, and a mad theologian;"** "that he who reads Plato's words like a man in his senses, will be tempted to think that the author was not so, and that no man ever dreamed so wildly, as this author wrote, about the rewards and punishments of a future state."†† We need not ask how minds constituted after this type, and such were always existing, regarded the great mystic writers of the Catholic Church! Search the whole calendar, and in vain you will look for one reflecting, in an eminent degree, the light of Christ, that was not by such as these accused, condemned, derided. All exhibited themselves as St. Paul says, "as the ministers of God, per gloriam et

* In Ps. xxxiv. † In Ps. xxi. ‡ In Ps. iv. § Martyrolog. Francisc. August 25.
‖ In Ps. xxx. ¶ Vol. iv. p. 113. ** Vol. iii. p. 129. †† Vol. iv. p. 34.

ignobilitatem, per infamiam et bonam famam, ut seductores et veraces."* What had not St. Thomas of Aquin, St. John of the Cross, St. Theresa, to suffer! How many persons at one time were disposed to distrust the graces showered on the latter, and to intimate fears of delusion! Even her best friends appeared leagued against her peace. What must not have been the reproach heaped on St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, when even by her sisters of the Carmelite convent in Florence she was for a time despised? many regarding the graces which she had been at first thought to have received, as nothing but illusions.

St. Mary d'Oignies, whom, as the cardinal de Vitry says, no religious person could see while in her ecstacies, or hear speak, without being inflamed and consoled, was an object of derision to the profane, who used to ridicule those who turned out of their way to visit her. St. Joseph de Cupertino was accused before the inquisitors of Naples, as a visionary, by a vicar-general. Even in the convent of Assisi, his superior called him a hypocrite, and treated him with great rigor. Life, though like his in glory shrined, had thus its gleams and shadows.

What contradictions and persecutions were suffered by the whole order of St. Francis collectively, in its commencements!† How many revilers had its seraphic founder, even after having his limbs marked by that angel from the east, with the sign of the living God! which some deemed a thing incredible, so that it was deemed necessary by the supreme pontiff, who with his own eyes beheld it, to prohibit painters from representing him without it, under pain of excommunication.

St. Bernardine of Sienna used sometimes to be persecuted by children, instigated by what they heard their elders say, throwing stones at him in the streets, and by his own relations reproaching him for dishonoring his family by what they termed such an abject kind of life.

Remarkable too is the malicious joy with which the profane, urged on by him who in the sacred Scripture is qualified as "the calumniator," endeavored to convict such persons of having yielded to the lure of carnal sinners, as in the persecutions by which God permitted that the sanctity of St. Jerome and of Ste. Geneviève should be explored. The former, after the death of Pope Damasus, his protector, bent to the storm and returned to the east. The latter, at one time, seemed to have all persons indiscriminately leagued against her to arraign her innocence, persecuting her as a visionary and hypocrite, because she acklowledged the extraordinary graces she received from heaven; until St. Germain of Auxerre on his journey to England arrived, and by recognizing her sanctity, put her calumniators to silence. Still it was not till the year 449, a short time before her death, that the prejudices of the people against her were wholly removed on a renewed attestation of her innocence by the holy bishop. St. Catherine of Sienna, too, was often grossly calumniated, on occasions which she ever seized with joy, to exercise her love for the cross, and

* 2 Cor. vi.

† Arturus Martyrolog. Francisc. Oralog. a. 19.

for humiliation before her God. The desert itself was not an asylum from such persecution. St. Pachomius, that institutor of the Cœnobites, notwithstanding his eminent sanctity, could not escape calumny. He was cited in the year 348, before a council of bishops, at Latopolis, to answer charges brought against him, when he confounded by humility, the malice of his enemies. St. Macarius the elder, of Egypt, was accused by an abandoned sinner, seized by the people, dragged through a village, beaten, and insulted as a base hypocrite under the garb of a hermit, till God manifested his innocence; and the rage of the people was converted into admiration at his humility and patience.

It would have been easy for all these holy and eminent persons to have escaped such calumnies, by making their lives and thoughts comformable to those of the multitude around them; for in the superiority of the beauteous fruits they bore to those of the world's plants lay the secret of their disgrace: but they would not pay the price required for an exemption, preferring their own sweet gifts to all the praise of worldless men. Concluding his delightful Philobiblion, Richard de Bury proclaims this fact, as from his own experience: for, saith he, "let those who condemn us for applying so much labor and expense to provide books, cease their censures; let them cease to whisper their satirical commentaries, who would have regarded us with benevolent affection, if we had devoted ourselves to hunting, and to playing at the dice, qui nos fortassis affectu commendassent benevolo, si ferarum venatui, alearumque lusui dominarum applausui vacassemus."*

Truly the piety and laudable activity of persons like himself, exposed to more immediate contact with the world, could hardly have escaped being treated as delusion, when that of the cloistered recluse, as we have seen, was charged with it by partners in his calm retirement.

St. Laurence Justinien having published a charge against certain dissipations, was stigmatized by many as a monk of a narrow scrupulous mind, who sought to make a cloister of the world. On another occasion he was publicly insulted in the streets, and treated as a hypocrite. Such is the language used when avarice overcasts the world with mourning, treading under foot the good, and raising bad men up. The courtiers of Louis XIV., thus represented that the education of the duke of Burgundy was improperly conducted, that he was bred up with a taste for mystical devotion, and for exercises which occupied the time that should have been spent in the acquisition of knowledge suitable to his rank and fortune. The monarch was himself prejudiced against the excellent men who directed it; but the duc de Beauvilliers replied with modesty and firmness, "Sire, I know but of one Gospel; and I believe that I am bound by the duty which I owe to my God and to my king, to neglect nothing that can prepare for France a virtuous sovereign." "I am astonished," writes Madame de Savigné, "that you accuse our Corbenelli of being infected with a diabolic mysticism.

What! a man who thinks only of destroying the empire of the devil; who has constant relations with his enemies, the saints; a man who mortifies his body; who suffers poverty as a Christian, or, as you would say, as a philosopher; who never ceases celebrating the perfections of God; who never judges his neighbor; who always excuses him; who passes his life in charity and the service of others; who is insensible to the pleasures and delights of life; who, in fine, in spite of his misfortunes, is entirely submissive to the will of God! and you call that a diabolic mysticism."*

Fenelon was accused of aspiring at power in court, "par les liens secrets d'un langage mystérieux." "That is the judgment of many persons," says D'Aguesseau, "which we must remit to the sovereign Searcher of hearts; so that even the virtuous chancellor had been alienated from Fenelon by the imputation of his enemies. St. Augustin, after citing the words, "Muta efficiantur labia dolosa, quæ loquuntur adversus Justum iniquitatem in superbia et contemptu," adds, "the just is Christ, who coming in his great humility, appeared contemptible to the proud; and whosoever wishes to follow his footsteps, and to walk as He walked, will be despised in Christ, as a member of Christ. Muta efficiantur labia dolosa, quæ loquuntur adversus Justum iniquitatem in superbia et contemptu. When will these lips be mute? In this world never. Daily they will cry against humble Christians; daily they will vociferate; daily they will blaspheme."†

But now my vigor faints as florets by the frosty air of night bent down and closed; for those who play the part with history of Satan's advocates remind me, that even in the ages of faith it was not alone from the wicked and impious that goodly deeds and fair met ill-acceptance, but that holy persons suffered persecution from the just also, who, kneeling in the same choir with them, worshipped God. Their words, alas! are true, and may not be gainsayed. By good men also, as father Dosithée remarks, they were often exercised and contradicted, and that by a wise dispensation of Omniscience, without there being sin and error on either side.‡ How affecting are the remonstrances of St. Columban, when he was exposed to trouble in Gaul from the singularity of his monastic rite. His reply to a council assembled against him was to this effect: "One thing I ask, as I am not the author of this diversity, but am a pilgrim travelling in these lands for Christ, the common Saviour, Lord, and God, I implore you, by our common Lord, who will judge the living and the dead, allow me, with your peace and charity, to dwell silently in these woods, and to live near the bones of seventeen of our brethren who are dead, as I have hitherto lived amongst you during these twelve years past."§ St. Othmar, abbot of St. Gall, being accused falsely, as Walafried Strabo declares, and condemned hastily, after many days of solitary

* Lett. 967.
† In. Ps. xxx.
‡ Vie de St. John de la Croix. liv. vii.
§ Bib. Patrum, iii. Epist. 2.

confinement, was transferred to an island in the Rhine, called Stain, where he spent his days alone and in great devotion till his death: he was buried on the island, but, after ten years, the brethren brought back his body to the monastery.

St. Philbert, in the seventh century, having incurred the anger of Ebroin, mayor of the palace, by reproving him for his crimes, that minister gained over some ecclesiastics of the diocese of Rouen to calumniate the servant of God. St. Ouen, their bishop, was so imposed upon that he entered into their views. St. Philbert was even imprisoned until his innocence was recognized; but the holy abbot, thinking himself not safe in Neustria, retired to Poitiers.

St. Liudger, the apostle of Saxony, employing the revenues of his bishopric in charities, was accused to Charlemagne of neglecting to ornament his churches; but the emperor, who cited him before him, was so struck with his saintly replies, that he disgraced his accusers. Sad but necessary retrospects these, for without them we could not thoroughly understand the spirit of past ages, nor, while some divisions last, the mysteries of our own society.

To suffer from good men, like St. Wilfrid, in the eighth century, is itself a prodigy. St. Wilfrid never reviled his persecutors, never complained of those who, perhaps without consciousness of evil, stirred up whole kingdoms against him. His cause having been heard before Pope Agatho, who decided in his favor, when he presented the pope's letter to Egfrid, the king declared that it was obtained by bribery, and committed Wilfrid to a dungeon, where he continued nine months. It was the remembrance of having taken part against him, that embittered the last hours of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, who sought and obtained forgiveness from him at his death. St William, in the twelfth century, had some inveterate enemies, who had prepossessed Pope Eugene against him by the blackest calumnies. Notwithstanding the unspotted sanctity of his life, and his exalted rank in Church and state, he was assailed even by dignitaries in the Church, whose accusations were made to appear so credible, that a refusal to ratify his appointment to the see was peremptorily given. And how did the saint bear these insults, this unmerited disgrace, this loss of character?—in silence!

St. Conrad, named archbishop of Treves, in the year 1066, on account of his sanctity, by St. Annon, archbishop of Cologne, was opposed by the clergy and people of that city, on the ground of their not having been consulted. Hoping by his presence to win them over, he set out for his diocese; but Deodoric, count of Treves, lay in wait for him with some soldiers, by whom he was seized and decapitated.

St. Jane de Chantal while in Paris, and St. Theresa in various places, suffered many persecutions, even from persons of piety. St. John of God was accused by men who meant well, of receiving vagabonds and prostitutes into his hospital. His crime was receiving sinners. St. Peter Nolasquo had many contradictions to endure before he could realize his charitable project of founding the order of Mercy

for the redemption of captives. Even good men did not appreciate his zeal.

Indeed, from earliest times, the most eminent servants of God were accustomed to be misrepresented or suspected by men who were not his enemies. "How many are there," says St. Augustin, explaining the Psalms from the pulpit, "who affirm that we are seeking honor, and praise, and temporal utility in the Church! How many affirm that I speak to you in order that you may admire and praise me, and that this is my object and intention when I speak! But how should they know what none of you can know? How should they know what I myself scarcely know? for I do not judge myself; qui enim dijudicat me Dominus est."*

St. Gervin, abbot of St. Riquier, one of the most holy men of the eleventh century, gave offence by his mode of preaching and hearing confessions, insomuch that he was accused before the Pope St. Leo IX. of preaching without a mission; and he had to repair to Rome to refute these accusations, when the holy father gave him power to preach and to hear confessions wherever he might choose.

After St. Celestin V. had resigned the papal chair, and retired to his monastery at Morroni, persecutions awaited him, from men who only sought to provide against an enormous danger. The multitudes that flocked to him and false rumors that his abdication was not voluntary, naturally excited fears that fatal consequences might result; and he was therefore kept in confinement under a guard of soldiers at Fumone, during ten months, until his death. It is said that his treatment even was most unworthy; but without complaining. "All I wished for in the world," said he, "was a cell, and that cell they have given me."

St. Didier, bishop of Vienne, in the seventh century, taught classical learning; and for these studies he was decried to the Pope St. Gregory, as a man who substituted pagan fable for holy Scripture, and who with the same lips sang Christ and Jupiter. The holy Pope discerned the groundlessness of the accusation, and rendered him justice publicly.

St. Bernardine of Sienna was misrepresented to Pope Martin, and was, for a short time, even condemned to abstain from preaching. His style had been criticised, and offence had been taken at his having the sacred name painted to exhibit to the people. St. Philip Neri, too, being accused of ambition and hypocrisy, and of seeking popularity, was forbidden for a time, by the vicar of Rome, from hearing confessions and from preaching. St. John Francis Regis was so misrepresented, that even the bishop of Viviers, who had taken his part, proceeded to censure him and order his recall. At another time he had the grief to see some of his own order associated with those who decried him. Its holy founder also, St. Ignatius of Loyola, had been represented by some as a man attached to certain visionaries, who called themselves illuminated, and who had been condemned in Spain. He was even brought before the inquisition. At another time he was cited

* In Ps. cxli.

before the grand vicar of the bishop, as catechizing without a mission, and he was kept in prison during forty-two days. Afterwards, in Salamanca, being followed by a multitude who were charmed with his instructions, he was again suspected and imprisoned; but after twenty-two days his innocence was recognized. St. Francis of Borgia was similarly exposed to many mortifications, arising from persons who suspected either error in his books, or else his former friendship with men who were themselves falsely suspected of error.

"My lord of Cambrai is proud," writes a contemporary of Fenelon,* "his arrogance is increased,"† "he believes no one but those who flatter him."‡ "It is a ferocious beast that must be pursued for the honor of the episcopacy and of truth, till he be overpowered and rendered incapable of doing more mischief. The Church must be delivered from the greatest enemy that it has ever had."§

The duc de Beauvilliers was another sufferer at that time, in the same court, from men whom he would not rank with the corrupt. It was even suggested by some, that he had contracted opinions favorable to the new views of religion, though a bull of Pope Innocent XII. and a subsequent brief, as also a declaration of the general assembly of the French clergy, had severely condemned those who were accessary to spreading such charges, unless they could support them in a due canonical course by irrefragable proofs. Such are the instances that might be easily multiplied of persecutions for justice, through the instrumentality of persons unconscious of opposing it. In allusion to them, Albertus Magnus says, "That is a laudable patience which bears injuries patiently, not only from evil men, but also from those who seem to be good; not for evil deeds, but for benefits. Then the soul is the friend of God amongst daughters, as the lily amidst thorns: for the lily, when pierced by thorns, retains its whiteness, and only emits a stronger perfume than if it had not been pierced. So the soul, the spouse of God, if it be pierced by those who seem to be of the number of the sons of God, is not provoked to impatience, but endeavors diligently to preserve the purity of a good conscience, and the odor of a holy fame."‖ But it is time that we pass from an observation of the sufferings of particular members, in consequence of their personal justice, to survey the persecutions of the whole body of the Church collectively, on account of the inalienable privileges conferred upon it by its Divine Founder.

* Lett. de Bossuet. civ. † Id. cxx. ‡ Id. cxvi. § Lett. de Bossuet, cxx.
‖ Albertus Magnus, Paradisus Animæ, c. iv. tom. xxi.

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT is the Church? "The Church," say the guides of the middle ages, "is Christ himself, living externally, re-appearing always under a human form: the Church is, as it were, the permanent incarnation of the Son of God, since in holy Scripture the faithful are called the body of Jesus Christ. But, if the Church be the continual presence of the Saviour, it follows, that it must participate in his attributes: therefore it must suffer as He suffered."* For the Church was not an abstraction or a mere phantom. Books were not the Church, as they are said to be now by some; nor was any who could write a book and screen his person by remaining unknown, the bishop or the archbishop. The Church had flesh and bones to suffer, like its Divine Founder in his sacred humanity; it had apostles, invested with authority, filling offices which involved them in a state of constant personal responsibility, by reason of which they could be bound, imprisoned, and put to death like those who first established it in the world: its persecutions would be, in many respects, a continuance of the passion.

Now we see ample preparation made to realize these anticipations; for there is another power existing, another society, another kingdom, between which and the Church war is inevitable, a war which can never end. "Every people," says St. Augustin, "delighted with a human kingdom, and rejecting the Lord from reigning over it, every such people is far from the saints, and prepared to persecute them. Think not this confined to the Jews alone. They are given as primitive examples, that in them may appear what all others should beware of. They rejected Christ; they chose Cæsar. And truly, Cæsar was a king; a man over human things: but there was another king for divine things. One king for temporal, another for eternal life. They did not sin because they said that Cæsar was their king, but because they were unwilling to have Christ for a king. Et modo multi Christum regem in cœlo sedentem et ubique regnantem habere nolunt, et ipsi sunt qui tribulant nos. But we cannot be troubled, excepting by those who are far from the saints, far not in body, but heart."†

Such was the voice of all Catholics in ages of faith. The intellectual, the chival-

* Vide Möhler symbolig.

† In Ps. [redacted]

rous world of the middle ages recognized no other as the truth. "All," says John of Salisbury, "who seek to extend the kingdom of man, to the prejudice of the empire of Christ, are those who go forth with swords and staves to take Christ prisoner, that his name may be destroyed."*

The apostle calls the devil and his angels "the rulers of this world," because they rule over the lovers of this world. From these the church has to expect constant opposition, a systematic and ingenious hostility, and perpetual hatred. As Albert the Great notes from the Psalmist's words, there is a threefold persecution against her; "by the mouth, implied in his expression, fremuerunt; by the heart, when he says, meditati sunt; and by deeds, astiterunt reges:"† the Church then, as truly Israel, may say, "Sæpe expugnaverunt me a juventute mea." From the cradle has she been persecuted. Here is then literally, what modern politicians so greatly deprecate, a state within a state, an empire in an empire, and subjects are divided. "Amicus sæculi hujus constituitur inimicus Dei." "So it is," adds St. Anselm, "so it must be immutably, Non sunt verba tantum audienda, sed est res terrifice metuenda."‡ But the fact is manifest, and its authors seek no disguise. "Sometimes they rage openly by deeds, and," as St. Augustin says, "the world beholds the inpetus of the persecutors externally raging; at others they are restrained; there remains the malevolence of the thinkers. There is a distinction of times in the persecution of the Church. There was an attack on the Church when kings persecuted it. Then, when kings believed, peace was given to the Church, and it rose to the height of dignity even in this world. But there was not wanting the rage of persecutors; they turned their attacks to thoughts; in these thoughts as in an abyss, is bound the devil; he rages and bursts not forth, for it is said of these times, Peccator videbit, et irascetur;" and what will he do? Will he persecute? No, he cannot. What then? Dentibus suis frendet et tabescet."§ Nevertheless, these thoughts pass not unobserved and without effects. We shall soon witness them.

"In the meanwhile," as St. Augustin says to the ministers and lovers of the earthly state, who would give it dominion over the city of God, "let them tremble, let them feel horror, all our rich brethren abounding in money, in gold and silver, in attendants and honors! Let them tremble, for it is said, Domine, in civitate tua imaginem eorum ad nihilum rediges; and do they not deserve to suffer this, that God in his city should reduce their image to nothing, since they in the earthly state reduce the image of God to nothing?"‖

"Liberty, that is," says Theology, speaking by the Beatrice of Dante, "the noble virtue, supreme of gifts, which God, creating, gave of his free bounty, sign most evident of goodness, and in his account most prized, the boon wherewith all intellectual creatures, and them sole, he hath endowed,"¶ "liberty, the end, as

* De Nugæ Curial. vi. † Albert. Mag. in Ps. ii. ‡ Epist. viii. § In Ps. lxix. ‖ In Ps. lxxii. ¶ Par. v.

well as the immediate consequence of faith, liberty, for which we know how to die," say the first Christians, "libertas, pro qua mori novimus,* is the inalienable privilege of the Catholic Church; but its defence has cost her dear; for, in that cause, many of her sons have shed their blood, and almost all have suffered." "Nothing," says a French historian "can be more mystically high than the language of the Church in maintaining her freedom." He cites, as an instance, the bull of Pope Boniface VIII., addressed to Philippe-le-Bel: "In sweetness of an ineffable love, the Church, united to Christ his spouse, has received from him the most ample gifts, and, above all, that of liberty. He has wished that the adorable spouse should reign as a mother over the faithful people. Who then will not dread to offend, to provoke her? Who will not feel that he offends the bridegroom in the spouse? Who will dare to touch the ecclesiastical liberty against his God and his Lord? Under what shield will he take shelter, to escape being reduced to dust by the stroke of the Puissant One, of the power from on high? O, my son, turn not away thy ears from the paternal voice."

When St. Gregory VII., St. Anselm, and St. Thomas came forward in opposition to temporal power, "in the days when the king of Babylon was confirmed against Jerusalem," as Peter of Blois describes the contest, it was in order that the Church, purchased and made free by the blood of Christ, might not become the slave of the state. What the Roman pontiffs sought for the whole Church, the archbishops of Canterbury in different ages sought for that part of it which was in England. "This was no struggle," as Möhler says, "for mere external emancipation; it was a contest for what is most internal in man, freedom of thought."† Reader, history will be a sealed book to you, if you mistake consequences for causes, and do not consider events as part of the combat which the Church of God has to sustain against evil spirits and deluded men, who are often ignorant of the banner under which they serve.

"Behind the drama of history, therefore," as a learned French writer observes of the middle ages, "were doctrines which were its springs; behind, actions, ideas: for the logical genius of those ages reigned in hearts no less than in schools; and thought was mistress of the world. The pontificate, in its struggle with the empire, had on its side, not alone truth, liberty, and justice; it rested also on the strict law, on the written law, on the positive constitution of Christian Europe, as the Mirror of Suabia, the authentic and legal collection of the German common law or customs of the thirteenth century, and Magna Charta itself for England can attest; 'for, by the latter,' as Sir Thomas More, after his condemnation, told his base judges, 'it was declared that the English Church should be free, and have all its rights entire and its liberties untouched—Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit, et habeat omnia jura integra, et libertates suas illæsas.'"

Before advancing further, therefore, we may be permitted to observe how little

* Tertull. ad Nat. i. 4

† Möhler's Schriften und Aufsätze, b. i. 3.

one can understand the persecutions of the Church for liberty without having studied not alone theology, but also the legal history of Europe, statute as well as canon law. A Cujas, a de Marca, a Cabassut, a Doujat, a Thomassin—such are the men who, along with the old judges of the land, can alone give us the key that will unlock the secrets of the political history of Christian ages, as long as the canon law, that is, in fact, the Gospel, had dictated or guided the civil institutes of all nations. To this preliminary remark we may add the observation of another foreign writer, who, after saying that these violent collisions between the two powers, when the Church shed her blood, as in the time of the heathen or heretical emperors, rather than relinquish her right, are facts which cannot be studied without this acquirement, concludes with observing, that "the moderation and limits of the secular power are not yet so well assured that this teaching of the martyrs has become unnecessary; and that if our statesmen were to consult theologians, such as Lugo, on matters of high politics, they would discover far higher views to guide them in the government of nations, than can be derived from collecting all the modern opinions; and that they would find in treatises De Justitia and De Fide, as cases of conscience, what in acts of parliament in later times they will search for in vain. But what kings at present," he asks, "or what statesmen, have cases of conscience to resolve amidst their trials and dilemmas?"

During the first three centuries the Church had enjoyed under a pagan government, amidst external oppression and bloody persecutions, the most perfect freedom and independence in its internal relations, in its doctrine and discipline. But it continued not so under the Christian emperors, who being accustomed in pagan times to rule with despotic sway, sought to intrude into the province of the Church.* At first they used their power with moderation, but in process of time they went beyond its limits, making their approbation a condition of election to sees, requiring taxes from the elected, making arbitrary depositions, and passing tyrannical sentences of exile. Of this persecution we have a memorable instance in the fifth age. Theodosius the younger, at the instigation of the eunuch Chrysaphius, having required a present from Flavian a priest, on his being elected to the archiepiscopal see of Constantinople, which the holy man refused to offer, replying that the revenues of the church were the property of the poor, a resolution was formed to oppose him, which was executed in the false council styled the Latrocinale, when he was deposed by violence, from which, when he appealed to Rome, his enemies fell upon him and so wounded him that he died within a few days at Epipus, the place of his exile.

After the fall of the Roman empire the same spirit continued to break out at intervals. Each heresy, and even the lingering opposition of paganism, worked in concert against the ecclesiastical liberty. Huneric, the Vandal king who conducted the Arian persecution in the sixth century in Africa, sent an order to St. Eugenius,

* Döllinger, Hist. of the Church, ii. 5. Dr. Cox, tr.

bishop of Carthage, never to preach to the people or admit any Vandals into his church; and on the bishop refusing many suffered death for entering them. Four hundred and sixty-four bishops were sent into banishment, and innumerable Catholics tortured and put to death. In the north, the pagans, even after conversion, were slow to admit a visible power greater than their own. The barbarous sovereigns were at all times prone to aspire at dominion over the Church; and confessors consequently soon appeared. In England, Mellitus, the first bishop of London, in the seventh century, for performing his spiritual duty as a pontiff, was obliged by King Eadbald to fly to Gaul. Justus, the bishop of Rochester, was obliged to accompany him; and Laurence, archbishop of Canterbury, was only prevented from following them by a miraculous vision. Charlemagne exerted indeed an immense influence in ecclesiastical matters; but it was the natural influence of wisdom and justice, not a violent encroachment. With respect to his power in elections, there is an anecdote related by an ancient writer, which will beguile the tediousness of our present path. "Charlemagne was at Aix, when he heard of the death of Ricolph, archbishop of Cologne. After a few days he set off to that city. On his way thither he desired to hear Mass as usual in the place where he had passed the night; and at the offertory he gave the little golden hunting horn which he wore round his neck. After mass the priest Hildebold returned the horn to the emperor, whom he did not know, saying, 'Take back the gold: it is not the custom here to make us such presents.' The emperor answered, 'Keep it; for such is my will.' The priest again replied, 'My lord, I see you are a hunter; my diarium and breviary are not well bound; I pray you, therefore, send me the skin of the first stag you kill, in your hunting, and keep your gold.' The emperor smiled, and departed. On arriving at Cologne he found that the suffrages were divided. 'I will give you a bishop,' said the emperor, and then sent an express back to the woods to Hildebold, who was elected and consecrated. He governed the see with the greatest praise, and consecrated Lewis, son of Charlemagne, king of the Romans."*

We may observe here that the liberty of elections in France was not formally abolished until the famous concordat of Francis I. The successive stages of the persecutions, sustained in defence of the liberty of the Church, may be noted down briefly. The Church was persecuted then by the Emperor Henry IV. in 1056, and by Henry V. his successor. Her next persecutors were Frederic Barbarossa, and his son Frederic II., who succeeded in 1213. Who could describe the sufferings of the holy Popes Paschal, Gelasius, Innocent III., and Innocent IV.? The persecution was steadily carried on by Henry VII., who succeeded in 1308, and by the emperor Lewis, whom Benedict XII. excommunicated, and against whom Clement VI. had to contend. It was pursued by Philippe-le-Bel, and by his legists, who continued it until the persecution by the new pagan schol-

* Annales Novesienses, p. 535. ap. Martine, Vet. Script. t. iv.

ars broke out, amidst which Constantinople fell. All this long contest between the Holy See and the temporal governments was to defend incontrovertible rights; involving, some the vital interests of religion, others the welfare of society in general; and all of which the common law of the whole of Christendom had established.* In the sixteenth century the empire was emboldened at the spectacle of heresies rising against the Church. In consequence it required that the Pope should be only a bishop with territorial possessions; that he should be the vassal of the civil power; that he should obey the emperor, and yield him up the spiritual sovereignty. Its very language was full of passion, insult, and defiance: then, amidst the Protestant persecutions, the original contest was pursued, at least, theoretically, even by Louis XIV., and the new monarchal system of the Gallican divines; then by the Emperor Joseph II. and his school of unfortunate adherents; then by the men of blood, who succeeded; then by Napoleon, and finally to the present day by the constitutional governments, which have made new all things over which they had any power, excepting follies and injustice.

Such were the most prominent figures in the conduct of this warfare; but there were other chiefs, though seen in less bold relief.

The pride of man is not quicker to take umbrage than swift in comprehending, with a sort of instinct, the measures which seem to favor its ill-understood interests. Those sovereigns, who were not from the first personally engaged in this levy of bucklers against the Holy See, felt no less on which side of the scales they should throw the weight of their sword. The holy martyr of Canterbury made this remark, writing to the college of cardinals: "Beware," he said, "lest all the kings of the earth be infected with this disease; for sweet to every tyrant is the bitter servitude of the Church, Dulcis est omni tyranno amara servitus Ecclesiæ."† —Monarchal absolutism, attempted by the Hohenstauffers and by Philippe-le-Bel, was only defeated by the ceaseless labors of the Holy See; until in the sixteenth century it was able in some countries at last to realize its insane and impious views, and compel men to swear to its supremacy. But all throughout, this was the secret aim. Hence the contest in England between her kings during so many reigns and the ecclesiastical power. Nor was the combat only on this portentous scale between thrones and the pontificate. It was carried on the while in many dioceses between the bishop and the chieftain of the province; in many parishes, between the priest and the seignior. As is related of the first persecutions, each edict against the Church seemed to be a signal for others, as if the impious in all parts of the world felt at the same moment a new impulse, directing them to evil, and giving birth to projects of oppression. What persecutions, what sufferings for justice, might here be traced if the deeds of old could pass before the mind by night, when bards are removed to their place, when harps are hung in

* Pouvoir du Pape sur les Souverains au Moyen Age, par le Directeur du Sém. de S. Sulpice.
† Epist. cxlv.

halls, if we could hear the voice of years that are gone, if they could roll before us with all their tears!

In all observations of this ancient and never-ending struggle between the Church and the wills opposed to her, the first thing to remark is, the particular justice of the cause in each instance for which her defenders suffered; though I would not confound the somewhat over-cautious expression of a learned and illustrious historian, addressed perhaps in a deep ironical sense to the adversaries of her martyr, with the coarse and deliberate depreciation of his cause by those who thought to win the praise of sagacity by congeniality of sentiments with them, or by concessions to their error, we must learn to estimate the value in general of the objections of her professed enemies, and the solidity of the doubts of others, who profess to defend her while suggesting that her champions have been martyrs only to a mistaken sense of duty, and to an opinion of which time may have disproved the truth. Now the question at issue throughout the ages of faith, from the conversion of the empire to their close, was the liberty of the Church, which, as we before observed, was, humanly speaking, that of her existence.

Let it not irk thee, reader, here to pause awhile, and with me parley: for at this theme I burn. That any question of a nature purely spiritual, that the voice of the body of Christ should create a sensation in the world sufficient to assume a political importance, seems inconceivable to the guides of public opinion in countries where "all godhead has vanished out of men's conception of this universe;" and where the only dangers deprecated are those that would, directly or indirectly, involve the loss of money, or what is blindly thought by nations, glory. Even men of the learned class themselves, through an unaccountable want of consideration, seem there instinctively opposed to those who suffer persecution for endeavoring to rescue mind from subjection to the state, and ready to cheer on the civil power to whatever length it may push its pretensions; as if, to use the words of a great living writer, "their thoughts were for ever regulated by a moral law of gravitation, which, like the physical one, held them down to earth." But in ages of faith, any attempt of this nature would give a certain voice to the voiceless; with such horror was it contemplated by all men who, being within the body of Christ, regarded its voice as their own. The layman, as well as the priest, would say with the son-in-law of Sir Thomas More, that it was "setting aside by human law the commission given by our Saviour to his apostles and their successors, and transferring their authorityto the state; it was causing the care of souls to devolve upon the civil power, and the being of Christianity to depend upon the will of the magistrate."

A French writer has remarked, that "the institution of the third orders by St. Dominic and St. Francis, for persons in the world, was expressly provided to extend the influences of this conviction, and so defend the Church from the usurpations of the temporal power."* That this object was in view appears clearly

* Chavin de Malan, Hist. de S. Franc. 166.

from the first words of the bull of Gregory IX. in 1227, approving of it: "The perfidious heretics," says the pontiff, "similar to the children of Ismaël, have united with the Gentiles; and abusing the power of a proud king, who favors their criminal enterprises, make their glory consist in despising the holy place, and in endeavoring to spoil the Church of Christ of its most precious ornaments; but you, whom the Lord has inspired with a generous resolution to expose yourselves to the efforts of its enemies, and to defend the liberty of the Church, are worthy of receiving proofs of our benevolence." Peter de Vineis, the chancellor of Frederic II., discerning the consequences, wrote accordingly to his master, saying, "The friar preachers and the minors are risen against us; they publicly reprove our life and conversation; they infringe our rights, and reduce us to nothing; and lo, now, to weaken our power still more, and estrange the people from us, they have created two new confraternities, which embrace universally men and women. All run to them, and there is scarcely any one to be found whose name is not inscribed."

Of the great contest between the Church and the empire after its conversion, the source was the abuse arising out of the influence of the feudal system on the clergy. The more ancient of the Carlovingian kings appear not to have required feudal oath; but the bishops, assembled at Quiercy in 858, refused to subject themselves as vassals by taking it. The military conscription which oppressed the Church in her possessions was another grievance consequent on the same system; but the root of all ecclesiastical evils was investiture; for, until it was removed, the Holy See found it would be impossible to extirpate simony or restore canonical elections. St. Gregory VII., in seeking to free the Church from the feudal chains, declared that he desired nothing new, but only to restore the primitive constitutions of the Church. He imposed nothing but what only expressed the ancient submission to the ecclesiastical authority of the Holy See. As the abbot Godfrey of Vendôme declared, the custom of investiture was simoniacal and heretical, because it implied the sale of benefices and the assumption by laymen of spiritual power. "Every where," says St. Gregory VII., "it is permitted to the poorest woman to unite herself according to the laws with a husband; but to the Church alone, our mother, it is forbidden to remain united with her bridegroom upon earth. Could we permit that heretics, adulterers, and intruders, should subject to themselves the sons of the Church, and cast upon her the scandals of their own conduct."*

But let us confine our observation to the contests in England between Henry II. and the Church's great deliverer. "Let us examine what is your cause," says Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, to St. Thomas of Canterbury; "the justice of your cause then," he adds, "is manifest, since you contend for the liberty of the Church of God, which our Saviour once conquered for us on the cross, and

* Döllinger, Hist. of Church. Dr. Cox's transl. iii.

redeemed with an inestimable price, and made uniform for all who are called by his name. For as there is one faith, so is there one liberty, which the identity of the sacraments and the simplicity of the Spirit, which worketh all things, consecrate and confirm. For in this consists the wonderful sacrament of the ecclesiastical unity, that as there is one faith, one spirit, and one baptism, so is there also one testament of perpetual enfranchisement, by which the adoption of the divine goodness renders us not only free but also co-heirs; in which, as often as liberty is impaired, it is certain that there is an act derogatory to faith, since being connected together by a mutual relation, each feels necessarily whatever loss or advantage may accrue to the other."* So the holy archbishop, writing to Stephen, chancellor of the king of Sicily, says, "Crimen nostrum est assertio ecclesiasticæ libertatis; for to profess that, is to be guilty of high treason under our persecutor; for he alone is deemed faithful who takes pleasure in the contempt of religion, who opposes the divine law, who delights in the ridicule of priests, who venerates the gibbets of ancient tyrants as the temple of justice."† John of Salisbury, writing to Petrus Cellensis, gives the same testimony as to the cause of his own exile. "The indignation of our most serene lord, the king of the English, is excited against me for the last year. If you ask the cause, the profession of liberty and the defence of truth are my crimes. The Searcher of hearts, whom my whole useless and pernicious life has always and too grievously offended, can bear witness that against the king my conscience is ignorant of any other offence."‡ He gives the same evidence respecting the adherents of St. Thomas, so cruelly exiled. "The wretched faithful of Canterbury," he says, "are banished and proscribed for this cause alone, for daring to mutter a word respecting the liberty of the Church; for protesting in favor of the privilege of the apostolic see; for preaching that the canonical sanctions of the holy fathers are to be preferred to the traditions of the impious."§ The great object of these men," as Gervaise says of Pope Innocent III., was, "that the Church of God might always receive increase of virtue, both in manners and in persons."‖ The sum of their offence consisted in wishing that kings and ministers, and all kind of persons in public or private, should walk according to the Gospel of Christ; understanding that this was their law, supreme over all laws, and that whatever was in the Church's keeping should pertain, as Dante says, "to such as sue for heaven's sweet sake; and not to those who in respect of kindred claim, or on more vile allowance."¶ This was the work that from these limits freed St. Thomas. He died for endeavoring to maintain the kingdom of God on earth. This was his unforgiveable offence, styled setting up priests over the head of kings.

"We suffer," says John of Salisbury, again writing to Gaufrid, of St. Eadmund, "by the grace of God, not as adulterers or murderers, not as incendiaries or sac-

* Epist. S. Thom. xxi. ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi.
† Id. Epist. cxxiii
‡ Epist. Joan. Saresb. xii. ap. id. xvi.
§ Ibid. xlviii.
‖ Gerv. Præmonstr. ab Ep. iii.
¶ Par. xxii.

rilegious men, but as Christians, propter justitiam."* He repeats this in another letter to Walter de Insula: "We do not suffer as criminals, as is publicly known, excepting to those who labor that they may not understand the things of God; but we are afflicted as Christians, bearing with equanimity the dispensation of the Lord."†

These confessors and martyrs proceed to show that the liberty for which the Church contends can never be injurious to any state. "I am blamed as if I committed injuries against our lord the king," says St. Thomas to the unworthy Gilbert, bishop of London; "but since you specify nothing, I know not for what I ought to answer. As I am accused therefore vaguely, I excuse myself on this head vaguely; yet in the meanwhile take this answer, that I am conscious of nothing to myself, though I am not therefore justified. You need not have labored much to remind me of the benefits which the king bestowed on me: for I call God to witness that I prefer nothing under the sun to his grace, and to his safety; only, salva sint quæ Dei sunt et sanctæ Ecclesiæ; for not otherwise could he reign happily or securely."‡ All his great contemporaries were impressed with the same conviction. "We are the more grieved at these events," says Rotrodus, archbishop of Rouen, writing to the Pope Alexander, "because nothing can be more certain than that the ecclesiastical liberty or dignity conduces to the royal dignity, rather than takes aught from it, and that the royal dignity tends to preserve rather than to take away the ecclesiastical liberty: for, as if with a close embrace, the ecclesiastical and regal dignity conjoin; since neither can kings have safety without the Church, nor the Church peace without the royal protection."§ So Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, writing to Henry, king of England, concludes with these words: "The children of this world suggest to you that you should diminish the authority of the Church, in order that you may augment the royal dignity. But certainly in this, whoever they may be, they impugn your majesty, and procure the indignation of God; for it is He who can extend your dominion and advance your glory." All this had been shown by St. Augustin; for, after citing the words of the Psalm, "Et cantent in viis Domini, quoniam magna est gloria Domini," he adds, "Let the kings of the earth sing this; let the kings of the earth be humble, not proud. Let them sing, walking in the ways of the Lord. What shall they sing? that the glory of kings is great! Nay; but quoniam magna est gloria Domini."‖

Again, let the observation be repeated, that in all these contests the holy men, whose persecutions we commemorate, suffered for supporting even the laws of the political order. All these privileges enjoyed by the Church in the middle ages were guaranteed by the laws both human and divine. The common law of Germany, as may be witnessed in the Mirror of Suabia, already cited as containing it, recognized expressly the occasions when the legal consequences of excom-

* Id. xxvii. † Id. xxxix. ‡ Epist. S. Thom. lxx. § Id. Epist. ccviii. ‖ In Ps. cxxxvii.

munication would be incurred by the emperor. "The Pope alone," says this text, "can excommunicate the emperor, which he can do for these three causes; if he doubts of the faith, if he forsakes his wife, and if he destroys the churches: for thus the great as well as the poor must be judged."*

"This pretension," says the organ of the French ministry in the present year, alluding to the demand of the episcopacy for liberty of education, "tends to nothing less than to the overthrow of all civil society. We admit of intermediate, but not of independent bodies. In a state every thing is subject to the state; dans un état, tout est soumis à l'état. To grant independence to the clergy is to tear and destroy the state."†

Such views in ages of faith would have entitled him who expressed them to a reproof like that bestowed on Antony by Cicero: "Jam illud cujus est, non dico audaciæ (cupit enim se audacem dici) sed, quod minime vult, stultitiæ qua vincit omnes."‡ He would have been told, in the words of St. Augustin, commenting on the verse of the psalm, "Dilexisti malitiam super benignitatem," that he was for inverting the order not alone of grace but of nature; "wickedly, inordinately, and perversely you wish to put water above oil; the water sinks, the oil will float: you wish to put light beneath darkness; the darkness will fly, the light will remain: you wish to put earth above heaven; the earth by its own weight will fall to its place; as you will sink and be overwhelmed, loving malice, above benignity; and therefore it is added in the psalm, Dilexisti omnia verba submersionis."§ You will draw upon yourself shame and ruin; and in the consequences of your own principles, as in a deluge of the fire of the wrath of God, you will yourself vanish. All Christian states had accepted the truth of the Christian religion as a fact, and by express and positive enactments had invested the practical consequences with all the might and authority of the law. Now, as Pope Innocent III. observes, "As those things which have been reasonably ordained by Catholic and devout princes ought to be maintained firmly and unalterably, so such as are enacted wickedly by perfidious tyrants, especially while under the bond of excommunication, ought to be without force."‖

In effect, we find that the martyrs and confessors were mindful of the legality of their proceedings. "If any one be a defender of the law," says St. Thomas, "he is considered the king's enemy; we are dispersed: we are proscribed."¶ In regard to his cause, both human and divine laws concurred. "Examine if you will," says John of Salisbury, "that book of detestable abominations," (which contains the customs advocated by the king,) "and you will plainly see that our adversaries, yea rather those of the whole Church of God, turn their backs on the sanctuary of the Lord, and not only profane but endeavor to overthrow the law."**

And, indeed, how could he entertain a different opinion? for, as the same John

* Cours de Lit. Germ. au Moyen Age, par Ozanam, and the work of the Abbé Gosselin.

† April 2, 1841. Journal des Débats. ‡ Orator. § S. Aug. in Ps. li.

‖ Epist. Ian. Lib. xv. 31. ¶ St. Thom. Ep. cxxiii. ** Joan. Sar.

says elsewhere to Cardinal Albert, "If the pastoral office can be exercised only at the nod of the prince, without doubt, neither will crimes be punished, nor the ferocity of tyrants reproved, nor will the Church itself be able in reality to stand long. As for me," he adds, "whoever he may be who advises priests to be silent, and to dissemble, during the usurpation of such depravities, I doubt not that he is a heretic, and a forerunner of Antichrist, if he be not personally Antichrist."* And here assuredly it will not be a departure from the object of this general outline, if we dwell for a few moments upon the particular cause for which St. Thomas suffered.

Now the first ground of offence was his resigning the chancellorship, in which he only exercised a general right of all men. The second was his opposing the king in his unjust usurpation of vacant sees and benefices, and deferring to fill them, in violation of the canons, in order to appropriate the revenues to his own use; the third, that he would not suffer lay-judges, contrary to the law of Christendom, to summon clerical persons before their tribunals, subjecting them to the duel and the ordeal; and lastly, his refusal to take an oath to observe certain customs, in which he knew that several notorious abuses and injustices were included.

To insist on a bishop binding himself to the secular prince, to observe more than was involved in the form of fidelity, was a thing unprecedented in England, which of itself, he said, ought to be rejected :† but the case was far worse than a question of formality; for these were the propositions he refused to sanction,—that there could be no appeal to the Apostolic See for any cause, unless with licence from the king; that no archbishop or bishop could leave the kingdom to obey the summons of the pope, without licence from our lord the king; that no bishop should excommunicate any one who held of the king, in capite, without licence of the king, or place his land, or that of his officers, under an interdict; that no bishop should coerce any one, de perjurio vel fide læsa; that clerks should be tried by the secular courts, which was to deliver over to the rigor and corruption of the secular tribunals a multitude of the people who had previously found an asylum from oppression and barbarism in the ecclesiastical courts, where alone learning, justice, and charity presided.‡ The immemorial offices of the episcopacy also were to be renounced, as appears from the letter of John, bishop of Poictiers, written to St. Thomas, relating how he has been forbidden by the king expressly, not to presume to usurp any thing belonging to the royal dignity, such as attending to the complaints of widows or orphans, or any of the faithful, until the king's officers, or the lord of the feud's officers, failed to administer justice.§ In fine, it was to be enacted that laics, whether the king or others, should treat causes of the Church,—a power which all preceding ages had denied them.‖

Moreover, the king required from the pope, as he himself declares in his royal

* Id. Epist. xlix. † Ep. clxv. ‡ Osanam, Deux Chanceliers d'Angleterre. 117.
§ Epist. St. Thom. ix. hom. Epist. lv.

letter to Reginald of Cologne, "that whatever St. Thomas did, should be declared null, yet that the archbishop should swear before the pope, that he and his successors would observe inviolably for ever his royal customs; and the king declared that if he or they should ever contradict his petitions, neither he, nor his barons, nor his clergy, should obey; but, on the contrary, that all would resist him, and that whoever adherred to him should be banished."*

I cannot trace even a sketch of the archbishop's noble defence of justice, but we may cite some prominent passages from his espistles, illustrative of its solidity. Thus he writes, in a letter to Pope Alexander: "We answer that none of our predecessors were ever obliged, by any king, to make such a profession as is now required from us, respecting customs which destroy the liberty of the Church, and the privileges of the Apostolic See, and manifestly oppose the law of God. Rather than consent to them, and through love of life forsake our pastoral care, we ought to submit our necks to the executioner. These reprobate customs which we have condemned, have been condemned before in many councils by the Catholic Church, with an anathema against their observers. Were we to connive at them, the example would be pernicious, and would lead to the ruin of ecclesiastical liberty, and perhaps to the loss of the Christian faith. For who would dare to drop a word about the rest? Who would oppose himself as a wall for the house of Israel? We may add, that such an example has not been left us by apostolic men. Look around and see how the Church is treated in the west. The Lord Otho can inform you, who is actuated, we believe, by the Spirit of God, and who has seen and known what takes place in the dioceses of Tours, and of Rouen, as well as in our own, in which are seven sees vacant, to which the king will not suffer pastors to be named. The clergy are given over as a prey to his satellites. If we dissemble these things, holy father, what shall we answer to Christ in the day of judgment? Who will resist Antichrist coming, if we evince to his forerunner such patience and toleration of crime? By such silence, powers grow hardened, kings pass into tyrants, and no right is left to the Church, but what they choose to allow. In vain are proposed to us the examples of the Sicilians or Hungarians, which will not excuse us in the day of judgment, if we prefer the barbarism of tyrants to the apostolic institutions, and regard the insolence of seculars, as the form of living, rather than the eternal testament, confirmed by the blood and death of the Son of God."†

When an accommodation was proposed, the archbishop declared that he was prepared to do what the king desired, and to observe all that had ever been observed, "salvo ordine suo," but that he could not incur new obligations which had never been imposed on them, without adding, "salvo honore Dei et ordine suo."‡ To this the king would not consent. "But," replies the archbishop, "if such an oath unqualified had been taken by me, not only the bishops, but all the clergy,

* Epist. do. lxv † Epist cxiv. ‡ Epist. clix.

would have been required to take it; a burden which is not imposed either on soldiers or on the rustics. Other princes would soon follow the example;* and how could a bishop discharge the pastoral office, after having so bound himself? as the archbishop of Sens demands in his letter to Pope Alexander."† "Never within the memory of man, had any bishop in England been required to take any other but the canonical oaths,‡ and never, with God's help," says St. Thomas, "shall I be induced by any necessity, to introduce a new form of oath into the Church of God, which would then indubitably be imposed on other bishops"§

"If the king of England," says John of Salisbury, writing to Pope Alexander, "should obtain the sanction or dissimulation of these customs, what will any prince hesitate to demand next? One thing I know," he adds, "that not only not a bishop, but no Christian can observe them: Heaven forbid that such an abuse should descend to other ages, beginning from your pontificate!" ‖

With respect to the royal requisition which prohibited obedience to the archbishop, how shall faith be preserved," asks John of Salisbury, "if it be not lawful for subjects to obey their prelates and pastors, in the things which are of God? Now no one can retain the king's favor, who continues to obey the archbishop."¶

With respect to the clerical immunities, the pope in his letter to the king reminded him that such was the established order of things, founded on the difference between the lives of ecclesiastics and seculars; that to disturb it would be to confound the kingdom and the priesthood, and that if he were to give to the poor all the fruits of ecclesiastical benefices, it would not be an act more grateful to God, than if he were to strip one altar to enrich another, or to crucify Peter in order to deliver Paul.**

In a word, as John of Salisbury says, writing to the bishop of Poitiers, "in enumerating all the circumstances which concur to the glory of this martyr, we must commence with the justice of his cause. If," he says, "it be the cause which makes the martyr, which no one doubts, what can be more just and more holy than his cause, who, despising all the glory of the world, and the affection of his friends and relations for the love of Christ, underwent exile with them, and poverty, for seven years, and finally death, rather than sanction abuses of ancient tyrants which made void the law of God; thus following the royal road, and the footsteps of Christ, and of apostolic men?"†† He suffered too, not for a mere hopeless speculation; for, as the issue proved, his glorious struggle was not in vain.

Henry III. formally abrogated the iniquitous customs and laws of his father affecting the ecclesiastical liberty, expressly declaring that he did so for the honor of God, and of our holy mother the Church, and to amplify the glory of the martyr St. Thomas, who contended against them unto death. The visible consequences in respect to the freedom of the Church are, therefore, ascribed by Rich-

* Epist. clx. † Epist. clxi. ‡ Epist. clxv. § Epist. ccxiii. ‖ Joan. Sar. Epist. lviii.
¶ Do. Epist. lxxvi. ** Epist. St. Thom. xl. †† Joan. Sar. Epist xciv.

ard, elected to succeed him in the see of Canterbury, to the intercession of the new martyr, and ranked amongst the miracles with which God is pleased to signify his compassion for the English Church.*

But extending now our observations to other instances of collision, we should remark that the justice of the cause for which ecclesiastics suffered was often self-evident, and a consequence, not so much of law, as of natural right, or else of the essential difference which exists between spiritual and material things, which no change of times, or circumstances, or legislation, can ever alter. Thus ecclesiastics suffered for refusing to sanction the plunder of the property entrusted to their care.

"As for these possessions," writes St. Thomas, "which have been taken from the Church contrary to God and to all equity, we expressly required restitution, preferring perpetual banishment, to making a peace injurious to the Church."†

"We fly to our lord the king," writes Armanus, abbot of Manlieu, to Louis VII., "for we are troubled on all sides by men who fear neither God nor men, and exercise tyranny over us, to whom, when we offer justice, they as enemies of justice repute it nothing. At this present moment, Chatard de Boscot, a robber and violator of the highway, has seized our men carrying their wares on the public road. We find no one to oppose a shield for the house of Israel. We are destitute of all ecclesiastical and secular defence. We, therefore, beseech your majesty to obtain justice for us."‡

The extent of the persecution inflicted on the faithful in general, by men of this character, as indicated even by many of the curious conditions of tenure or redevances which were so common in the middle ages; as that by which John Auvré, on account of his fief of Coudroy, belonging to the lady Guilberd des Loges, and to Raoul, her husband, was bound to attend the said couple as a guard every year on the vigil of Christmas, and on the three evenings of Tenebræ in holy week, on their way to and from the church for the office."§

In England, the scheme of plundering the ecclesiastical property, by men of a certain class, had never been wholly abandoned. In Henry IVth's time there was "the laymen's parliament, of those who countenanced Wickliffe, and loved the lands far better than they did the religion of the Church: but their designs at the time were defeated by the stout and religious opposition of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and other prelates." Against these evils the ancient canons of the Church in Germany provided, by prohibiting the faithful from holding any communication with men who disturb priests and the state of the Church.‖

Now if St. Thomas and the clergy of the middle ages are to be condemned for resisting such injustice by prayers, and law, and canonical censures, what will be

*Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. xvi. 674. † St. Thom. Epist. ccxl.
‡Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. 19. § Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de [redacted]
‖ Ap. Goldast. Aleman. Rer. Script. tom. xi. p. 11.

thought of St. Ambrose and other pastors of the early Church, who, by still more uncompromising firmness, believed that they were imitating the apostles? St. Ambrose declares that he will never relinquish the churches to the Arians, as the Emperor Valentinian commands, unless by force. "If any force should remove me from the Church, my flesh," he says, "may be disturbed, but not my mind; for I am prepared to suffer whatever a priest may suffer, if the emperor should exert his regal power. I will never abandon the Church voluntarily, but I cannot oppose force; I can grieve, I can weep, I can groan; against arms, soldiers, and Goths, fears are my arms, for these are the weapons of a priest. Otherwise I neither ought nor can resist. When it was proposed to me to deliver up the vessels of the Church, I sent answer that I would willingly give up what was mine own, whether lands or houses, gold or silver; but that I could take nothing from the temple of God, nor deliver up what I had received to guard, not to deliver up. Fear not therefore for me, dearly beloved, since I know that whatever I am about to suffer, I shall suffer for Christ; and the will of Christ must be fulfilled, and that will be for the best. Let them decree the penalty of death: I fear it not; nor will I on that account desert the martyrs; for whither could I go, where all things would not be full of groans and tears, when Catholic priests are ordered to be driven from the churches, or to be struck by the sword if they resisted, and this decree to be written by a bishop who should quote ancient examples to prove himself most learned? Auxentius, with a mouth thirsting blood, demands my Church: but I say with the prophet, 'Absit ut ego patrum meorum tradam hæreditatem.' Naboth was prepared to defend his vineyard at the expense of his blood. If he would not give up his vineyard, neither will we give up the Church of Christ. Do I then return a contumacious answer? I have answered as a priest, let the emperor act as an emperor. Last year, when I was invited to the palace, and introduced before the council, when the emperor wished to take from us the Church, I should have been subdued by the contemplation of the royal hall, and I should not have kept the constancy of a priest, or should have departed with loss of right. Do they not remember then, how the people rushed to the palace, and overwhelmed every force, declaring that they would die for the faith of Christ? Then I was desired to appease the people, which I did by engaging that the Church should not be given up: but now the Arians wish to give law to the Church, and accuse us of sedition in resisting the emperor. Let him take our tribute, or our lands, if they ask treasure; our treasure is the poor of Christ, our defence is in the prayers of the poor. These blind, and lame, and weak, and old persons, are stronger than robust warriors. I am to give to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to God what belongs to God. The tribute is Cæsar's, but the Church is God's. As for the fire, or sword, or banishment, which are threatened, we fear them not."*

* St. Ambros. Orat. Lib. v

Again, writing to his sister Marcella, he says: "Not only the basilica without the walls is now demanded, but also the new and greater one within the city. When the princes summoned me to resign them, I replied, what was of course, 'that the temple of God could not be given up by a priest.' The emperor cannot invade the house of a private man, and he will dare to take possession of the house of God! The palace belongs to the emperor, the Church to the priest. If he be a tyrant, I desire to know it, that I may know how to prepare against him, for I have the power to offer my body. If he thinks himself a tyrant, why does he delay to strike? By ancient laws, empires were given by priests, not taken from them; and it is a common saying, that emperors have rather desired priesthood, than priests empire. The tyranny of a priest is his infirmity, 'for when I am weak, then am I strong.' "*

Memorable is his description then of the joy of the faithful people, when the danger was for a time removed, and the soldiers were ordered to leave the church by the emperor. "How great was then the joy of all the people! How great their acclamation! How great their gratitude!" It is the same when St. Thomas triumphed.

The refusal to contradict the canons, or obey the secular power in matters wholly spiritual had been another source of persecution from the earliest time. St. Columban's crime, for which he suffered banishment, was his declining to give his benediction to a queen's illegitimate children. What can be more just than the cause of churchmen on occasions like these, when they are accused of pride and intolerance?

As St. Ambrose replied to those who charge him with acting like a tyrant towards Valentinian, "Bishops do not act as tyrants, but they have often suffered from tyrants." "What! do you dare to despise Valentinian, while I am alive?" said the eunuch Calligone to St. Ambrose; "I will have you beheaded." "I pray God for the grace to suffer," replied the bishop; "I shall suffer as a bishop, but you will act as becomes your character." "All your subjects," said St. Ambrose to the emperor, "are bound to submit to your authority; but you are bound to obey God, and to defend the religion of Jesus Christ." "Who knows not," he says elsewhere, "that in matters of faith, bishops are the judges of Christian emperors. How then can emperors judge bishops? The person of Ambrose is not so important that the priesthood should be dishonored for his sake. The life of one man ought not to enter into comparison with the dignity of all the bishops. Do you think," he says to the people, "that I will abandon you to save my life? You ought to have known that I fear the Lord of the universe more than the emperor. If the emperor acts the prince towards me, I will act the bishop. Let no one say that I am wanting in respect to the emperor. How can one honor him more than by calling him a son of the Church? The emperor is in the Church, not above the Church." Did St. Thomas say more than this?

* St. Ambros. Orat. Epist. xxxiii

The cause of the clergy again was strictly just, when they suffered for endeavoring to prevent the interference of the secular power in ecclesiastical elections. "Who," asks John of Salisbury, "has constituted the Germans judges of nations, to subject the universal to a particular church? Who has given authority to brutal and impetuous men, to place a prince at their pleasure over the heads of the people? This they have often sought, but in vain. I know their intentions, for I was at Rome in the time of their insolent embassy under blessed Eugene. Perchance," he adds, "the fury of the Teutonic race is left for the purgation and proving of the Roman Church for ever, as another Canaan, that it may always teach it erudition, by disquieting it; that it may be restored to the embraces of the Bridegroom, more gracious and more glorious after its triumph. Laics may read in pictures in the Lateran palace, to the glory of our fathers, how the schismatics, whom the secular power intruded, were given as a footstool to the true pontiffs. Judgments ought to be free, and whoever tries to disturb them by force, deserves capital punishment by the ancient constitutions. Moreover, ecclesiastical judgments, above all, ought to be most free, and according to the sacred canons; as the election of a pastor in the Church ought to be conducted without any previous nomination by the secular powers, so it is to be made in the Church itself, by ecclesiastical judges, all secular and formidable persons being removed; and whatever is effected otherwise, is to be considered null."*

During the persecutions of St. Thomas, what became of this freedom in England? Henry III., in restoring it, cites an instance to show that it had perished under an empty form; for his father wrote as follows to the monks of a certain monastery: "Mando vobis ut liberam electionem habeatis, et tamen nolo ut aliquem accipiatis nisi Richardum clericum meum."†

On these occasions, the clergy suffered with a clear conscience, propter justitiam. "Day after day," says St. Thomas, "malice gains ground, and wrongs are multiplied, not ours but Christ's, yea, because they are Christ's, still more ours."‡ "Therefore in such a whirlwind of things, there is nothing better than to fly to the clemency of Christ, who, although again crucified, is not again slain."§

"My counsel and earnest prayer to you," says John of Salisbury, writing to him, "is that you commit yourself wholly to the Lord; for his name is a strong tower, and he who flies to it will be delivered. Put off all other occupations, for though they may seem necessary, prayer is more necessary. Laws and canons are, indeed, useful; but, trust me, there is no use for them here. Non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit. Amidst such straits, let the priests weep between the porch and the altar, crying, Parce, Domini, parce populo tuo!" No one rises more penitent from the reading of laws or canons. I would rather that you rumin-

* Joan. Sar. xv.

† Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. 645.

‡ Epist. St. Thom. xiii.

§ Ep. xxiii.

ated the Psalms, and the moral books of Gregory : and if you apply thus wholly to your edification, abandoning all scholastic and litigious studies, God will help you, and you need not fear the machinations of man. He knows, as I am convinced, that in these present straits there is no mortal in whom we can have any hope.* How the conviction of a just cause breathes in the letters of these holy men ! St. Thomas was so far from thinking to succeed by policy, that he is blamed by one of his correspondents for confiding his secrets to every one that passes ; "Nec, ut moris vestri est," says this adviser, "quoslibet per vos transeuntes secretorum vestrorum interpretes constituatis."†

"Three things bind me to your defence," writes Gratian to the archbishop; "the fear of God, the love of justice, and zeal for ecclesiastical liberty. I should wish to correct your expression, to speak audaciously, saving your reverence, when you style your banishment miserable ; for I think that those ought not to be styled miserable who are called blessed by our Lord, as suffering persecution for justice."‡ "As for these enormous acts, brethren," says St. Thomas, writing to the people of England, "which are committed against justice and truth, they will only conduce more to the cause of both. For truth may be bound and fettered, but it cannot be conquered : it is content with the small number of its adherents, and is not terrified by the multitude of enemies."§ To Conrad, archbishop of Mayence, as to the half of his soul, he begins a letter with these words : "Inter optimam conscientiam et durissimam fortunam constitutus. . . . . ."‖ "O that this lot had not been mine, that I had not been preserved to see the evils of our nation and of the saints ! unless that, as the Scripture saith, it is necessary that the just should suffer many evils temporally, through the love of justice. God sees what we suffer ; He will examine ; He will judge our cause in equity. No, with Christ's help, not if they should burst themselves, will they be able to tear me from the path of justice, from delivering the Church from slavery, according to the duty to which I am called by the charity of God, which subjects us to tribulation until the coming of the Just Judge, who, with an even balance, will dispense to both, to the young and the old, to the king and the subject, to all equally, according to their deserts. For this Judge I wait ; to this Avenger of injuries I appeal, strong in a good conscience, strong in a sincere devotion, strong in true faith, certain that, sustaining injury for the love of justice, I shall never be confounded ; that, breaking the horns of the persecutors of the Church, through zeal for justice, I shall not forfeit my hope of an everla-ting recompense."¶

"Friend of God," says John of Salisbury, writing to Walter de Insula, on occasion of his troubles for aiding the archbishop, "may your consolation be ever the same as mine and that of my fellow-exiles—the testimony of a good conscience, than which nothing in life can be more delightful. Under that Judge, no

* Epist. xxi. † Epist. ccixi. ‡ Epist. cclx. § Epist. ccxlii. ‖ Epist. xcix.
¶ Ibid.

guilty one is absolved; for on it waits the immortal worm and 'he inextinguishable fire."*

We have heard the actors and sufferers in these great dramas. Now, let us ask, What is the judgment of the men who from a distance looked on and scrutinized the cause and the character of those who were persecuted? for their testimony and conduct must be heard and witnessed, in order to understand how wonderfully the whole body of the Church, during ages of faith, felt the sufferings of each member. Throughout this contest, then, all that the Church possessed of learning and of piety, was arrayed on the side of St. Thomas, as it was in the quarrel respecting investitures on that of the pope. With the supreme pontiff, such observations ought to commence, although, in truth, it could never have been a question, as to which side the Holy See inclined, after the passions of the moment, which prevented them from hearing it, had subsided.

"We are oppressed with bitterness and anxiety of heart," says Pope Alexander III., writing to St. Thomas, "when we call to mind and meditate on the sufferings which you have endured with invincible fortitude, through a zeal for justice and for maintaining the liberty of the Church. That you could not be broken by adversity, nor removed from the constancy of your resolution, and that you should have evinced such admirable virtue and such patience, is a subject to us of rejoicing in the Lord."† Not to multiply such testimonies then, let us remark how others, of inferior degree, acted, whose position rendered their judgment no less necessarily independent. Who has not heard of the generous and magnanimous conduct of the king of France, Louis-le-Jeune, when he defended St. Thomas of Canterbury? Nevertheless, the most unworthy, and, historically speaking, the most absurd doubts have been suggested as to his motives, by modern writers of a certain school. "The king," says Brial, "defended the cause of the archbishop, less, perhaps, from a conviction of the justice of his cause, than in order to embarrass the king of England; for Henry at that time maintained, respecting the ecclesiastical and royal jurisdiction, no other maxims but those which we profess at this day in France,"‡ Judging the latter assertion, in its application, wholly undeserving of notice, I believe it would not be difficult, from the contemporary writers, to disprove the validity of the former. The whole tenor of the king's conduct, even to his intervals of supineness, when John of Salisbury expressed his fears to St. Thomas, that to depend on him was to lean upon a reed,§ is a sufficient refutation. "I spoke with the king," he says, in another letter, "and though he has compassion on you and on your fellow exiles, and condemns the king's severity, yet he seems to speak with less fervor than before. He replied to me, that, indeed, he tenderly loved your paternity, and approved of your cause; but he feared, lest if he should advise the lord pope to do any thing

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxix. † St. Thom. Epist. cccvi.

‡ Brial, Recueil des Histor. de la France, tom. xvi. Præf. ix. an 1814. § Joan. Sar. Epist. xvii.

by which he might lose the king of the English, that the Roman Church would impute to him the loss of such a friend. If he speaks thus at present, what can we hope from him when the king of England will be present, proposing many things for himself, and many against you; with threats one moment, and, at another, promises and various arguments on his tongue; having on his side the king's seneschal, and, still more, Count Robert, whose wife has lately sent into England three hundred yards of Rheims' linen, to make shirts for the king, as a prudent woman, who, besides all the presents she receives from him, hopes that he will provide noble matches for her children, of whom they have many? So that with such friends before him, I fear his part will be easily played when he arrives."* But, to return to observe the king's magnanimity, which was evidently inspired by the justice of the sufferer's cause.

Lombard of Placentia writes to Pope Alexander III., to inform him of the impression made upon the king of France, by the reports that his Holiness was inclined to abandon the archbishop's cause, to favor the king of England. "He endeavors to dishonor me," cried Louis, "seeking to shed the blood of the archbishop, an innocent man, an exile for justice and the liberty of the Church, impiously delivering him into the hands of his enemies and persecutors, whom, not through regard to past services, (for he injured us rather when he was chancellor, serving him who now persecutes him,) but on account of the justice of his cause, I have constantly resolved to nourish as if in my bosom, as long as he shall be in exile;" and he concluded by declaring that such an action would give him no less pain than if the pope were to send ambassadors to take away his crown.† William of Chartres writes to him to the same effect: "The king of France, having heard your apostolic letters, was confused; and the whole kingdom with him, and with all the sons of the Church was afflicted, that, against a just man and a revered pontiff, such a writing should have emanated from the Apostolic See."‡ "I cannot conceal from you," writes Richard, prior of St. Victor, to the pope, "that your letters, in which you seemed to assent to the king of England's petitions relative to the archbishop, have greatly scandalized the mind of the king of France, and of many others."§

The words of Louis, when he heard that St. Thomas was obliged to leave Pontigni, in consequence of the king of England's letter in 1166, and his chivalrous reply to that monarch's invitation, that it was always the custom of the kings of France to receive graciously all persons exiled for justice, and that he would exercise his hereditary right towards the archbishop, must leave an impression on the mind of every observer far from favorable, respecting those who would suggest that the king was not actuated throughout by the highest sentiments of honor and religion. The church of Canterbury, under Richard, the successor of St. Thomas, envinced its gratitude to the French king for his fidelity

* Sar. Epist. xxi. † St. Thom. Epist. xcvi. ‡ Epist. cxxxviii. §

to her martyr, by enacting that three monks there should be appointed to implore God continually for him and for his queen and children; that at his death there should be the same office celebrated as for an archbishop of Canterbury; that each priest should say thirty masses, and others ten psalters; that the yearly provisions for one monk should be given to one poor person; that on his anniversaries for ever, every priest should say mass for him; and that all this was to be inscribed in their martryology, which should be read before them every day for ever.* But it was not alone the king of France, who envinced sympathy for St. Thomas. "I return many thanks to your Holiness," writes Philip, count of Flanders, to the pope, for showing in your letter to me such a benign and paternal affection for that venerable man, who is believed to be dear to God, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. I hope that you will always love and cherish him, in spite of every earthly fear or favor, and thus be a protector against the enemies of his Church. Otherwise, great would be the scandal to us and to the whole world; pernicious would be the example, and injurious to your reputation."† In fact, such was the universal voice "Not alone the Roman, but also," says Stephen, bishop of Meaux, "the whole Catholic Church knows how unjustly the lord of Canterbury is exiled, for what good work he is stoned, and how, for being a true son of the Church, he is pronounced a public enemy."‡ Your devout son the king of the French," says Peter, abbot of St. Remi, to the pope, "exults in the things which he now hears, that you cherish the cause of the Archbishop of Canterbury, contending for the liberty of the Church. The Gallican Church is gladdened; and its sadness, arising from the vanity of some who were lately insulting over truth, is changed into joy."§ "There is no Church," says William of Chartres to the pope, "which has been more useful in all your straits, than the Gallican. That Church now supplicates you for my lord of Canterbury, now in the fourth year of his exile, banished for justice by a tyrant and a manifest persecutor."‖

"For the faith and charity of Christ," says St. Thomas to the cardinals Albert and Theotimus, "we beseech you to rise up with us against this man, whom no success will ever satisfy, as long as the Church of God has freedom. If you will not believe us or ours, ask the Gallican Church concerning him; ask Tours and the Aquitains, and the Normans, and those who visit Rome from England: you will not be able to doubt of your sincerity, unless you wilfully blind your eyes, that they may not see the truth."¶

"I know not how," says John of Salisbury, writing to St. Thomas from the continent, "but, wherever I go, I find that the calamities of the English Church are well known; and I have heard many things which took place in the assemblies of London and Winchester, which, while I was in England, I never heard.

* Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi. p. 167. † Epist. St. Thom. lxxxi. ‡ Epist. lxxviii.
§ Epist. cxxii. ‖ Epist. cxxxviii. ¶ Epist. clxxi.

I studiously dissemble concerning all the popular reports which were flying abroad. What will astonish you is, that when I came to Noyon, the count of Soissons related to the dean, seriatim, all the articles of that little council, or rather shall I say, spiteful club of London, as if he had been present, and had heard every word uttered in the conclave. There is no doubt but the French have persons to inform them of what passes there. The dean of Noyon, a man of high integrity of faith, heard of your persecution with great grief, and is prepared to receive you, not only to sacrifice his all for you, but to lay down his life, if there be occasion, for the Church of Canterbury."* Afterwards, in a letter to Radulf, he says, "The archbishop, by the protection of God, has found that favor among foreigners, which he ought to have received from his own countrymen."† "In fact," saith he, in a letter to Milo, bishop of Térouanne, "when the archbishop arrived at Sens, after leaving Pontigni, in the monastery of St. Columban, he was received as Christ; for, otherwise, I could not express the affection which was shown to this shipwrecked priest. Thus do our brethren sympathize with us, burning at our scandals, infirm at our infirmity, and in a form of purer ethics, and of more consummate philosophy, thinking nothing human foreign to themselves."‡

But let us hear how the French clergy express themselves. The bishop of Térouanne§ writes to the pope, on hearing of the machinations of the bishop of London against St. Thomas, in these terms: "We are the nearest neighbors of the English, and, in consequence of the frequent intercourse between our people and theirs, we cannot be ignorant of what is done by them with such publicity. We implore you to bear assistance to this Church, which is now a prey to wolves in sheep's clothing."‖ William, bishop elect of Chartres, writes to the pope as follows: "The king of the English is endeavoring to subvert that noble Church of Canterbury, that in it he may destroy the liberty of the whole Church, and exclude the authority of the Apostolic See from his territories; that alone he may be able to do all things in this world, who desires all things for himself alone: and it is to be feared that, unless his wickedness be repressed, other princes will be excited by his example to persecute the Church of God. If he should prevail, which Heaven avert! the Church of the English perishes, and the Gallican is in danger. The Churches expect from you, as from their head, that you will bear assistance against the tyrant."¶ The Great Maurice, bishop of Paris, writes to the pope in the same sense: "The bishop of London, that wolf in sheep's clothing, is doing the works of Satan, endeavoring to withdraw from their obedience the suffragans of the archbishop, who, in our age, has shown himself an example to the west of a confessor of truth and virtue."**

To the same effect writes the Church of Rheims to the pope: "His justice is

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xvii. † Epist lvi. ‡ Epist. lii. § Near Boul[redacted]
‖ Epist. cxcvii. ¶ Epist. lxxvii. ** Epist. [redacted]

manifest. Who ever yet before required a Christian, in swearing to an obligation, to omit a saving of the honor of God ? The eyes of all men are fixed on you, expecting that you will console the confessor; for his elevation will be the consolation of many. If so just a cause should be in danger, who will ever afterwards dare to resist the malice of the powers of this world?"* Baldwin, bishop of Noyon, writes to the pope in these terms: "He must have a breast of iron or stone who does not feel for the sorrows of the Church of Canterbury, and he must have inhuman eyes who can refrain from tears at her tears. To all good men an object of pity, to none or to few among the French is she more so than to me, who have seen her glory, and felt her benefits, and known her devotion to the Roman Church."† William, bishop of Auxerre, begins his letter to the pope with these words: "If one member suffer, must not the others suffer with it? When, therefore, that noble member of the universal Church, that primal see of the Britains, and mother of faith in the west, the Church of Canterbury, suffers from her unnatural sons abusing their power, we must feel compassion, and with her and for her hasten to procure assistance from the pastor and bishop of our souls."‡ "Nevertheless," as John of Salisbury assures St. Thomas, "although in England many were silent, yet were there some among the bishops and others, who in the piety of faith and a good conscience were expecting the kingdom of God, as Joseph was faithful in the house of Pharaoh, and Lot just in Sodom."§

Lastly, let us hear the solemn testimony of the holy retired men of the Carthusian order: "The King of kings and Lords of lords has opened his hand and extended your power," they say to king Henry; "you ought, therefore, to have ever before your eyes that terrible warning of the holy Scripture, Potentes potenter tormenta patientur. It is published from the east unto the west, that you afflict the Churches of your kingdom intolerably, and require from them things unheard of, or things which former kings ought never to have sought; and though, in your time, since God has given you much wisdom, such an affliction might be endured, yet, after your death, perhaps such men will reign as will devour the Church with open mouth, and, hardened by Pharaoh, will say, Nescio Dominum, et Israel non dimittam. Have regard then to your dignity, to your nobility, to your race, to your celebrated name, and with a clement eye, behold the sadness of the holy Church, which is almost every where trampled upon."‖

That the personal love and veneration with which the sufferer was regarded, arose from a conviction of the justice of his cause, is even expressly attested. Nicholas of Rouen, in a letter to St. Thomas, says: "You can write by the regular canon, brother Adam, Qui propter zelum justitiæ, vos diligit."¶ So also John of Salisbury, writing to him, says: "When I saw the letters which you have directed to the king of England and to your suffragans, I rejoiced with a

* Epist. clxiii. † Epist. cxcv. ‡ Epist. cxcvi. § Joan. Sar. Epist. xli.
‖ St. Thom. Epist. clii. ¶ Epist. lviii.

great joy for the fervor and zeal which animate you for the Church of God, and that, in these perilous times, there should be found at least one man who does not fear to draw the sword for blessed Peter, in the name of Christ, for the injuries of the Church, for the members of Christ, which He has redeemed with His blood, against the servants of iniquity, the enemies of truth, and the persecutors of the Christian name."*

With respect to the accusations of pride and despotism brought against St. Thomas, the holy martyr might have answered in the words, already cited, of St. Ambrose, when he was accused of wishing to act the tyrant,—"Bishops are not tyrants; but they often suffer persecution from tyrants." The moderns, who feel inclined to doubt his virtue, should remark that Peter of Blois, his contemporary, so keen a critic and so bold a monitor, when he could detect the least passion or ambiguous aim in spiritual persons, invariably speaks of him with unqualified reverence.† He makes no question for an instant, on hearing of his death, that he is a glorified martyr; and, in a studied summary of his character, represents him as shining in qualities which are incompatible with arrogance. "He was in judgment," he says, "upright, in anticipation discreet, in speaking modest, in counsel circumspect, in anger pacific, amidst injuries meek, in showing mercy perfect, in misericordiis totus."‡ Extolling his firmness, Petrus Cellensis condemns some who said that he ought to give up to the king to secure peace: "For they say," he writes, "that the archbishop ought not so earnestly to seek back his own from the king of England, as to give up the peace of reconciliation on account of the loss of money. They are deceived by the hope of a true, and by the adulation of a false man. Times, and the different states of times, which change the merits of cases, are to be taken into account. For in the primitive Church patience alone had place, so that to whoever took the tunic the cloak was also to be given; for he who persecuted was without, and he who suffered within the Church: but now that the Church is adult, it is not lawful for her children to do what her enemies did; for it becomes her as a mother to correct a son, as when in pupilage it was her part to tolerate an adversary."§ But it is needless to inquire what was said and thought of him by kings and princes, or even perhaps by philosophers and orators, when we know that the people, the devout people, as the Church denominates them, that the instinct of the faithful multitude, which could not have deceived them on such an occasion, proclaimed so unequivocally the right of the archbishop to join the glorious company of those who suffer persecution on account of justice.

"It ought to be a common grief," says St. Thomas, writing to the clergy of Chichester, "when the Lord, and Redeemer, and Judge of all men, Christ, is dishonored; when the liberty of the Church perishes; when the public safety is in dan-

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xl.
† Pet. Bles. Epist. xxvii.
‡ Epist. xxvii.
§ Pet. Cellens. Epist. Lib. i.10

ger."* He had the consolation of seeing that it was so. The king of the French might prove a broken reed, as John of Salisbury was inclined to fear, and indeed as he seemed to become, when, after hearing the king of England speak, he turned to St. Thomas, and said, "Lord archbishop, do you wish to be greater that the Saints and better than Peter? Why do you doubt?" and then turned his mind for some days against him; so that he neither made him his accustomed visits, nor ministered necessaries and food to his attendants, as he had been used to do by his servants;† the nobles of England might take their stand on the side of his persecutors, as when he arrived at Canterbury after his long banishment, where every thing seemed to threaten his speedy destruction by the enemies who thirsted for his blood; and "scarcely any one of the number of the rich and honorable came to visit him:"‡ "the great and influential men in England might all," as John of Salisbury says, "be turned into wolves greedy and rapacious, despising authorities and justice;"§ but the people watched events with other eyes, and acted differently.

"Comfort us, father, and be strong," cries the holy archbishop, addressing the pope; "there are more with us than with them."‖ He might well say so. "God hath conferred on you a great honor," says Nicholas of Rouen in his letter to him, "hath granted you a great felicity. Christ is witness to your work in heaven, your conscience in your heart; and, what rarely happens, and but to very few, this is added to complete your rejoicing, that the devotion of the whole multitude comes to your assistance in God, and the universal testimony of the people bears witness to the excellence of your cause.¶ John, bishop of Poitiers, writes to him to the same effect: "I was hastening," he says, "before I saw your messenger; but ere I could arrive, all things were known by all, and the earth was full of glory of the Lord; and every hearer exulted that there was a man found who would speak prudence before the princes of the earth."** In France, the common people and the poor boys in the streets, whenever they saw him pass, used to cry out to each other, "Look! there is the holy archbishop, who refused to deny God on account of kings, and who would not pass over in silence the honor of God." Then it was that the king of England, being informed of the fact, expressed his surprise that the French king would suffer his enemy to remain in his dominions.†† With the same sentiments the people of England were animated. "Almost all with whom we have spoken," says the procurator of the church of Canterbury, in a letter to him, "so love your person, and desire your arrival and presence with such ardor of mind, that you could scarcely believe it; but fear compels them to dissemble, as if they did not love you."‡‡

At the moment of the archbishop's landing in England at Sandwich, some sol-

* Epist. ccxxvi.
‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. xciii.
** Epist. xi.
‡‡ St. Thom. Epist. ccxcvi.
† Gervas. Dorober. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xiii. p. 132.
§ Id. c. ‖ St. Thom. Epist. cxiv. ¶ Id. xx.
†† Ger. Dorober. ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xiii. 132.

diers and officers met him, instigated by the prelates of York, London, and Salisbury, who required Simon, archdeacon of Sens, who accompanied him on a visit to some of his friends, to take an oath of fidelity to the king against all men, without excepting the pope. "But," says St. Thomas, in his letter to Alexander, "we did not permit him to take it, fearing lest, by the authority of such an example, the clergy of the kingdom might be required to take the same oath, if it were imposed on our domestics, in order to prepare the way for destroying the authority of the Apostolic See in the kingdom. But the officers who required the oath were too few in number to be able to compel us to do any thing in that place against our will, because the people who were rejoicing at our return would have been stronger than they were, if any force had been attempted. Thence proceeding we arrived at our church, and were received by the clergy and people with great devotion."* In fact, his whole progress to Canterbury was a long and magnificent ovation, the air resounding with the cry of the people, "Blessed be he who cometh in the name of the Lord." But it is time now to observe the character and deeds of those who persecuted the children of beatitude for the sake of that justice which was involved in the freedom of the Church of God.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE opposition of kings to the ecclesiastical influence began early. Chilperic, whose complaints, as a modern author says, "were not wanting in good sense,"† used to exclaim, "Our fisc is impoverished; our riches pass to the churches: no one now reigns but bishops. Our honor is gone, and transferred to the bishops of cities." This son of the first Clothaire, imbued with the old leaven of the Germanic ferocity, affected to regard the clergy with a kind of philosophic disdain, suffered himself to be governed by his passions unrestrained, and was alternately swayed by avarice and lust; he had more wives at the same time than any other prince of the Merovingian race; he was the murderer of his wife, the innocent Galeswinthe; the murderer of his brother Sighebert; the persecutor of his own son Merowig, whom he forced to be ordained priest against his will, in contempt of the canons, whose friends, when the prince afterwards procured his own death rather than fall into

* Epist. cccxii.

† Thierry, Récits des Temps M[illegible]

his father's hands, he caused to expire in tortures inconceivable; the husband worthy of Fredegond, to whose direction he abandoned himself, a tyrant incomparably more ferocious than his other brother Gonthram, who, however, had once put many free men to the torture, to revenge the loss of a hunting-horn, and decapitated the two physicians who had not succeeded in saving Austrehilde.

Such was the king, who in the sixth century found the authority of the clergy insupportable, who viewed with jealous eyes the property of the Church and the influence of the bishops, which enabled them to exercise most of the prerogatives of the ancient municipal magistrates; who tried to impose his notions on the Church as articles of faith, saying to St. Gregory of Tours, "Sic volo ut tu et reliqui doctores ecclesiarum credatis;" whose delight it was to annul all legal acts in their favor, and whose complaints of "their encroachments" were bitter and reiterated, though they were the only men who pitied him and would have averted his calamities with sighs, exclaiming, "Alas, alas! the sword of the wrath of God seems suspended over his house, and we fear that it will fall on him and on his children."*

Passing to more civilized ages, we find the same jealousy excited in the breasts of kings. Let us observe what change had been effected in their character. When Innocent III. expressed fears that Philip Augustus hated the bishop of Cambray, "We answer you," replied the king, "that we hate no priest, and that we would injure no priest, least of all one who is a bishop and a priest."† It would have been well if all kings and princes during the middle ages could have borne to themselves with truth the same testimony. But later times have seen royal ordinances against the inalienable rights of the episcopacy passed by religious sovereigns, who seemed to think always that it is well and delectable, as poets say,

> "To meet, and in the holy quire breathe up
> Our sacred hymns, while angels echo to us.
> And heaven, delighted with our harmony,
> Opening her azure curtains, will present us
> A vision of all the joys we pray and hope for."‡

One sovereign, who contributed to a schism by his interference with elections attached such value to this privilege of chanting the seventh lesson at matins on the night of Christmas, that when the Emperor Charles IV. came to visit him, he sent officers to intimate that he should remain at Cambray for the festival, where being in his own dominions he could observe the imperial custom in this respect, which would not have been suffered if he had proceeded into France to St. Quentin, as he was proposing.§

Our Norman princes, too, loved to meet with saints and troops angelical. King Richard I. took great pleasure in the music of his chapel on the chief solemnities, and

* Thierry, Récits des Temps Mérovingiens, i.

† Ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. i. 1079.

‡ Shirley.

§ Chroniques de S. Denis, ad. an. i. 1377.

used to pay much attention to it, adorning it with precious vestments, and exciting the chaplains to sing well; sometimes making signs to them with his hand to indicate how they should regulate their chant.*

Some persecutors of the Church during the middle ages, it is true, were undisguised adversaries of all Godhood. St. Gregory VII. suffered from an emperor stained with the abominations of every vice; sunk so deep in crime, that, like the Byzantine emperor Michael, he desecrated, with the wicked mob of his court, the sacred night of the nativity by a shameful mimicry of the holy mysteries;† but in general they professed at least a respect for the religion which they outraged. They were crafty and skillful men, who never wanted an excuse to palliate their most atrocious deeds. As John of Salisbury observed of the Emperor Frederic, when he compares his beginning to his latter end, when from a prince he became a tyrant, and from a Catholic emperor a schismatic and a heretic, "I do not say that in the articles of faith they did not believe rightly; but because they did not suffer truth to proceed according to the integrity of the ecclesiastical order, they may be styled heretics."‡

A vain mundane guest like Froissart might recount with infinite complacency circumstances which denoted the indifference or connivance of potent princes, in regard to the desolations of the Church. "One cannot," says that chronicler, "too often speak about or recommend the things which I observed in the castle of the count of Foix, which conduced to my great pleasure. There I saw seated at table on Christmas-day four bishops, two of them Clementins and the other two Urbanists."§ But assuredly, while the voices of the heralds and the music of the minstrels resounded through the hall, there must have been in that immense company of abbots, knights, monks, and siegneurs, some thoughtful stranger on whom such a memento of the Church's sorrow acted as a mental persecution. Many princes openly espoused the cause of men, whose elections to the sees they claimed were flagrantly uncanonical and unjust; and where they did recognize the true pastors, it was often only to control and molest them.

"Like another Cæsar," says Pope Alexander III. to Henry II., "contending to be alone in yourself in all things, you not only seek to obtain the things which are Cæsar's, as his right, but you fear not to usurp the things which are God's, unlawfully, and to the peril of your soul."‖ "The minds of the adversaries of the Church of God," says John of Salisbury, writing to St. Thomas, "are so hardened that they will admit of no condition whatever, unless one that will utterly destroy the liberty of the Church."¶ "I know not how," says St. Thomas, "but the cause of the Lord is always sacrificed at court, that Barabbas may escape and that Christ may be slain."**

* Chronicon Anglicarum, an. 1199. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. v
† Döllinger, Dr. Cox, iii. 301. ‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. xliii. § Liv.
‖ St. Thom. Epist. cliii. ¶ Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxiii.

"You are going to the court," says John of Salisbury to Radulph Black: "well, if you can be Lot in Sodom, Joseph in Pharaoh's hall, and Daniel in Babylon, you may go there safely and with profit to your soul."* "In our country," writes St. Thomas to William of Pavia, "you have fought with wild beasts; and in the very court, where we are the most fiercely attacked, you have long borne the burthen and heat of the day."† "If that great monster should vomit you from your land!" says Petrus Cellensis, speaking of Henry II. to the bishop of Exeter.‡ These are strong expressions, but hardly too severe. "The king being at Caen," says a correspondent of the archbishop, "and speaking against Richard de Humez, burst into shameful words. In his usual fury he started up, cast the cap from his head, unclasped his belt, flung off his cloak and all his clothes to the furthest end of the room, with his own hand threw off the silk covering which was on the bed, and, as if sitting on the dunghill, began to masticate the straws of the mattress."§ "It is well known," says Nicholas of Rouen to St. Thomas, "that the youth who presented your letters to the king was immediately placed in straits, and had fingers thrust into his eyes until the blood started out, and had hot water poured down his throat until he confessed that it was master Heribert who had given him the letters. He is still in irons."‖ In the letter of Baldwin and Maurice, the bishops of Noyon and Paris, to Alexander, the king is described as a man not content with curtailing the lawful liberty of his subjects, with gratuitously afflicting the innocent, deceiving his neighbors, and defrauding his allies, unless he can trample on the Church against all law and justice."¶ "The clamor of the world," says William, archbishop of Sens, to the Pontiff, "must have informed you how this most famous, I will not say king of England, but rather enemy of the English and of the whole body of Christ, is malicious against the saint whom you have appointed."** "The advocates of the king say, perhaps," observes St. Thomas to the Pope, "that all this is done through a personal hatred of my name: but from the beginning the liberty of the Church was persecuted as if by an hereditary right. Was I archbishop when his father prohibited the nuncio of blessed Eugene from entering his kingdom? Was I archbishop when Gregory, cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, foreseeing his tyranny, persuaded Eugene not to permit Eustache, the son of king Stephen, to be crowned, saying, 'that it was easier to hold a ram by the horns than a lion by the tail?' Was I archbishop when the king transferred the church of Boscham, or during the affair of the bishop of Chichester and the abbot of Bello? All this was done because the king and the court chose it: let them say who has ever been able to obtain justice from him by the authority of the Apostolic See. Certainly they will not adduce a single instance, and they

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxviii. † Epist. cclxxxvii. ‡ Pet. Cel. Lib. v. Epist. iv.
§ St. Thom. Epist. lxvii. ‖ Epist. lxviii. ¶ Epist. cclv.
** St. Thom. Epist. cccxv.

can name many who have been endangered through his hatred of the Roman name."*

In truth, the king's whole life explains that monstrous and unparalleled act, when he refused the humble advances of the archbishop, offered on his knees, on account of his saying that he submitted himself "to God and the king, to the honor of God and the king." "For that one word, ad honorem Dei, he would not receive him," say the two holy priors Simon and Engelbert, relating to the pope the success of their mediation.† "With the successors of Peter, with the vicars of Christ," demands St. Thomas, "ought there to be acceptance of persons? What glory is it before God and men to administer justice on the poor, and not on the powerful? See how the king abuses license. Lo, for the first five years he retains for his own use the revenues of the sees of Lincoln, Bath, Hereford, and Ely! All the possessions of Llandaff he has given to his soldiers. Bangor is vacant now ten years, and he will not suffer a bishop to be ordained to it. What shall I say of the abbeys, which he treats in the same manner, of which I know not the number! And this he glories in doing by the law of his customs. If we had yielded to him, neither we nor any of ours would have suffered any loss; and if we were to consent to them now, the way would be instantly open to us to regain the familiarity of the king and the dominion of the whole kingdom. But Heaven forbid that for the sake of personal advantage we should betray the public liberty of the Church, root out the privilege of the Apostolic See from England, and incur for temporal benefits an eternal loss. So because we will not overthrow the Church, the king seeks our overthrow; because we will not sacrifice the law of God to the iniquity of tyrants, he seeks our removal to another church, that he may exercise a sort of commerce in our blood with the associates of his wickedness."‡ But one need only open any of the king's letters, to be able to estimate his violence and pretensions. Thus to the king of France he says, "You should know that Thomas, who was archbishop of Canterbury, is publicly judged in my court, by a plenary council of the barons of my kingdom, as a perjured villain and a traitor, under which name he has wickedly departed. Therefore, I beseech you not to suffer in your kingdom a man so infamous for crimes and treasons, nor any of his adherents; for he is my enemy, and I would never permit any enemy of yours to remain in my kingdom. Assist me therefore efficaciously to revenge my shame upon mine enemy, and to maintain my honor as you would wish I should do to you if there were occasion."§ Clearly it is known," he says elsewhere, "how iniquitously he acted against me and my kingdom; how pompous, how rebellious and seditious he has always shown himself against me; and how he has nefariously attempted to injure my reputation, and to diminish the dignities of my kingdom."‖

* Epist. cxxxiv † Epist clvi. ‡ Epist clxxxii. §Ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom.
‖ St. Thom. Epist. xxvi.

Nicholas of Rouen, in a letter to St. Thomas, relates his own interview with the Empress Mathilda, with a view to persuade her to mollify the king. "We related to her," he says, "all in order, as you enjoined, and enumerated verbally, because we had lost the paper, the customs of the king, observing to her that some were against the Christian faith, and almost all against the liberty of the Church; so that they were fraught with eternal, and also temporal danger to herself and to her son. She then required to see the paper, and, by the will of God, we found it the next day. So all other persons being removed from her bedchamber, in which she received us, she ordered us to read it in Latin, and to explain it in French: the woman is of the race of tyrants, mulier de genere tyrannorum est; and some things she approved of, as that no officers of the king should be excommunicated without license from him. I would not proceed until I had discussed that point, showing her the evangelic precept, Dic ecclesiæ,—not dic Regi, and other things. She thought, however, that the customs ought not to be written, nor the bishops compelled to swear that they would observe them."*

Her notions of defending the persecuted may be gathered from her letter to the archbishop, in which she says, "The pope having enjoined it on me to intervene between you and my son, the king, I have sent to inquire from you respecting your dispositions towards my son, and how you wish to conduct yourself, if he should grant my petition, and make peace with you. One thing also I will tell you truly, that unless by great humility, and the most evident moderation, you will never recover his favor."† It was not difficult to divine what these words meant. The mulier de genere tyrannorum est, gives a sufficient explanation.

It was observed at the time, that the conduct of the king throughout was marked with a deep cunning, a characteristic feature almost always of such persecutors. The Italian diplomatists saw through him, though at first even they were deceived. "He does not contradict plainly," says the legate Vivianus, "but he changes words, in order craftily to bind one afterwards. This we have discovered later; for in almost all his words to the Church of God, he is sophistical and captious."‡ "How much this legate labored to make peace, we cannot express in words," says St. Thomas, in a letter to the pope, "and unless we had been present, scarcely could we have believed it."§ But Richard de Welcestre assured some, that the king, if it were necessary, would remain till his death disobedient, not only to the pope, but to God himself, rather than have peace with the archbishop.‖

"No one ever yet escaped his snares," he says again to the bishop of Nevers, "who has come into contact with them. You must regard every thing around him with suspicion; for all will be full of deceit. If he should find that he can either corrupt or intimidate you, from that instant your authority is gone, and he will deride you; but if he should not be able to move you from your path, he will pretend

*Epist. xx. † Id. Ep. xxv. ‡ Ep. ccxxxv. § Ep. ccxxxvi. ‖ Ep. S. Thom. cclxxiv.

fury at first; he will swear and forswear; he will imitate Protheus, and will at length return to himself, and seem all divinity. The man, among other things, boasts among his familiar friends, that he is an explorer of characters and manners, a deluder and mocker of the good; and if an incautious word should escape any one, immediately he has his witnesses, and pretends injury. Therefore, be sparing of words in his presence."*

That he was immediately accessary to the archbishop's death, could not at the time be doubted. "The bearer of these letters," writes the procurator of Canterbury to St. Thomas, as the archbishop was on the point of returning to England, having made his peace with the king, but without having obtained the promise of his "grace," "will relate some secrets to you by word of mouth, which are abominable, if they can be believed, and yet they are true. It is not necessary, my lord, that they should be revealed to many; but if it please you, let them be buried when you have heard them without a witness. This, again and again, my lord, we commend to your memory, that you ought not to hasten to come to England, until you can obtain purer grace from our lord the king: for there is not one man in England, trustworthy and faithful to you, who does not despair of your being at peace with him."†

In the meanwhile the king gives him different counsel. "I could not meet you as I proposed," he writes to him, "but I send John, dean of Salisbury, (John of Oxford, a sinister name in this history,) my family clerk, to accompany you into England, and to signify to my son, that you shall be well and honorably received; and that all things shall be arranged as you desire. And as many things are told me concerning your delay and hindrance, at present, which perchance are not true, I think it is expedient that you do not defer any longer to go to England."‡

The rest is well known. The archbishop returns and is slain. Then follows the letter of William, archbishop of Sens, to the pope: "O man of God, put on the fortitude of him whose seat you occupy, and act as your duty demands, towards the tyrant who persecutes God, who hath so perfidiously and so inhumanly slain your son by foul murderers. This act exceeds the crimes of Nero, the cruelty of Herod, the perfidy of Julian. The peace publicly made did not recall the traitor from pursuing his iniquity, who, as if he could not rage enough by himself, had instigators of his fury in those false and ever to be detested brethren, Roger, that archdevil of York, and the apostates, not bishops, of London and Salisbury."§

How does the king himself write to the pope on this event? "Health and due devotion. Through respect for the Roman Church, and love for you, which, God knows, I have faithfully sought, and constantly preserved, I indulged Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, according to the form of your mandate, with full res-

* Epist. cclxvi. † Epist. ccxcvi. ‡ Ep. cccviii. § Ep. cccxv.

titution of his property, and I allowed him, with an honest escort, to return to England; but on his arrival, he brought not the joy of peace, but fire and sword, proposing a question against me, of my kingdom and my crown. Moreover, he excommunicated my servants. So not being able to endure the insolence of the man, some of the persons he had excommunicated rushed on him, and, I am sorry to say, slew him. Therefore, God knows, I am grievously troubled, because I fear the anger I had against him may have lead to this crime. And since I fear more for my fame than for my conscience, I beg your serenity to assist me with wholesome advice in this article."*

"Alas! what shall we do to the soul of the king of the English, lately our sister?" says Peter Bernard, ex-prior of Grandmont, to William the prior. "It has become blacker than extinct coals. Alas! he who founded our churches, has violated the church of Canterbury! Alas! if you knew what I have heard, you would think of our late legation with horror. Henry, king of England, has killed St. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury. I wish that I had slept more profound than the earth, when the most holy Pope and the French bishops sent me to the same Henry, with the prior of the Carthusians. I wish they had left us wandering in our solitudes, hidden in the caves and dens of Grandmont. I can write no more. Let there be prayers without ceasing to God for me, who am overwhelmed."†

As soon as the assassins had slain the martyr, they returned to his palace, searched all his shelves and cabinets, and then sent over all the writings which they could find to the king in Normandy.‡ Even long before the consummation, John of Salisbury remarked, "that the plots and spies of the king were every where, and that he feared and suspected every thing."§ The tyrant might well say now to the Pope, without diminishing the presumption of his guilt, "that God could witness he was afraid."

There is a distinction to be remarked generally between the French and English kings, in their persecution of the Church. The former were served by legists, and men that wielded pens; the latter, by unworthy priests, and by men of blood like the slaves who slew Pompey, and who said to Cæsar,

> "Si scelus est, plus te nobis debere fateris
> Quod scelus hoc non ipse facis."‖

The same elements indeed were in some degree found every where, more or less developed; for if the parliaments of France, while slaves of the king, attacked bulls of the sovereign pontiffs and apostolic legates, under color of defending the liberties of the Gallican Church,¶ which only meant riveting its chains, those

* Ep. cccxviii. † Ep. cccxix. ‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. xciv.
§ Joan. Sar. Ep. xxviii. ‖ Lucan. ix.
¶ La Roche Flavyn, les tèrze Livres des Parlement de France, xiii. 45. Floquet, Hist. des Parl. de Norm.

of England were often violent and unjust towards the spiritual power; and Sir Henry Spelman's History of Sacrilege will show how in every age worldly men of riches and power made havoc of the Church. In Henry the IVth's reign, in England, an attempt was made upon the lands of the clergy, and in the reign of Henry V. the priories alien were suppressed. He gives numerous instances of sacrilege committed by knights and barons in the middle ages. On the other hand, on the continent, a modern French writer describes as a religious reformation, the coalition of princes and barons in the time of Otho, to reduce the Church to its primitive poverty. "One murmured," he says, "in the camps against the riches of bishops and monks; one spoke of seizing their goods, to distribute them amongst men of arms and vassals, who longed to exchange their poverty for the fiefs of the Church."* Thus both elements were together.

But in France, in general the proceedings assumed more a legal and literary form; so that in the thirteenth century the devil used to be qualified, "as the pleader or jurist against the priest." The encyclopedial romances of the fourteenth century, such as the Songe du Verger, and the Songe du Vieux Pélerin, prepared the way for the decline of the spiritual power, and the confiscation of the goods of the Church.† Chiefly in France the parliaments, and above all the legists, served the false interests of the civil power well, though the latter could despise its instruments, as when Philippe de Valois was heard to say, "The Popes are better legists than you men of law." Their cry was that of the Pharisees of old, "Turba hæc, quæ non novit legem, maledicti sunt." Nogaret, Plasian, and Pierre Flotte were miniature Luthers of the fourteenth century, having the king and the sword on their side, in the sacrilegious Philippe-le-Bel and his nobles.‡

The legal method was tried, however, elsewhere. St. Thomas, describing to the Pope what passed in England, observes that those who remain proof against open violence, are assailed in a more artful way, as our Lord himself was betrayed with a kiss; that, under pretence of justice, and through respect for the law, they may be subverted, and God, as it were, legally and legitimately impugned.§ Thus Sir Thomas More, according to Cromwell's report, "has been openly detected and lawfully convicted, judged, and condemned of high treason, by the due order of the laws of this realm, having such malice rooted in his heart against his sovereign, that he was well worthy, if he had had a thousand lives, to have suffered ten times a more terrible death and execution than he did suffer."

From the first, the legists or jurisconsults joined the persecutors of the Church. Among that class of men in heathen times, there was something narrow, hard, and exclusively formal, which could never agree well with the generosity and freedom of the new law. According to the legists, the emperor was a personification of the city and people of Rome, and sovereign in religious as well as in civil

* Capefigue, Hist. de Phil. August. tom. iii. 211. † Michelet, Hist. de France. iii. 429.
‡ Id. iii. 166. § Ep. lxxiii.

affairs. In the second century Plautien the jurisconsult excited Septimius Severus against the Christians, representing them as mining the imperial power, the religious policy of the state, and social order. Thirty years later, two other jurisconsults, Ulpian and Paul, prepossessed Alexander Severus against them, and advised edicts of persecution, collecting into one body all the laws directly or indirectly against them, and instructing the public officers to be implacably severe in their execution.

In the middle ages, there were legists willing to act the same part, as far as the change of circumstances would permit; and as in the old mysteries, in which Pilate and Judas were represented in close brotherhood, so the legists and such kings as Philip-le-Bel seemed to have been made expressly for each other. The legists were detested by the people. Candelarius, to express the singular virtue of a particular epoch, says,

"Et jam legistæ populo placuere volenti,
Quorum nemo alio tempore gratus erat."*

Infidelity, as we observed, entered largely into the views of some royal persecutors. Indeed, as Philippe de Comines argues, "No king, duke, count, prince, or princess in the world would have been such foes to human happiness, as to violate the sacred rights of others, if all had believed firmly what God and the Church commanded them to believe: so that we must conclude that all these evils came from the want of faith." Many made no secret of their indifference respecting the Crescent. Faith could not be very strong in the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, when he proposed to his officers, before risking a battle with Charles V., to kill ten thousand Christian slaves who were in the arsenal, which proposal those brave men rejected with abhorrence; or in Frederic II. when he kept twenty thousand Sarassins in Italy, where he gave them the fortress of Nocera, which still bears the name of Nocera dei Mori, whence they used to issue, ravaging the country, and pillaging the monasteries, as when St. Claire delivered that of St. Damien at Asissi, by her prayers; or in King Manfred, when he used to walk forth by night, as a Moorish troubadour, along with two Sicilian musicians, while he was carrying on war with the pope, and replying to the Neapolitan envoys, who begged him to make peace, saying, "that Naples being excommunicated, the archbishop could not say mass," that he would send three hundred Sarassins to Naples, who would take care that mass should be said there by force.† Hence, as a most honorable distinction from other princes, Froissart observes of the Count Gaston de Foix, "Qu'il n'avoit ni oncques nul Mahomet decostes lui."‡

In England, analogous seeds had been sown in royal breasts, or rather from the Conquest by the Normans were indigenous to the soil. William arrogated a control over synods and bishops, and their correspondence with Rome; William

* Encom. 7. Lib. ii. † Matt. Spinelli, Ephem. Neapolitanæ. ‡ Chroniques, liv. iii. c. 18.

Rufus and Henry assumed the right of investiture. King Stephen, indeed, as St. Thomas observed, "was restrained from persecution by incurring an anathema without appeal, and having his kingdom placed under an interdict. It was thus," as he says, "by the staff and the clamor of the dogs, that the wolf was kept off from the fold."*

But many others were inclined to act like Frederic II. who, when he heard that he was excommunicated, put his hand on his sword and cried, "Hitherto have I obeyed him. From this moment no more peace with the proud one."†

They had all men in their parliaments, like the Cromwells, the Riders, the Russells, and the Paulets, under Henry VIII., ready to yield to every mandate of their will, bent with every breath of their capricious humor, willing to sanction illegal trials, iniquitous attainders, sanguinary statutes, and impious enactments against the Church, "constant only in the rapacious acquisition of estates and honors," and, like the earl of Argyle, secretary of Scotland, ready to declare on all occasions, that if they should be required to swear and to subscribe that they were Turks, they would do it before they would lose their office.

It is an empty boast of modern times, that they first have seen men emancipated from the fear of the Vatican thunder. "Some persons less intelligent," says St. Anselm, "complain that I do not excommunicate the king; but wiser men advise me not to do so; for, besides other reasons they assure me that my excommunication would be despised by him and turned into ridicule."‡ John was so little fixed in faith, that he is thought to have embraced the Mahometan superstition.§ Political fears might work on such men, but not the religious apprehension of ecclesiastical censures.

When the bishops of London, Ely, and Winchester interceded with king John for the monks of Canterbury, whom he treated with such tyrannic barbarity because a worthy pontiff had been placed in that see, the king replied, "If an interdict be laid on, I will send out of the kingdom to the pope, all the bishops and clergy, and seize their goods. Yea, perhaps every Roman found in my kingdom shall be sent back with his eyes put out, and his nose cut off."‖

Writing to Gilbert, bishop of London, St. Thomas shows himself aware of what ground lies beneath his feet, and in consequence foresees an occassion when the arms of the Church will prove of no avail; for he says, "although the indignation and hand of the chief pontiff are slow, nevertheless they are efficacious and heavy, inflicting an incurable wound sometimes according to merits: for there is no one under the sun who can deliver from his hand. An infidel alone, or a heretic, or a schismatic, may refuse to obey his mandates."¶

Many of these kings, if not awed by the political consequences, would have cared little for his mandates, heedless whether or not they incurred that vice of paganism, as William, archbishop of Sens, terms it, which consisted in such dis-

* St. Thom. Ep. lxxxiv. † Audin, Hist. de Luther. ‡ S. Anselmi Epist.
§ Hurter, Geschichte, tom. iii. ‖ Ibid. 11. 123. ¶ St. Thom

obedience.* Their satellites cared as little for ecclesiastical censures. "Those who do not avoid the men excommunicated by my lord of Canterbury," says John of Salisbury, "do not injure him, but themselves."† Who were these satellites? As I observed, these were generally in England, men of blood and unworthy priests. Among these former, in the time of St. Thomas, we read of Richard de Luci, the enemy of his own name, endeavoring vehemently and irreverently to blacken the person of the archbishop; so that through hatred of the fables he used to relate concerning him, the king himself used to say that he wondered he could invent so many.‡

Such were also Randulph de Brock, who used to plunder the goods of the Church, and deposit them in the castle of Saltwode, in whose old towers, still habitable, I have beguiled a tedious hour. He used to boast, in the hearing of many, that St. Thomas should not long enjoy his peace with the king, and that he should not eat a whole loaf in England before he would take his life, "But, my serene lord," says the archbishop to the king, after mentioning this boast, "what could Randulph do, unless confiding in your will, and armed with your authority? If you neglect to correct him, you will be partaker of his crime."§ Such, in fine, were the immediate instruments of the martyr's death, William de Traci, Reginald Ursi, Hugo de Morevilla, and Richard Brito, some of whom have descendants still in England, who, it is said, delight, through penitence, no doubt, in showing a representation of the deed of blood sculptured over their castle-gate. It remains to observe the unworthy priests and bishops who constituted the other class of ministers and assistants of the king in persecuting the Church. The race is of all times; Sir Thomas More beheld them enabling Henry VIII. to accomplish his direful end. He calls them "a weak clergy, lacking grace; who, for want of it, stand weakly to their learning, and so shamefully self-abuse themselves."

"For the glory of the saints," says St. Thomas of Canterbury, "and for the condemnation of the reprobate, it is necessary that scandals should come, that the elect may be proved by tribulations, who through patience, acquire a crown for themselves, and a benefit for others by their example."‖

So it must be always, even in ages of greatest faith and tranquillity. "The martyrs," says St. Augustin, "suffered corporal tribulation, but we, being at peace, must suffer spiritual tribulation; and it is necessary, that, amidst scandals, and tares, and chaff, the Church, that mass of heterogeneous elements, should groan, until the harvest, until the threshing, until the last winnowing, which is to separate the wheat from the straw, that it may be brought into the barn."¶

It is a melancholy page in history that no tears of the holy can blot out, which records the opposition of unworthy priests to holy popes and prelates, who sought to correct abuses and restore liberty to the Church. What had not St. Gregory

* Ep. cccxxiii. † Joan Sar. xxxviii. ‡ St. Thom. Ep. xxvii.
§ Ep. cccix. ‖Epist. clxxxviii. ¶ In Ps. lxix.

VII. to suffer from false pastors, who opposed him by their deeds and by their pens? Wibert, archbishop of Ravenna, the artful cardinal Hugo, and the fierce Cenci, whose hands were stained by murders—these were the heads of the conspiracy at that time. The emperor's other instruments were bishops, whom he had formed for the purpose in his own school. Otho of Constance, Pibo of Toul, Rupert of Bamberg, Hozmann of Spire, William of Verona, William Utrecht, Siegfred of Mentz, Otho of Ratisbon, Burchard of Lausaune, and Verner of Strasburg; all men of fame notorious, who were willing, as the emperor's vassals, to acquiesce servilely in his measures against the pope. St. Gregory survived the apostacy of two men who had stood near him, the bishop of Porto and his chancellor Peter. All who, in consequence of their crimes and demerits could expect nothing from the pope but deprivation, were naturally opposed to peace with him.

Turning to the scenes in England, we find the same part played by fitting actors. Who were the most effectual opponents of St. Anselm and the pope in their glorious struggles to enforce religion, and to resist the influence of the court? His own suffragan bishops. Who assisted William Rufus and Henry I. in their measures of aggression on the discipline of the Church? Some English bishops. Who threw the chief obstacles in the way of St. Edmund, when he sought to establish a better discipline of the clergy of his own province, by publishing his constitutions to correct abuses, which at the same time were multiplied? English priests, part of his clergy, even some of the chapter of his own cathedral, who declared against him, accused him of scrupulosity, and tried to defeat his pious efforts. No one loved peace more than that holy primate, but he did not wish to purchase it by a cowardly and criminal compliance with evil. He chose rather to be persecuted, even by his friends, while no persecution could weaken his charity for all the world. In fine, who advised St. Thomas to resign rather than contend against Henry II. for the sacred cause of ecclesiastical liberty? His brother bishops, with the exception of two, Roger of Worcester, who observed that he would not belie his conscience by saying that the cure of souls might be resigned for the sake of pleasing any mortal man; and Henry of Winchester, who declared that the interests of religion were at stake, and would be lost if the primate set the example of resigning his dignity at the king's pleasure. The most monstrous abuses perpetrated by the crown were thus tamely regarded by all the bishops except three; and of these, he who opposed them is singled out for vengeance by his brother prelates. Well might a recent historian remark, what important lessons are to be derived from the records of these past events.

"What other bishops," says St. Thomas, "have you ever seen or read of in our whole island, excepting those of Canterbury, who have opposed themselves to princes, to defend the liberty of the Church, and the constitutions of our fathers, and through reverence of the Holy See? In our age there has not been one, and if you open ancient histories, you will find none."* As for his own contemp[redacted]

* Epist. lxxxiv.

correspondent assures him generally that "all labor under such imbecility, that they seem to fear God less than man."* "O with what subtlety," says St. Thomas, "do they argue in favor of their servitude, furnishing wings and suffrages to the king's excesses; for he would have rested unless they had acquiesced. When is constancy more necessary than amongst persecutors, when his intimates approve of his persecutions? How shall they obtain what is essential, if they always succumb? They must resist sometimes."† "They who minister arms to iniquity in England," says the archbishop, "are almost all men of the clerical order."‡ It was such as these, in fact, who inflamed the minds of many against him, who so spread the flame, that his glad honors changed to bitter woes.

Amongst his chief persecutors were Roger, archbishop of York, Gilbert, bishop of London, Hilary, bishop of Chichester, Roger of Worcester, and Jocelin of Salisbury. These were the loudest in flattering the king, like slaves in a comedy, rendering themselves contemptible through the boldness of their adulation, waiting on the prince's nod. "These are they," said St. Thomas, "who give horns to the sinner, and instigate him when he does not sufficiently rage of himself, placing cushions under his elbows, and causing him to sleep, by the soft pillows which they place under the head, which vices have made languid."§ The bishop of London whofound men to represent him to the pope as a holy and calumniated man,‖ among other works of open malice after he was excommunicated, proposed to have the primacy transferred to his own see, while the archbishop of York, who when he was to go to Rome to justify himself, had provided that no one should proceed there to speak for St. Thomas without the king's license, which could not be obtained without giving bail not to appear against his persecutors,¶ was to obtain permission to have his cross borne through the province of Canterbury.** The bishop of London used publicly to deride St. Thomas, saying, in allusion to his resisting the king's demand of forty-four thousand marks of silver for payments made to him before he was archbishop, that "the archbishop thought debts were remitted in promotion, like sins in baptism." With these bishops were united unworthy priests, some of whom, as Geoffrey Riddle and John of Oxford, gained the sad distinction of being notorious to foreign Churches and princes, for their triumphs over the Holy See by perjury;†† while others, abusing the patronage of laics, presumed to celebrate mass after they had been excommunicated or prohibited, and renounced their obedience to their spiritual superior, at the nod of the powerful.‡‡ To these must be added some few cardinals, "whose good works," as Adelaide, queen of France, said in her letter to the pope, "had not yet been heard of in our land," and perhaps some legates, whose love was doubtful, to whom the archbishop writes, wishing them, in his first salutation, fortitude against princes,§§ men who, as he says, would rather be hammerers of priests, obeying princes, than an offence to kings

* Epist. x. † Epist. xvii. ‡ Epist. ccxxvii. § Epist. cxiv. ‖ Epist. cxx.
¶ Joan. Sar. Epist. xcvi. ** Epist. clxxxix. †† Epist. cxxxvii.
‡‡ Epist. cclxxxiii. §§ Epist. ciii.

by gaining divine grace; loving gifts more than justice, and, unless delegated, seeming more worthy of removal than of legation. What must have been the agony of those who witnessed the persecution of the Church by these unworthy members of the episcopacy or priesthood, when the bare traces it has left in history cannot be marked without leaving the reader disheartened and discouraged! "Your suffragans have proved renegades, and have forsaken you," writes Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, to St. Thomas, "in your necessity; they have left nothing undone, by dissimulation and contumely contending with each other, that each might be thought to hate you most. The Roman Pontiff, and those who have with him the care of the Church, are astonished that the sheep should thus rise against their pastor, sons against their father, and direct swords so vehemently against themselves: for if they could effect what they desire, not even the name of liberty, nor any hope of liberty, would be left, but all ecclesiastical matters would be involved in such confusion, that the pristine institution being removed, nothing could be well ordered, nothing accomplished."*

"The nobles favor the Church," says St. Thomas, "but the clergy, by exhortations and instigations, cherish and promote the pertinacity of fury, some in England, rejoicing in the agonies of the Church, others making rapid journeys abroad to obtain friends elsewhere, and when they cannot find princes to be of the number, boasting of having found them in Rome." † To these priests of Baal and sons of false prophets, who were incentors of all discord from the beginning, St. Thomas ascribed the conduct of the king in refusing to make peace with him. They told the king that it would be dishonorable to him not to confirm all his unjust donations to themselves, and not to insist on the archbishop's observance of "the customs," for there was nothing that they so much feared as the peace of the Church, lest their works and excesses should be corrected.‡

"One thing might have been learned from the silence of others," as John of Salisbury says, "that they who were mute when the Church was under the afflictions, did not seem hastening to martyrdom." "Our bishops," says John of Salisbury to St. Thomas, "erect an altar of contradiction and scandal, endeavoring to elude the vigor of justice under pretext of law, and of the right of appeal. From what excommunicated person has the king ever withdrawn his society? Have not always bishops and priests stood against the Lord against his Anointed? Yet I believe there are some of the bishops who are with you, or rather with God and his Church, in vows and prayers firmly persevering, although they communicate in many things with the persecutors of the Church, thinking it better to remain usefully among enemies, than to be exiled uselessly to themselves. Some of the bishops, and the greatest part of the clergy, I doubt not, favor you; but, from necessity or pusillanimity, they dissemble: for who could think that all the stars should simultaneously fail."§ Writing to the bishop of Exeter, he says:

* Epist. xxi. † Epist. ccxxxix. ‡ Epist. cccxii. § Joan. Sar. Ep. [redacted]

"I do not feel this solicitude through any sinister suspicion, but through charity for a friend in danger. For I know the perseverance of the persecutors, the pusillanimity of some bishops, the energy of others, and the dangers of false brethren, armed with authority and learning. We hear that the bishops of England meet often, to deliberate and decree; but what do they decree, excepting that they should fear immoderately? What do they decree, excepting that they would rather yield imprudently, than manfully repel an injury? What do they decree, excepting that iniquity should prevail, and that they should not announce the way of God to sinners? Can they be thought faithful, who expedite all ways of sinning for the king, and are studious that he should prosper in what he presumes against the justice of God? Truly, I can never esteem such counsellors faithful to their prince or to their friend."* "Your suffragans are prone to disobedience," he says to St. Thomas, "they are pastors feeding themselves, who, through love of rest, and luxury, and fear of temporal losses, decline from announcing his impiety to the impious; at every subversion of law, saying, Euge! euge! and getting over all obedience to whatever displeases them in Apostolic mandates, under pretence of an appeal."†

"Forbid it, Heaven!" cries the archbishop Theobald, writing to a priest, "that any one should dare to suspect that the most vile of things, money, can move your mind where souls are in danger, quod vilissima rerum, opes scilicet, animum vestrum moveant, ubi periculum imminet animarum."‡ Yet the schemes of men who persecuted the Church would have but ill prospered, if such suspicions had been always groundless.

But let us hear what men of this class say for themselves, as Veith puts down the words of the enemies of Christ, in order to derive from them a lesson of eternal interest. In Germany, during the combat with the empire, their language was that of open defiance. Their letters to "Hildebrand, the false monk," required St. Gregory VII. "to descend from the chair of St. Peter, and to give place to one more worthy." They bound themselves by oath no longer to obey him. Some priests of the dioceses of Cambray and Noyon, in the year 1076, bitterly complained "of the usurpation of the Romans, who by the legate Hugo endeavored to interrupt their marriages, and forbad them to possess more than one prebend; whilst, as they had families to provide for, they could scarcely subsist upon two or three."

They cited passages from the Old Testament, and employed in their cause the history of Paphnutius, bishop of Nice, which, however, Bernold before had proved to be apocryphal. As creatures of the Emperor Henry IV., they asserted with Sigebert that kings had no judge upon earth, and that they could not be excommunicated. With Benzo, bishop of Alba, in his panegyric of Henry IV. they loaded the character of St. Gregory VII. with outrage and calumny; with Cardinal Benzo

* Epist. xxxvi. † Epist. xxxvii. ‡ Epist. iv.

they condemned "the heresies devised by Hildebrand," and cast into the flames the decrees of the last popes.* In the contest between St. Thomas and Henry II. the creatures of the king were more measured and artful in their conduct. We may select instances from two sources, from letters addressed by them collectively to the pope, and from their expressions separately conveyed. Nothing can be more insidious and plausible than the former. The letter of the English bishops, in 1164, to Pope Alexander might be taken at first for having been written by the archbishop's friends. "The holy Church," they say, "in punishment of sins is placed between the anvil and the hammer; the see of Canterbury is like a ship without a pilot, its pastor being banished by the royal power, who, to their peril, as well as his own, has exposed himself, non considerans, quoniam blandiri oportet, non detrahere potestati; who, although we compassionate his sufferings, is ungrateful, and persecutes us who are in the same condemnation as himself. They then state that between him and the king, "quædam controversia versabatur," that he has offended the royal majesty, most rashly exposed the Church to persecution, and ungratefully requited the king for his past favors. Thence the necessity of their informing the pope, that he may preserve the Church of Canterbury from shipwreck.† The letter of the clergy of England, in 1167, to the pope is a similar document. They inform his Holiness that his conduct has put the king into a glow of anger more than can be uttered; so that scarcely can they by their united supplications recall him to his usual gentleness and benignity towards him. They throw out hints that a schism may be the result. They say that the archbishop uses his power not to edification, but to the destruction of the Church, that he endeavors to involve others in the king's displeasure; imposing grievous burthens on others, while he will not move a finger nor bear any part on his own shoulders: he invites them to death and effusion of blood, while he declines the death with which no one threatens him, and has preserved his own blood, undiminished hitherto by a single drop. He frequently blames the customs of the kingdom, and represents them very different from what they are. He censures themselves, and contradicts the canons, excommunicating them; and, in fine, he will not pay the king the debt he contracted when chancellor, which he ought not to withhold from a heathen or a publican.‡

The clergy of the province of Canterbury addressed also their letter to the pope, complaining of "the hard and irreverent conduct of the archbishop, in threatening the king with excommunications, and his kingdom with an interdict. If humility is to be thus remunerated, what will be left to enact against the contumacious? If the prompt devotion of obedience be thus esteemed, what punishment is reserved for obstinate perversity? The familiar friends and secret counsellors of the king too, some of the first nobles of the land, the prime ministers, are involved, without their being conscious of any fault. What can result from such preposterous and

* Döllinger, Dr. Cox, tr. iii. † Ep. S. Thom. xviii. ‡ St. Thom. Epist. cx[redacted]

disordered proceedings, unless a rupture between the kingdom and the priesthood; and we, with the clergy committed to us, will either be driven into exile, or else, what heaven avert, renouncing fidelity to you, we must fall into the evil of schism and the abyss of disobedience. This is the most compendious way to the subversion of clergy and people. Therefore, that under your pontificate the Church may not be subverted, and our lord the king, and the people serving him, led to renounce their obedience, we have appealed to your sublimity."*

This is sufficiently bold; but yet it is from the private and unguarded communications of individuals that we derive clearest insight into their character. Thus they say "that it would have been altogether better for the archbishop to have yielded than that the Church should be troubled."† They say "that the king would perhaps renounce the Roman Church, if they were to obey the interdict.‡ They say, and those too who seem to be columns of the Church, "that the archbishop should refer the whole cause of the Church to the king's judgment."§ They say, "Reus est mortis, qui contradicit Cæsari." They say, but with what conscience God sees and judges, "We do not deny that our lord the king may have sometimes sinned, but we confidently affirm and proclaim that he is always ready to satisfy the Lord."

Thus, with a front harder than adamant, not blushing, as they say, confidently to proclaim the innocence of a man whose malice and iniquity the whole Christian world proclaims and detests."‖ When the archbishop refused to omit the salvo honore Dei, many stood round and pressed him to make that omission.¶ The bishops say, or perhaps, to speak more truly, the bishop of London says, "Quoniam pax est, and all cry out on the contrary, Quia pax non est, sed amaritudo omnium amarissima."** They say, and adds John of Salisbury, "I cannot sufficiently wonder how any priest could say so to a priest, that the archbishop should take example from the Hungarians and Sicilians, and tolerate those customs which exist also with them."†† They say, "the archbishop ought to observe the royal customs, and that it ought to suffice to him to follow his predecessors; for we are not better than our fathers:" to whom he replies, "that none of his predecessors were required to give such a promise excepting blessed Anselm, who on that account was often banished; and that our fathers ought not to be followed in evil, who lamented having committed it, and were on that account holy because they lamented having sinned, and were unwilling that either their contemporaries or successors should imitate them; and that their faults are recorded in order that we should be warned against them, not that they should generate a necessity of imitation for their successors."‡‡

"The bishops," says John of Salisbury, "who ought to have guarded the king, reply to us in the words of Abner, 'Quis es qui clamas et inquietas regem?' as if

* Epist. lxxii. † Epist. cxiv. ‡ Epist. cxv. § Epist. cclxxxiv. ‖ Joan. Sar. Epist. xli.
¶ Ep. S. Thom. clvi. ** Joan. Sar. Epist. xlii. †† Epist. lviii. ‡‡ Epist. lxxx.

they wish to say, 'Permit us, in contempt of our duty, and for the persecution of the saints, to lull our king to sleep, in scorn of the divine law, that we may lead him to the sleep of death;' thus disobeying their commission, Argue, obsecra, increpa, opportune, importune."* In fine, others who undertook to chronicle events, like William of Newbury, although they do not proceed to such length as to intimate that the cause itself was doubtful, would lead their leaders to conclude that the archbishop's zeal was not secundum scientiam, since he ought to have dissembled, according to the text, Prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum est."†

As was natural, these surmises lost nothing by being repeated by writers who only judged at a distance from reports. Hence Cæsar of Heisterbach relates, "that some said he was condemned as a traitor to the kingdom, and that even at Paris the question was agitated, some swearing that he was worthy of death."‡ He does not inform us who these were. In effect, from first to last, the system of his persecutors was to misrepresent every thing he said and did, "Some, whose malice is accustomed to devise what it knows not of the conscience of others, think that your conduct proceeds from pride and not from virtue; that you affect to preserve the ancient manners of the chancellor in this dignity also; that no one should dare to resist your power or your will." It is thus that Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, writes to St. Thomas, but he takes care to add, "that the sanctity of his intentions has at length been recognized by all."§ Others asked, "Why did he fly? Why did he not lay down his life for the Church, if the customs were so execrable? Why did he consent to them at Clarendon."‖ After his martyrdom, John of Salisbury disdained to defend his memory from such charges. "Si quis autem," he says, "hujus tanti martyris gloriam avacuari desiderat, quicumque sit ille, antequam ei credamus, aut majora aut saltem similia operetur: alioquin peccare creditur in Spiritum Sanctum, cujus operibus detrahere non veretur."¶

To the misrepresentations of the saint should be added the praises which his persecutors lavished on the king, and the excuses which they were everywhere discovering for his perversity. When such men as Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, could assure the king, in their letters, that on his safety depended the safety not alone of the whole island, but that also of all the surrounding nations,** we cannot be surprised at finding his praises paramount on the tongue of the bishop of London, and of those who were his professed apologists, who were resolved to misrepresent the zeal of St. Thomas and the cause for which he suffered.†† May God deliver the king from their hands," cries John of Salisbury; "for they are subverting him and inflaming him with their malice."‡‡ "Quasi vulpes in deserto prophetæ tui, Israël. They are laying snares for those who have succeeded to the prophets, ingratiating themselves with the king, and sophistically abusing reason to obscure

* Joan. Sar. Ep. xxxiii. † Guil. Neub. Lib. ii. c. 25. ‡ Lib. viii. 69. § Epist. xxi.
‖ Joan. Sar. lxiv. ¶ Epist. xcv. ** Epist. vi. †† Joan. Sar. Epist. xvii. ‡‡ [redacted]

the cause, that they may conclude at last, Reus est mortis; crucifige eum."*

"All the world knows the impatience of the king, and yet they have the effrontery to assert that he is most gentle under the hand that corrects him, when he offends God; if, they add, he should ever offend; as if it were doubtful to them whether he has offended in attacking the liberty of the Church, preferring his ancestral perversities to the Gospel of Christ, in unjustly proscribing you, and, by a sentence not so much cruel as insane, compelling women, and children, and babes in the cradle, to wander, deprived of all means of subsistence, in exciting a schism, and reviving the tempests which assail the vessel of the Church, in which he does all he can that it may sink. What will they call crime when they boast of this as innocence?"† "It is believed," says John of Salisbury, speaking of the archbishop's martyrdom, "that some treacherous disciples and chief priests, more malicious than Annas and Caiaphas, were accessary to his death."‡ Be that as it may, it is certain that the language of this fraction of the clergy was not that of men who fully appreciated the enormity of such a crime. Let us hear how they speak of it, and first that bishop of Lisieux, of whom John of Salisbury said before, "One thing I know beyond a doubt, that if he comes to Rome, there is nothing that he will scruple to affirm, for I know him, and experienced his deceits."§ In his letter to the pope, entreating him to acquit the king from all blame in the event, this prelate uses these expressions: "Some of the archbishop's enemies, provoked to anger and madness it is said by his harsh treatment, rushed upon him. The king, on hearing of it, showed himself more like his friend than his king, and indulged in such grief, that we, who at first were lamenting a priest, began now to despair for the safety of a king. He called the omnipotent God to witness that the act was committed without his knowledge or consent."‖

Richard, abbot of Wally, and the other agents whom the king sent to Rome to avert the censures of the pope, adopt the same style in the letters which they send to them, giving an account of their embassy. "On arriving at Rome, we found Richard Barre, who had been prudently and fervently laboring for your honor, but who was very sad because the pope would not receive him, and scarcely would any cardinal hear a word from him. When the lord abbot of Wally and the archdeacon of Lisieux had at length obtained an audience, they had no sooner uttered your name as a most devout son of the Roman Church, than the whole court resounded with 'Sustinete, sustinete!" as if your name was abominable to them. We have acted as became us who are your debtors, supporting the honor of your person and endeavoring to ward off the evils which our enemies are preparing for us. May your sublimity long flourish. Be comforted in the Lord, and let your heart exult, since the present cloud will soon pass over to your glory."¶

* Epist. xli. † Epist. xli. ‡ Epist. xciv.
§ Epist. xvii. ‖ S. Thom. cccxvii. ¶ Id. Ep. cccxxv.

A few passages may suffice to convey an idea of the apostolic spirit, the mildness and the firmness which breathed in the epistles of the pope and of the holy archbishop, in answer to this unhappy portion of the English clergy. "Many things are related of you," says Alexander III. to Gilbert, bishop of London, "which vehemently disturb us and subvert altogether the opinion and hope which we entertained of your religion; for you ought not to neglect your office, and sacrifice ecclesiastical liberty, through the favor, or love, or fear of any one; but it became you, as an immoveable pillar of the Church, to oppose yourself constantly and manfully for justice, and to prefer the fear of God to all things: for it became you to be kindled with such fervor of charity, that against vices and the oppressions of the Church you ought not only to cry out, but to raise your voice like a trumpet, having before your eyes the prophecy, Nisi annunciaveris iniquo iniquitatem suam, sanguinem ejus de manu tua requiram."* To the archbishop of York he says, "The depression of the English Church and the diminution of its liberty by your king, whether proprio motu, or rather by the advice of others, has long afflicted our mind. Instead of correcting the evils committed by his ancestors, he adds prevarications to prevarications, makes and confirms iniquitous statutes under pretence of the royal dignity, by which the liberty of the Church perishes, and the statutes of apostolic men, as far as in him lies, are made void; and not content if this silence of the divine law should last only during his time, but he seeks to compel his kingdom to sit for ever without an ephod and without a superhumeral. For that purpose he caused those usurpations to be confirmed with an oath by you and your brother bishops, and judged as an enemy all who dissented from him.

In process of time, the archbishop being exiled for fulfilling his duty, and requiring the usual assistance of the Roman Church, we sent some of our best brethren to the king, and we thought that his hardness would be broken by our humility and gentleness, and that it would be, as Solomon says, 'Patientia lenietur princeps, et lingua mollis frangit iram:' but it was otherwise, and our sufferance was deluded. In all this, though the vehemence of the king disturbs us, yet are we still more moved by your infirmity, and that of your brother bishops, who are, we grieve to say, facti sicut arietes non habentes cornua, abiistis absque fortitudine ante faciem subsequentis. If to excuse such prevarication, any one should object, that still more grievous and enormous things are perpetrated in other kingdoms, we can reply in truth, that hitherto we have found no kingdom to have shown such a contempt for the divine law as to require the sanction of such manifest enormities by the bishops; unless the example of schismatics should be alleged, who have evinced unheard-of pride after being cut off from the communion of the faithful. Therefore, since you have placed over your bodies on the earth to make a way over you to him who passes, we cannot be silent any longer, lest

* Id. Epist. lx.

we should be involved with you in the sentence of the day of judgment. Beware then, lest it may be said of you, Quia tu scientiam repulisti, repellam te, ne sacerdotio fungaris mihi."*

Then in a letter to the suffragans of Canterbury, he says, "When first our dear son King Henry proposed these things, you ought to have raised your eyes to heaven, and ascended for the house of the Lord, that the ecclesiastical dignity might not be shipwrecked, while you were looking on in silence. And truly, if any one of you had shown a zeal for the pastoral care, you would have known how to eradicate vicious plants from the kingdom, and to insert seeds delightful to the Lord: but now, since the reverence of the temporal prince prevails in you over the fear of God, for a vile dish of potage, you have, like Esau, despised your birthright. Though you may have yielded at first to terror, ought you not after such a length of time, to have resumed the sacerdotal firmness, and sacerdotally protested against such enormities, in sorrow for your past transgression? But adding obstinacy to that detestable act, you have persisted in the observance of these usurpations, appearing to follow the king's will in the depression of the Church, and in proscribing the ecclesiastical laws. And we, indeed, have hitherto waited, hoping that the divine grace might visit the heart of the prince, by your office, or by his own inspiration, and make him a lover more of the supernal glory than of his own; for this seemed the better course, that asperity should be mollified by patience and gentleness: but he has changed nothing of his former severity; he shows no repentance, but perseveres immoveably in imposing the customs. Meanwhile you have refused all fraternal assistance to our persecuted brother, your archbishop, and have added grief to his wounds. Therefore, because the faults of secular men regard none more than tepid and neglectful prelates, who often nourish a great pestilence by omitting to apply the proper remedy, and since after long expecting it, we find that you evince no sorrow against yourselves, and no fervor against these iniquitous usurpations, we proceeded to the sentence of your suspension."† Yet these letters were not executed, for St. Thomas, as he writes to the pope, "feared lest the tender ears of a very powerful man might be ulcerated by them, so as to injure the prospects of peace," and he, therefore, implores him to omit mention of the king's excesses, while censuring the prelates.‡

The letters of the archbishop to the false brethren, who sided with his royal persecutor, evince the same union of firmness and benignity. That addressed to his suffragans, in 1166, begins by wishing them so to pass through temporal goods, as not to lose those that are eternal. "My dearest brethren," he says, "wherefore do you not rise up with me against the malignant? Why do you not stand with me against the workers of iniquity? Know you not that God will scatter the bones of those who seek to please men? They will be confounded, since God despises them. Your discretion must be aware that an error which is not resisted is

* Epist. ccxciii. † Ep. ccxciv. ‡ Rer. Gal. Script. tom. xvi. p. 450, note.

approved of; and that truth when not defended is oppressed.* I admonish, I entreat and implore you, brethren, not to allow schisms to separate us, nor deceptions to overshadow us; but let us have one heart and one mind, in the Lord, and let us hear him who says, 'Pro justitia agonizare, pro anima tua et usque ad mortem certa pro justitia, et Deus expugnabit pro te inimicos tuos.' Let us not forget that strict Judge, before whose tribunal placed truth alone will judge us, remote from all fear or confidence of human power."†

Nor was it only from the pope and the archbishop, that these men received counsel. Holy and learned men in France wrote to them, and nothing can be more affecting than their remonstrances. Thus Evise, the abbot, and Richard, the prior of St. Victor, address a letter to Robert, bishop of Hereford, in which they remind him of his ancient reputation in the schools.

"Our Church," say they, "received great joy on your promotion, and we were filled with hope. All the scholars who were animated to the love of letters by the example of your labors and success, were gratified. But we, above all others, were glad; for we loved the Church of the English, with a certain especial affection by the impulse of nature, over and above the love which we bear to all churches; and we had hoped that your example would have greatly profited all its members; but now we grieve beyond measure, because neither are our wishes fulfilled, nor our prayers heard. I wish that your ears were open to the words of the scholars, and that you might hear the sighs of the religious, that so your spirit might be elevated, which is said to be oppressed with the weight of riches, and to be weakened by the love of a mitre and by the affluence of delights. For, as they say, you are now comforted by those riches, which in the school formerly you used to call in familiar conversation, canigenas. Then you portrayed in words a true bishop, whom I wish you would exhibit in your life. Never then did you perform the office, 'vice cotis, acutum Reddere quæ ferrum valet, ex sors ipsa secandi.'‡

"It is strange, if your ears do not tingle with the talk of the scholars, the detraction of your rivals, and the complaints of your friends. Against your father and consecrator, an exile for justice and the liberty of the Church, you have lately appealed with others, who seek the subversion of justice and their own elevation, and thus placing your portion with the impious, you have blackened your reputation. For did you not see the letter of appeal which the bishops transmitted to their archbishop? Certainly if you did not, it was a folly that we may speak charitably the truth, without offending you, to sign without examining a document concerning such a matter, which was to be sent to the Roman Church; but if you did see them, with what conscience, with what front did you dare to assert, and, as you write, to proclaim with all confidence, what not only the neighborhood, but almost the whole Latin world knew to be false? For the manners of the king, to

* Epist. lv. † Ep. lxx. ‡ Hor. de Art. p. 804.

whom you bear such a testimony, are well known, so that when you proclaim such things, you must seek a stranger, but one from without the Latin orb. The Lord will judge these things; and he that doeth them, and he that consenteth to them, will have the same punishment. Meanwhile, consider what opinion will be formed of such bishops, who patronize such injuries. In sincere charity we write this to you, sweet father, to remind you of your doctrine, of your office, of our desire, and of the divine judgment, that you may redeem your fame, and endeavor to restore the Church, which is falling under your hands."*

This letter was deeply conceived, as appears from what John of Salisbury writes to St. Thomas. "I have heard from those who say that they knew the bishop of Hereford intimately, that when he was in the schools, he was greedy of praise, and such a lover of glory that he seemed to be a despiser of money. It is thought, therefore, that nothing is more likely to move him, than if the masters of the schools, and religious men, such as the prior of St. Victor, and others with whom he was familiar in France, should excite his indolence, by letters, and encourage him to prove himself such a bishop as he used to paint in the schools; and to redeem his fame by refraining from the vices which he used to blame in others. The same advice is given respecting the bishop of Worcester. Nevertheless, I do not hope much from either of them."†

A characteristic of this persecution, not peculiar to it in any particular instance, for it has always recurred, and it ever will recur at analogous epochs, was the hatred evinced by those who conducted it for Rome and the Holy See.

The spiritual persecution always revolves round the same thoughts. "If you study the new dogmatism," says a French historian, "which rises against the old Catholic wisdom, you will be astonished at its resemblance with that of Luther, which itself was but a revival of an old system, and you will be amazed to see in what a uniform circle of falsehood heresy is condemned by God to turn. It may boast of conceiving truth; it will bring forth only error, a deformed being, marked on the front with a character that declares it, at the first sight; one has already seen it in the world, passing and making a noise, and then falling back into nothing, whence God will permit it again to return, for He has said, 'There must be scandals.'"‡

Only under one form it seems so have the privilege of an uninterrupted existence, more or less developed and organized, and that consists in jealousy and hatred against Rome, against the rock on which the Church is built, against the successor of St. Peter, and those who assist him in the government of the universal Church.

From this disease, the breasts of few kings have been exempt. Henry VIII. was not the singular isolated tyrant that some suppose. While he was rejecting the pope's supremacy, Francis I. was endeavoring to induce Clement VII. to

* S. Thom. Epist. lxxi. † Joan. Sar. xli. ‡ Audin, Hist. de Luther, i.

further some measure by threats. "The two powerful kings of France and England," he said, "might renounce their obedience to the Roman Church, and draw many others after them."* The witty satirist, who comprehended kings within his range, alludes to this fond aim of many, when he describes the facetious library in Paris, where among the titles of the books which seem the counterpart of all that could be met with at St. Victor's, his student finds one, " De auferibilitate Papæ ab ecclesia."

Indeed it is obvious that while human nature is subjected to trial, this jealousy must exist in it. When Philippe Auguste found that the pope persisted in requiring him to take back his lawful wife, and dismiss Agnes, he cried out, "Well, I will become an unbeliever. Saladin was happy, to have no pope."† The same avowal was made by Frederic II., the same by Philippe-le-Bel, the same by other sovereigns, some of whom were permitted by God to realize for themselves the impious wish, and bequeath to their descendants a desolation that no tongue can adequately describe,

— "for art and eloquence,
And all the shows o' the world are frail and vain
To weep a loss that turns their light to shade."

But let us mark the uniformity even of the arts employed to further the unholy project. Pierre Flotte, the servile instrument, as chancellor of the sacrilegious Philippe-le-Bel, when attacking the pope's bull in 1302, began by asking, "if the French could, without cowardice, submit that their free and independent kingdom should be under the vassalage of the pope ;" thus confounding cunningly the moral and religious with the political dependence, which Boniface never desired ; for on the contrary, as Becchetti remarks, he declared, "that the government of the kingdom belonged to the king alone ; that in that he had no superior, and consequently that he could not incur censures for what was governmental :" but the insinuation was no less efficacious by touching the feudal fibre, and awakening the contempt of the warrior against the priest. Then the comte d'Artois exclaimed, "that if the king were disposed to endure the pope's enterprises, the lords would not suffer them," which brutal flattery, under the form of independence, as Michelet observes, "was greatly applauded by the nobles."‡

There was no novelty, therefore, in the conduct of Henry II. or in his bursts of indignant eloquence. But let us hear him. " Henry, king of England, to Reginald the schismatic of Cologne :—Since a long time I have desired to have a just occasion of receding from Pope Alexander, and from his perfidious cardinals, who presume to hold by the hand against me my betrayer, Thomas, lately archbishop of Canterbury, therefore, with the counsel of all my barons, and with the consent of my clergy, I am about to send to Rome some great men of my kingdom ; namely, the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, the archdeacon of

* Mém. de Martin du Bellay, liv. iv.
† Capefigue, Hist. de Phil. A. ii.
‡ Hist. de. France, iii. 70.

Poitiers, John of Oxford, and Richard de Luci, who publicly and manifestly on my part, and on that of my whole kingdom, and of all the other territories which I possess, shall propose and denounce to the Pope Alexander, and his cardinals, that they shall no longer hold by the hand my betrayer, but that they must deliver me from him, that I may institute some one else, with the advice of the clergy of the church of Canterbury, and that they must declare null and void whatever Thomas does. Therefore we ask you, dearest friend, to send quickly to me brother Ernold or brother Rodulph, hospitalers, who on the emperor's part may give to my ambassadors a safe conduct, going and returning through his territories."

On receiving this letter, Reginald asked the emperor, what answer he ought to make to the king of England ? and the emperor wrote back that he should consent to the will of the king, because the more solemnly these things were done, if Pope Alexander should consent, the greater will be the confusion of the pontiff."*

The king's letter to the pope is short and insolent. "I have received your letters, which you directed to me, and having seen and understood them, I was greatly sorrowful and angry : but let your discretion know I am incredibly surprised that the court of Rome (it is always the same expression on such occasions,) should so manifestly work against me, and my honor, and my kingdom, for which I am responsible to no one, but to God alone. For you cherish and sustain the traitors who iniquitously and treacherously have acted towards me, as is known to the whole world. It is a thing unheard of, that the Roman court should defend traitors, and nominate those who are traitors to me, which treatment I have not deserved. I am exasperated to greater fury, because it not only defends my betrayers, but refuses to do me justice, which is granted to every wretch, and which many of the most insignificant clerks obtain, as I have seen with mine own eyes."†

His language was the same when he received the legate of the Holy See. After the interview, as they were departing, the king said aloud publicly, and for their hearing, "I wish that my eyes may never again see any cardinal," and so he dismissed them abruptly. Their horses consequently not having arrived to convey them back to their hotel, they were obliged to take whatever they could find by chance.‡ Thus there were precedents in the English court to encourage the Duke of Suffolk, under a later Henry, when he started from his seat, and, striking the table, exclaimed with vehemence, "that never had they been merry in England since a cardinal came among them."

The solemn acts of Henry II. were as significant as his letters. By his edict, "if any one should be found bearing letters of the pope, or of St. Thomas into England, he was to be judged a traitor to the king. If a bishop, or abbot, or priest, or a layman, should obey the sentence of interdict, all his lands and possessions were forfeited to the king. All clergymen out of England, who had prop-

* Epist. S. Thom. lxv. † Epist. lxvi. ‡ Ep. cxv.

erty in it, must return to it, on pain of forfeiture and perpetual banishment. An appeal to the pope or to St. Thomas, or obedience to their decrees, is prohibited under the penalty of forfeiture of all property. All soldiers and freemen in England, with their servants and others, from the age of fifteen years, shall be obliged to swear that they will obey these royal mandates."*

On this occasion, the archbishop addressed a letter to the people of England, to expose the gravity of the oath required; and at the same time he absolves those who should be compelled to take it against their wills, and shows that they cannot be bound by it, since to abjure the pope is an act of disobedience equivalent to the crime of idolatry, as the prophet says, "Quasi peccatum hariolandi est repugnare, et quasi scelus idololatriæ nolle acquiescere."†

The noble bishop of Winchester, Henry, declared that he would never fail to obey the voice of the Holy See. The bishop of Exeter imitated him, and retired into a monastery, until iniquity should pass; as did also the bishops of Norwich and of Chester. Others, compelled by shame, were unwilling to consent to the king's edict."‡ "This is what they charge me with as my chief crime," says John of Salisbury, "that I encourage others to invoke the Roman name. If any one has the courage to do so, they impute it to me, and hence my persecution."§

Nevertheless, there were not wanting among the clergy, men of the same desires with the king, even one of the legates being thought favorable to the king's views. "Many insult us," says St. Thomas, "observing that rightly the cardinal of St. Peter ad vincula is sent against us, in order that by his ministry Peter may be chained, though I trust his familiarity with the king will rather conduce to the glory of God than otherwise."‖

The policy of others seemed to consist in attempts to intimidate the ecclesiastical power by representing the schism as imminent, and the nobles anxious for it, against whose indignation their own efforts to preserve unity would be ineffectual.¶ But, however, the wish of some might be father to the thought, as St. Thomas observes, the iniquity of such a measure was too clearly apparent for the king to proceed further with any chance of success. We should attend, therefore, now to the ordinary policy of those who persecute the Church in all ages, and observe the multiplied arts by which they endeavor to accomplish the same ends, in neutralizing the resistance of the Holy See, or deceiving the faithful as to its real intentions.

"Our persecutors are greedy, and fabricators of lies," says St. Thomas, to the cardinals of St. John and Paul, "in all affairs circumventing their friends, and all who trust them; and when they have deceived and injured them, they laugh, and, as if triumphing over enemies, they boast of their wisdom."** What could be more ingenious than the measure of appeal to Rome adopted by the bishops op-

* Gerv. Dorober, ap. Twisden inter Angliæ Script. X. 1409. † Ep. ccxlii. ‡ Ep. ccxl.
§ Ep. xi. ‖ Ep. civ. ¶ Ep. cccxxviii. ** Ep.

posed to Rome, against the great defender of the privileges of Rome? Hence Philip, count of Fanders, writing to Pope Alexander says, "It is for you, holy Father, to consider diligently and investigate what is this appeal, which seems made for no other purpose, than that justice should be oppressed, and that the pressures of the Church should have no end."*

So John of Salisbury says to St. Thomas. "Concerning the appeal of the bishops, I will say what I think; because they wish to be free, I fear lest their servitude should be perpetual. They treasure up riches; they give themselves up to various pleasures; and they would rather, under the yoke of their pleasing vices, be kept in their ancient servitude, and have their ears bored, in sign of perpetual bondage, professing to obey the servile manners of perverse customs, than escape to the liberty of the spirit. Under pretence of an appeal, all of them are ready to incur disobedience, expecting meanwhile either the death of the lord pope, which they greatly wish, or your own death, or some other accident which may be favorable to their malicious views."†

St. Thomas also says to Pope Alexander, "The persecutors of the Church expect and desire, what the divine mercy, I trust, may not grant them, to see the grief of the faithful lamenting your death, that after your day they may subject the Church to slavery, without any one to contradict them; for it is with that view that they implore delays against God and justice."‡ Another artifice was the deputation of men to Rome like John of Oxford, who might triumph by perjury.§

Hence, St. Thomas says to Pope Alexander, "If you are waiting until his ambassadors and the promoters of his malice shall have no lies and pretences, life will fail both you, and us, and them; and we shall all be called to render our account in the strict judgment, without acceptance of persons."‖

Thus the king, having obtained from Rome a suspension of the archbishop's power of excommunication until he had entered into favor with him, immediately triumphed and adduced the apostolic letters in testimony of the archbishop's confusion, and to render him more odious, "He boasts," says St. Thomas, "that the term granted to him is until he shall wish to receive me into favor, and that, if he pleases, shall be put off till the Greek calends, that is, forever."¶

Similarly, writing to Pope Alexander, St. Thomas says, "The king despises your longanimity, not knowing or dissembling that your patience studies to lead him to repentance. He is deaf to prayers, boasting to the ignominy of the Apostolic See, and in scorn of your blessed name, that you have indulged him with a privilege by which, as long as he likes, he will be safe against us and the church of Canterbury, though he may persecute us both more atrociously than ever; and, in order to make men believe more easily a thing false and incredible, he causes to

* Ep. lxxxi. † Joan. Sar. Ep. xxxiii. ‡ St. Thom. Ep. cxxxi.
§ Ep. cxxxviii. ‖ Ep. ccxiii. ¶ Ep. cxlix.

be published through Germany, France, and England, the rescript of your letters of indulgence against us, I trust not against yourself. It is thus he rewards your benevolence."* Another stratagem consisted in keeping the pope's letters carefully concealed. Thus a correspondent of St. Thomas says, "The letters of the lord pope ought to have been known in England long ago, but they have not been shown to any one, nor published any where. Of what use are they when thus kept secret, and while the evil work is pursued, as if they had never been sent!"† Meanwhile the persecutors boast of being the pope's most familiar friends.

"The men here," says St. Thomas to Pope Alexander, "who minister arms to iniquity, are almost all clerics; some of whom boast of your intimate friendship, and of the privilege which they have from the Apostolic See; and they say that whatever they do they will be responsible to no one but to the Roman Pontiff."‡ "They who have least deserved," says John of Salisbury, "the favor of the Apostolic See, boast the loudest that they have gained it. They boast that they have obtained this and that: but I know that no wise man will believe them, especially in regard to things which would seem elicited against justice, unless they can produce authentic and original documents. One thing I know, and, whatever the world may say, I will assert it, indubitably and freely, that he who adheres to Christ will not have to repent in the end. The joy of the impious is momentary, and like a point, but the moth and worms soon destroy it; while God will console his elect, and not suffer them to have a twofold tribulation."§ The persecutors of St. Thomas were repeatedly crying out that they had gained their cause at Rome. "Lo," he says, "John of Oxford, and other nuncios of the king have just returned, exalting themselves above whatever is worshipped, and saying that they have obtained from the court of Rome all that they desired."‖ And, again, on another occasion, he says to the pope, "You have expressly forbidden them to do this; and yet they boast, on the contrary, that they have obtained from you permission to do it."¶ His allusion to the boasts of John of Oxford is affecting. "What will be the end we know not; but this we know, whether these things asserted be true or false, that we are profoundly grieved: for all proceed as if they were true; none obey us, neither bishops, nor abbots, nor any of the clergy, as if all were sure of our deposition."** A letter from St. Thomas to an apostolic legate concludes with these words: "Farewell, and God grant that you may not accept gifts which scarcely any one can avoid taking away with him."†† One is almost tempted to regard such a sentence in the light of an unjust suspicion, until reading the letter of this very legate to the king, which proves that the advice was not uncalled for. Here is the reply of master Vivian to the serene king: "How much I have labored for your honor, and what diligence I have employed, endeavoring to make your peace with the Church, God knows, and your prudence

* Ep clx. † Ep. cclxxiv. ‡ Ep. ccxxvii. § Joan[redacted]
‖ Ep. xcviii. ¶ Ep. cclv. ** Ep. xcviii. †† [redacted]

CHAPTER IX.

THE heroism which we are now to witness is not the courage for which man so often has to rue his power misused; it is the heroism of patience and longsuffering, of generosity and gentleness: for such is that of the Holy See in presence of the persecutors whose acts we have been observing; and it is to the conduct of Rome, as to the head, that our attention should be first directed.

St. Gregory VII., so little influenced by ambition that he sought by flight to avoid the dignity of supreme Pontiff, commenced his proceedings against King Henry of Germany, in a spirit, not alone of mildness, but of personal friendship, complying even with the custom of having his election confirmed by him, though warning him against the consequences of such abuse. When the storm burst upon Henry from the Saxons, St. Gregory sent his legates, to express in unequivocal terms his wish that he should be retained upon the throne; and he prevented the princes from entering on a new election. When, afterwards, he subjected him to public penance, in which there was nothing dishonorable, according to the usages of the times, other kings and emperors having willingly submitted to more severe conditions, there were no other means possible to prevent his deposition by the German princes.

Intrepidity in purpose, but gentleness in execution, characterized the conduct of the Holy See from the beginning to the end of this great combat, which secured the purification and freedom of the Church, which was at length ratified in the ninth general council convened by Calixtus in Rome. Turning our regard to that side of the battle, of which England was the field, we find the same spirit actuating the Holy See. When, for the first time, one investigates, in the original sources, the history of this collision between the spiritual and temporal powers in the persons of Henry II. and St. Thomas, it is impossible not to feel at the commencement, an impression of painful astonishment at the forbearance evinced by the Holy See, which seemed to indulge at times its pacific conciliatory spirit to an excess, so as to sacrifice the interests of the Church and of its defenders, rather than adopt against its enemies those measures which justice demanded. "Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere nostri," cries St. Thomas to Pope Alexander, "for there is no one, after God, who fighteth for us; but only thou with the faithful. Have mercy on us, I say again, that God may have mercy on thee in the

ment, when thou wilt have to render an account of thy stewardship. There is no one to whom we can fly for refuge, after God, unless to thee, since even those who, by the instinct of piety and justice, and even on account of reverence for the holy Roman Church, ought to stand with us and fight for us, oppose themselves to us, for the sake of the favor of men."* Yes, strange as it may sound to some, instead of tyrannically imposing burdens upon kings, the Holy See seems at moments to have passed the limits, beyond which patience and forbearance were commendable. The charge against which it is to be defended, is not that of having been despotic and arrogant, and prone to usurpations, but precisely the contrary, that of having incurred the guilt which lies in level opposition with it; that of having waited too long, of having endured too much, of having yielded too far, in accordance with the desires of those who persecuted the faithful. Confining our observation to the instance of this particular struggle, let us hear what was thought and said at the time, respecting the conduct of the Apostolic See.

Lewis, king of France, in a letter to the pope, after observing with what reverence St. Thomas deserves to be regarded, and how greatly he has been astonished at recent events, which seem to indicate that the solicitude of the pope towards the archbishop has been relaxed, says, "You should know that many are scandalized, and do not hesitate to blame your paternity. We ourselves are, indeed, surprised and indignant, and we shall be still more surprised, unless your integrity should show that the reports abroad are false. It would be expedient that no time should be lost in taking fresh counsel respecting these things. It would appear like presumption in me to speak more on the subject, and what I have said will suffice to your wisdom."† The pope, accordingly, writes to the legates, William and Odo: "Saying that, on account of these reports, which seem injurious to his reputation, he commands them to address letters of consolation to the archbishop, to remove from his mind all bitterness and suspicion, and to assure him that he will stand by him and endeavor to procure his peace with the king: he tells them that the public opinion, the common voice of all men, condemns their backwardness as well as his own, and he charges them to silence detraction by a conduct circumspect, mature, and provident."‡ Philip, count of Flanders, also writes to the pope, thanking him for his benevolent expressions to the archbishop, and assuring him, that if he did not love and cherish him, it would be to himself, and to the universal world, a great scandal and a pernicious example, and that the pontiff's own character would suffer in the estimation of men."§ "Good God!" exclaims St. Thomas, "what vigor will there be in the members, if the strength of the head should fail? It is already cried in the streets, and proclaimed through towns and villages, that the powerful need not fear justice at Rome."‖ "Vigorous measures, with regard to the affairs of England," as the archbishop of Sens assured the pope, "could alone re-estab-

*Epist. cxxi. †S. Thom. Epist. c. ‡Epist. cvi. §Epist. lxxxi. ‖Epist. cxlv.

lish the fame of the Roman Church amongst the French clergy and throughout the whole west; and this advice he gives, not through any rancor of mind against the king, with whom he is now reconciled, but, impelled by what he sees, and hears, and handles, for the sake of truth and justice, for the honor of the Church, and by reason of the faith which he owes to the Apostolic See."* The testimony of the foreign bishops on this point is, indeed, most frankly given. "Scandals are multiplied in our time," says Stephen, bishop of Meaux, to Pope Alexander, "but woe to him by whom the scandal cometh; for if he be worthy of being cast into the sea, who scandalizes one of the little ones of Christ, what judgment does he deserve who fills the whole Church of God with scandal, and strikes the hearts of the saints, so as, if possible to move even the elect from devotion to the Apostolic See? Truly, last year, the Church was most grievously scandalized, when those whom my lord of Canterbury had excommunicated were absolved, though persisting in their wickedness, without satisfaction, or the shadow of satisfaction; and, what cannot be said without grief and confusion, while still retaining the possessions of the Churches, and boasting that they are safe in their iniquity, under the authority, not only of the king, but, of the Roman Church.

"Yet this scandal, great as it was, was but a jest, if compared with that arising from the letters lately read, by which the archbishop, a man eminent for erudition, and virtue, but still more for his brave defence of the cause of God, is deprived of his power until he returns into favor with the king, with whom he cannot be in favor unless he is ungrateful to God, faithless to the Apostolic See, and pernicious to the whole Church. The most Christian king is confused, and the poor Gallican Church is filled with stupor, that the persecutor should have so far prevailed with you. May it please you, therefore, to console my lord of Canterbury, and deliver the Gallican Church from such a scandal, by binding, not the innocent, but the impious; for it is to be feared lest other princes should follow this example, to the destruction of the Church,"† Maurice, bishop of Paris, and Baldwin, bishop of Noyon, wrote to him to the same effect. "My lord of Canterbury returns with the affair unfinished; the king of France, and our whole kingdom suffering with him in his grief, and all men wondering that the Apostolic See should be circumvented in such a manifested cause. For who will ever be condemned, if for such an evident injury of Christ and the Church, the king of England escapes judgment? What innocence will be delivered from the hand of the calumniator, if my lord of Canterbury and his fellow-exiles be not assisted? It was hoped by all men that your prudence could not be any longer deceived, or your sanctity mocked; but the misery of the Church and the infinite affliction of the innocent, which we behold, oblige us to raise our voices. The height of our desire is to see you remove, as quickly as possible such a scandal from the

* Epist. clxi.

† Epist. [redacted]

whole Gallican Church, by making the king of England content with such things as belong to a Christian king."* Benedict of Petersborough, ascribes the reconciliation of the king with St. Thomas to the personal exertions of the archbishop of Sens, who went," he says, " to Rome, and obtained consent from the Apostolic See,that without any appeal the English king should be subject to anathema, unless he gave peace to the Church."†

" I do not presume," says John of Salisbury, writing to the pope, " to raise my voice against Heaven. I confess, it is true, that the Roman Pontiff can do all things, that is, understanding all things which belong, jure divino, to the ecclesiastical power; he can make new and abrogate ancient laws; but he cannot change things which have a perpetual authority from the Word of God. I fear not to say that Peter himself could not absolve any one persevering in his wickedness; nor did he receive the keys to open to the impenitent."‡ "When Peter's power is thus bounded," he says to him again, " I cannot believe that his successor can do more. I confess that much is to be conceded to conciliate the king as a most glorious prince; but only so far as to offend God; for otherwise it would be a kind of idolatry to prefer the creature to the Creator, under pretence of caution and utility; for evil is not to be committed that good may come."§

" I cannot dissemble, being the servant of your sanctity," says Lombard, subdeacon of the Roman Church, to the pope, " the things which are publicly spoken of in derogation of your name, and to the detriment of the whole Church. The return of John of Oxford, boasting of your favor, and insolently proclaiming that he was safe, by your privilege, against the archbishop and every bishop, and that he has obtained for the king what no king has yet obtained .... this gives occasion of maligning you and the Church of God, and strengthens those whom your indulgence has not changed, though your authority might have repressed them."‖

The remonstrances of St. Thomas are affecting and dignified. "You admonish us," he says to the pope, "meanwhile, to have patience. You do not consider, Father, how expensive to the Church is this word 'meanwhile,' interim, and how much it derogates from your reputation. Meanwhile he keeps the bishoprics and abbeys vacant, and will suffer no one to be ordained to them, that he may keep the revenues. Meanwhile he rages against all the parish churches and venerable places, and the whole clergy with incredible fury. Meanwhile he and the other persecutors do what they like. Meanwhile, who is to take care of the sheep of Christ? Who is to save them from the wolves? Have you not disarmed and silenced every pastor? What bishop is not suspended in our suspension?"¶ In a letter to the college of cardinals, he uses still stronger language: "Say, holy fathers, with what conscience do you dissemble the injury committed against

* Epist. cclvi. † Rer. Gallic. Script. xiii. 144. ‡ Joan. Sar. Epist. xlvii. § Epist. lx.
‖ S. Thos. Epist. xcvi ¶ Epist. cxxxiv.

Christ in me; yea, in you, who exercise vicariate of Christ on earth? Do you pretend not to know that the king of England subverts the liberty of the Church, and lays hands on the anointed of the Lord every where, incarcerating some priests, killing others, putting out the eyes of others, compelling others to have recourse to the duel, others to the ordeal of fire and water; requiring bishops to disobey their metropolitan, priests their bishops, and not to consider themselves excommunicated when they are duly so? What is worse, he takes all liberty from the Church, like your great schismatical oppressor, Frederic. If these things be done by our king with impunity, what will be done by his heirs? If the fear of God be before your eyes, you cannot suffer these things to pass thus. Trust not in princes nor in the sons of men, in whom is no salvation. Treasure not up for yourselves wrath against the day of wrath, but lay up treasure in heaven, by resisting the oppressors, and by assisting the oppressed; for otherwise God will judge between you and me and these exiles, these orphans, widows, and babes in their cradles, and all these priests and laymen. Be persuaded by those who are faithful to you; resume your strength, gird on the sword of the Word of God most powerful; draw the sword of blessed Peter; vindicate the injuries of Christ. Do judgment and justice without delay to every one who suffers injury. This is the royal way. The way which leads to life. Walk in it; and follow the footsteps of Christ and his Apostles, whose vicars you are. Not by simulation, not by ingenuity, is the Church to be governed, but by justice and truth, which will free you from all peril; Non simulatione, non ingenio regenda est ecclesia; sed justitia et veritate. Do this and you will have God for your defender, and you need not fear then what man can do unto you."* In a letter to Cardinal Albert, he says: "Our miserable fellow-exiles seem out of favor with you, because they are weak and unwilling to depart from the justice of God; while men stained with sacrilege and homicide, and impenitent plunderers, who could not be loosed even by Peter himself, are absolved."†

These seem to be painful testimonies, on first hearing them, and we may close them by the letter of St. Thomas to the pope, in 1170, which begins thus: "God has looked upon his Church with an eye of pity, and at length has changed its sadness into joy. Nor can there be a doubt, father, but that, if you had believed us from the first, speaking the truth to you, the horns with which these men have wounded the Church, would have been bent backwards. From the moment that the king discovered that you were determined not to spare him any more than Frederic, he made peace with us to the honor of God, and, as we hope, to the great utility of the Church."‡ Yet so far removed was the archbishop from any desire of appearing to enjoy a personal triumph, that he writes again to implore the pope, in the interests of the newly cemented peace, to permit him to have mercy on the bishops of London and Salisbury, though he admits that the former

* Epist. cxlv. † Epist. cclvii. ‡ [redacted]

was the standard-bearer of the whole sedition, not to call it schism."* Throughout this distressing crisis of ecclesiastical affairs, it appears that Pope Alexander felt conscious that he might have erred on the side of too much patience. Thus, writing to King Henry, he says: "We believe it has not escaped the memory of your royal sublimity, how much we have derogated, utinam non contra justitiam, from our venerable brother, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, in condescension to you."† Again, in another letter to the king, he says: "Since, hitherto, we know not by what judgment of God we have made no proficiency in these affairs, we are filled with affliction for you and for the holy Church, which is daily more and more scandalized, so that by great princes, and nearly by the whole Church, we are blamed for our tepidity and neglect of the duty of our office, insomuch that we have contracted no slight disgrace in the estimation of many who insult over us, as having abused patience."‡ Nevertheless, it is clear, that the greatest prudence and moderation were required in the alarming state of the world, when this collision first took place; for schism was then seated on the patriarchal throne of Constantinople; the Christians of the east were demanding new crusades in their defence; an anti-pope possessed Rome, being confirmed by Frederic I., who raged like Alaric or Attila, having on his side the kings of Denmark, Bohemia, and Hungary: such were the difficulties in which Pope Alexander was engaged; and, indeed, the injustice of the accusations against him seems sufficiently proved by the affecting letter, in which he explains to St. Thomas the reasons and motives which have actuated him throughout the contest.

"Among the multiplied cares, which, from the malice of the times, disturb our mind," it is thus the pontiff addresses him, "your fatigues, encountered for defending the ecclesiastical liberty, have not a little caused our perturbation, while we desired to be at your side, and our wishes were retarded by various obstacles; for where many formidable things press on, the mind cannot easily determine to what part it ought rather to incline, especially if it be not given to it to understand when it will gain more advantage, and where escape a greater danger. For if sailors are often so much in doubt in the diversity of winds, that they cannot agree amongst themselves whether they ought to proceed to the proposed point or return to the port which they have left, it ought not to seem worthy of surprise or censure, if in this great and wide sea, where monstrous reptiles without number impede our course, and where the dangers to be feared are not so much of bodies and of material merchandise, as of souls and of spiritual virtues, he who rules the ship of the Church cannot easily discover to what part he should direct his assent, when different councils arise from the diversity of wills. While a matter appears in one light to him who promotes a single cause, it appears in another to him who ought to provide and to consult for the whole in common. Therefore, dearest brother, if we seem to have acted more remissly in your cause, and in that

* Epist. ccxcvii. † Epist. cli. ‡ Epist. cxcviii.

of the English Church, and not to have answered your petitions according to your will, that did not proceed from our not believing your cause and that of the English Church to be common with our own, or that we wished in any respect to be wanting to you, but from our believing that we ought to use patience, in order that we might be able to overcome evil by good. For we feared, if there had been a greater division in the Church, that it would have been imputed to our severity; but now that we have lost all hope of bringing to compunction the oppressors of the Church, who are only dragging after them their sins like a long chain, we proceed to pass the canonical sentence against the bishops, inventors of this malice, who have sworn to preserve the iniquitous customs, and whom we, therefore, suspend from the episcopal dignity."*

This pacific exercise of the supreme authority is so sublime a characteristic of the Holy See, that I cannot pass on without referring to other instances from the history of the ages of faith, to show how faithfully the successors of St. Peter, in the exercise of their divine vicariat, adhered to the example of the Lamb of God.

Much is often said respecting the policy of the Holy See; but it would be well if all who seek to learn in what it consisted, would bear in mind, that its aim was ever in accordance with that desire which the Church expresses in her collect on Holy Saturday, when she prays that God, having regard to the wonderful sacrament of His whole Church, may accomplish the work of human salvation in a more tranquil manner, by the effect of His perpetual Providence.

For the guidance, indeed, of all ecclesiastical authority, the rule in this respect was the same. "Sanctorum clamat authoritas," says Peter of Blois, "securius nobis esse si propter misericordiæ humanitatem, quam si propter districtiorem justitiam judicemur."† "In judgments," he says to a bishop, "never be moved by rumors or suspicions. Our Lord did not condemn Judas, whom he knew to be a traitor, because he had not been convicted. He did not destroy Sodom until He descended and saw whether they were guilty. From an obligation annexed to your office, you must be more patient, more moderate, more fervent than others."‡

St. Bonaventura finds an occasion to instil this duty while treating on the six wings of the seraph; for after showing that the first wing of the ecclesiastical seraph is the zeal of justice, and the second piety or fraternal compassion, he shows that the third wing is patience and constant longaminity; "Patience is necessary to superiors, first, because they are unavoidably drawn into various affairs and solicitudes; secondly, on account of the slow progress of those for whom they labor; for they sow much, and see but little fruit; what they personally command and ordain is negligently fulfilled, and they often see latent evil creep in under semblance of good, when they dare not reprove the evil because of the superficial good, though eventually the real good is diminished, and the manifest

* Epist. ccxcii. † Epist. L. ‡ Pet. Bles. de Institut. [redacted]

evil increased; but as the rude in religion, who discern not internal things, defend what passes with great zeal, the spiritual prelate sees, without being able to resist the danger, and so wonderfully exercises himself in patience. Thirdly, patience is necessary, because of the ingratitude of those for whom he labors, whom he can never satisfy; for they will misinterpret all he does, and think that he might do better; and they will oppose him to his face, and write letters and excite others. Therefore, he needs a triple shield of patience. First, a modest and benign manner in answering them, unlike him of whom we read, Ipse est filius Belial, ita ut nemo possit ei loqui.* Secondly, a pacific and loving state of mind, which prevents him from wishing to remove them from him, for he should be the more inclined to retain them in order to exercise himself in patience, that he may be a son of the Most High; for, as it is his office to teach virtue, if he remove the vicious, whom will he teach? If a physician avoid the sick, whom will he cure? Thirdly, a firm resolution not to relax in his labors, on account of such obtsacles, but to proceed with perseverance, looking only to the future recompense.†

Innumerable examples might be adduced to illustrate the operation of these principles. Let us observe a few as they may occur.

"We do not wish," say the capitularies of Rodulph, "to bind by oath those who are to be excommunicated for refusing to pay tithes, least there should be danger of their committing perjury."‡

Wazo, a holy bishop of Liege, whose life was often in danger from the violence of the unjust men whom he resisted,§ replied as follows to the bishop of Chalons, who inquired from him how he ought to act towards certain Manichæan heretics in his diocese. "Imitating the Saviour, who was meek and humble of heart, we must tolerate such men; for, as blessed Gregory says, in vain would Abel have obtained innocence, if Cain had not shown malice; and the grapes, unless bruised, yield no wine. That we may have a prompt solution of this case, let us only hear the parable of the sower in the Gospel; for the servants who sought to root up the weeds, are the preachers, who, while they desire the good to be separated from the evil in the Church, seek to root up weeds with the wheat; but our Lord's answer shows what patience must belong to preachers; especially as what is weed to-day may be wheat to-morrow. Your ardent zeal for souls deceived by diabolic fraud, would purge the ground before the time; but we rather must obey the divine sentence, lest while we think we execute justice, we may be impious offenders against Him who desires not the death of a sinner, but who knows how, by patience and longanimity, to lead sinners to repentance. Cesset ergo judicium pulveris, audita sententia condemnatoris; nor let us seek by the sword of temporal power to take from life those whom God, our common Creator and Redeemer, knows how to spare. We must so act the part of sowers, as to tremble for our-

* I Reg. xxi.

† S. Bonavent. de Sex Alis Seraph. c. 5.

‡ Capit Rodulfi, c. xxi. ap. Baluze, Miscellan. ii.

§ Gesta Episcop. Leodiensium, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. iv. 885.

selves, and hope for all others; for those who now oppose us in the way of the Lord may become superior to ourselves in the celestial country, as Saul, from being a persecutor, was made an apostle. We that are bishops receive in ordination an unction, not a sword; therefore, we are not to kill but to make alive, and in this particular case, all that we have to do is to command the faithful to refrain from associating with the infected."*

The Inquisition itself, though in Spain, strictly a royal tribunal, was directed by the same rule in the exercise of its power; for the priesthood refused to take part in its judgments, until the crown granted to it the grand prerogative of mercy; so that it bore on its banners a motto necessarily unknown to all the tribunals of the world: "Misericordia et justitia."†

We should observe, too, how well the guides of the middle ages could distinguish the guilt of certain sophisms, in regard to a co-operation between the clergy and the state in the infliction of punishment, which are often adduced against them, with a view to intimate that the patience of the ecclesiastical authority was not sincere. That these sophisms were not allowed to pass current however, appears from the words of Peter of Blois, who says, "It excites the anger of heaven, and is a crime worthy of eternal damnation, when priests, although they do not pronounce judgment of blood, yet treat on it, disputing for and against it, and think that they are blameless, because though they decree death or mutilation, they absent themselves from the pronunciation and execution of the sentence. But what is more pernicious than such di-simulation? Is it lawful to discuss and determine what cannot lawfully be pronounced. Saul thus palliated his malice against David by saying, Non sit manus mea in eum, sed sit super eum manus Philistinorum. This dissimulation only rendered him more damnable before God. There is an express example of the same in that consistory in which Christ was condemned to die, when the Pharisees and Scribes said, Nobis non licet interficere quemquam; though, by their cries, they had dictated sentence of crucifixion. You are a prelate of souls not of bodies. Unless you are associated with Pilate, you will not have to render an account to Cæsar, but to Christ."

But it was, above all, in regard to the authority of the Holy See that the rule was most strictly laid down and observed, as innumerable monuments can bear witness. St. Leo supposes "that the prince of the Apostles was permitted to fall, expressly in order that he might be the more indulgent to others who are fallen."

Even when the strongest censures were required, the Holy See always expressed itself in a pacific, gentle tone, repeating these formulas, "we ought to be more ready to pronounce benediction than commination; we ask and conjure you to do this mercifully and benignly." What sweetness of divine love breathes in the

* Gesta Episcopi Leodiensium, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. iv. 901.

† De Maistre, Let. sur l'Inquisit.

epistles of the Roman pontiffs to the Greek emperor, expressing their desire of peace and union between the Latins and the Greeks.* What disinterested solicitude did not the Holy See evince in bearing with the tyranny of persecutors; as when Alexander III. writes in these terms to Louis, king of France, explaining the cause of his delay in the affairs of St. Thomas: "If," he says, "we have seemed to favor the will of the English king, we have only acted as skillful physicians, who grant everything to a patient, of whose recovery they despair, making experiments to see if any thing can produce a change, whereas, to one whom they think they can cure, they flatly refused every thing hurtful from the first. Therefore, since it is the custom of the Roman Church rather to incur much loss and damage by delay and waiting, than by precipitation to give offence, your serenity ought not to be surprised if we have borne with that king so long, hoping, by the sweetness of benignity and gentleness, to recal him from his projects, and to mollify his hardness."†

The popes, too, invariably prescribe to the episcopacy the observance of their own rule; for such were the counsels always given to it by those who, as St. Thomas says, "have received from God authority to dispense justice and the will of showing mercy."‡ Thus, to Henry, archbishop of Rheims, Alexander III. replied in these terms respecting certain heretics: "The prudence of your discretion ought to know that it is a less evil to absolve the guilty, who ought to be condemned, than to condemn the innocent by ecclesiastical severity; that it is better that ecclesiastical men should be more indulgent than is proper, than that they should exceed moderation in correcting vices, and appear to be severe; the Scripture saying, Noli nimium esse justus; and elsewhere, qui multum emungit, elicit sanguinem."§

The same archbishop having unjustly deprived Huldevin, one of the clergy of Rheims, of a certain benefice, the letter addressed to him by Pope Alexander furnishes an instance of the manner which the Holy See always wishes to accomplish its object by the way of persuasion, rather than by that of authority; for thus he writes to him: "We ask your fraternity, by apostolic letters, we advise and exhort you, as what becomes you more than following the suggestions of others, or the impulse of your own mind, to restore the said benefice without difficulty and in peace, laying aside all rancor, and, for the reverence of blessed Peter and of us, and in consideration of the devotion which Huldevin has shown towards you; so that he may rejoice to have obtained this rather by our prayers than by our mandate."‖

The same delicate solicitude appears in another of his letters to the same prelate, in which, after desiring him to reverse what he has ordained respecting the place of a chanter of Douay in the choir of the church of Arras, he concludes,

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vii. † Epist. S. Thom. cxliii. ‡ Epist. clxxi.
§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 683. ‖ Ibid 774.

"We would rather that this should be done by your fraternity; so that what was formerly done by you, should now, by your authority, be restored to its pristine state, than that we should use our authority, as we may by rights, in this affair."*

Even the ill-timed remonstrances of this prelate are remarkable for the beautiful expressions used to signify the custom of the Holy See; for, in his letter to the cardinals, asking permission for Drogo to leave his cloister and accept a secular office, he says, "If the divine mercy hath placed you in the highest authority, He sought that you should be like himself, who declares his love for men, and received this testimony from his servant: Tu autem, Domine Sabahot, omnia cum tranquillitate judicas, et cum magna reverentia disponis nos. If the divine dignity condescended to your abjection, if the eternal majesty hath exhibited the gift of love, and tranquillity, and reverence to the servile race of men, what ought man to give to man his fellow-servant, under the empire of his Creator."†

Even in the choice of instruments, to further the pacific conciliatory views of the Holy See, one can trace the spirit which ever seeks to avoid scandal and the publicity of faults. How beautiful is the illustration of this fact furnished by the few simple words which conclude the report made to Pope Alexander III. by Simon and Engelbert, relative to the monks who had been commissioned by him to present his letter to king Henry, enjoining on him to make peace with St. Thomas, for it ends thus: "And because it is not the custom of the brethren of Grandmont to write to any one, we have written this to you to express the conscience and desire of brother Bernard, who was employed in this commission."‡ Thus the agents of the Holy See were not men to mark the projects of pontifical solicitude, by recklessly or maliciously divulging circumstances which could widen breaches, or cut off an honorable retreat to a defeated adversary. The popes seem always intent on securing a golden bridge for all whom they could induce to retrace their steps and abandon measures of error or persecution; it was not only commands, admonitions, and counsels that they gave; they offered their treasures; they gave their tears; they would, if occasion required it, have given their blood. But it is to these letters we should refer for proof of their unwillingness to use authority when they could prevail by love. One may repair to the papal archives, which contain them, as to a sanctuary, which cannot be violated by human passions, or as to a hermit in the wilderness according to the suggestion of the poet, when he says:—

> ——"I'll find out a hermit
> That dwells within the earth, or hollow tree,
> A great way hence; there I shall be secure
> And learn to pray, for I want charity."

He might have learned to pray from a bare perusal of the apostolic letters; he

* Ap. id. ii. 729. † Ap. id. ii. 789. ‡ St. Tho[redacted]

might have learned from them without flying to the woods, the security of a firm conscience, against which nothing can ever prevail; he might have learned patience, long-suffering, and to taste what they proclaim with such a deep conviction of its power, the sweetness of an ineffable love. Let us take, for instance, the letter of Pope Adrian to Erasmus, in which, after calling on him to write in defence of truth, he proceeds thus: "I cannot express to you with what a flood of joy my heart would be inundated, if, owing to your assistance, those who have been corrupted by the poison of heresy were to return to the way of truth, without waiting till the rod of the canons and of the imperial decrees should strike them. You can say whether rigorous measures are accordant with my disposition; you, with whom I have been associated amidst such pleasures in our sweet solitude of Louvain."*

Pope Silvester, writing to the empress Adelaide, after remarking the decree of the Nicene synod, forbidding any one to be received who incurred excommunication observes, "That great moderation must be used with regard to the treatment of souls, and that no one is to be too hastily removed from the body and blood of the Son of God, by which mystery he lives with true life, and being justly deprived of which he living dies. Therefore," he adds, "we deem it right that this military man should be first admonished, in order that he may perhaps return to himself and satisfy your reverence."†

But let us refer again to the history of St. Thomas, for instances of the pacific gentleness of Rome. To the Archbishop, Pope Alexander writes in these terms: "We hope to mitigate the mind of our dear son, the illustrious king, and induce him to be reconciled to you. Therefore we entreat and advise your prudence to bear with him patiently, until we can see the end of this affair, and not to take any step which may cause him displeasure; but if he will not acquiesce after the intervention of our nuncios, and if he cannot be otherwise recalled, you shall have full authority to exercise your office."‡

Then, in another letter to the king, he says, "Although filial devotion towards us, and your mother the Holy Church, seems to have cooled in you, yet we have not ceased to regard you, and the kingdom committed to you, with paternal affection. Your serenity, therefore, considering that the blows of a friend are better that the kisses of an enemy, should carefully observe that the customs of which you require the observance are inconsistent with the laws of the Church, and that if you pervert them, and usurp the things which are Christ's, you will doubtless in the last judgment be called to an account; but that our admonitions may not be tedious, remember that a father corrects the son whom he loves, and that it is in consequence of our ardent love for your person, and of our gratitude for your past acts of sincere devotion, that we intimate this to your excellence."§ In his letter to the prior Simon, and to Bernard de Corilo, whom he charges with the delivery

* Epist. Eras. 639. † Epist. Gerberti. ‡ Ep. S. Thom. xxxix. § Ep. xl.

of his letter of admonition to the king, he says, "That they should add their own remonstrances in a spirit of fortitude and lenity;"* and he expressly makes choice of them, as being men for whom the king entertains a peculiar respect. Writing to Roger, Bishop of Worcester, he says, "We have borne long with the king, as you have known, in patience, as it became us, and desiring to conquer him by humility; hoping, in the mercy of Christ, that He in whose hand are the hearts of kings, would mitigate his mind, and incline his will to do what is pleasing in his sight."† In fine, to the archbishop of Rouen he expresses his constant desire to concede every thing than he can to the king of England with a placid countenance, as far as will be consistent with justice, and his duty to God."‡

Assuredly, the observers of that time might well be astonished at such invincible patience, and might even be pardoned for recalling with the archbishop the zeal of the patriarchs and prophets, of the apostles and apostolic men, opposing themselves as a wall for the house of the Lord. "You have wished, as was indeed right," says St. Thomas, "to admonish the king repeatedly. He has been admonished by letters, by foreign nuncios, by subdeacons, by your cardinals, by bishops, by abbots, and now, after five years, by my Lord Gratian and Master Vivian; and still always his last are worse than his former acts."§

But if the patience and humility of the Holy See were thus exercised to the farthest limits possible, we must not suppose that its conduct was ever wanting in dignity or courage.

St. Gregory VII. saw, from the very commencement of his pontificate, the difficulties and dangers which awaited him. He knew that to purify and restore the Church, he had to commence a contest of life and death with the complicated interests of worldly power and of a degenerate clergy, a contest of which he could not hope to see the end, and in which all human means of victory would be arrayed against him. Writing to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, imploring his prayers, he said, "to avert the judgments of God from myself, I must encounter kings and princes, bishops and priests." He wrote that letter from a sick bed on which these anticipations threw him; but how gloriously did he redeem his pledge to draw the Church at any price, from its state of slavery and corruption! "Contrary, perhaps, to the rules of ordinary prudence," says Döllinger, "he began by attacking the most dangerous of his enemies, the corrupt priests and powerful nobles; so that when kings were added, he brought into array against himself the whole power of Europe, whilst even in Rome the ground trembled beneath him, in consequence of his zeal to restore purity. But penetrated with the sense of his station, and of the duties which it imposed upon him, and filled with horror at the corruptions of his age, he stood firm as a rock in his unconquerable conviction of the necessity and justice of his undertaking, and heedless of the persecution which he might bring upon himself."‖

* Ep. clv. † Ep. cc. ‡ Ep. cccxxix. § Ep. ccxiv. ‖ Hist. of Ch. III. Dr Con[redacted]

Still, however, the highest grandeur of the Holy See was often witnessed in the divine forbearance, to which it could appeal on other occasions with an advantage that it was not slow to learn. In fact, this alone was often sufficient to refute the arguments of its enemies, when they advanced against it with deceit upon their lips; as when Boniface VIII. replied to the sacrilegious Philippe-le-Bel on his proposing to confiscate the Church property in 1296. "When have you or your ancestors had recourse to this See, without having your petitions granted? And if a grave necessity were again to menace your kingdom, not only would the Holy See grant you the contributions of the prelates and other ecclesiastics; but, if the case required, it would lay its hands on the very chalices, crosses, and sacred vessels, rather than not defend a kingdom so dear to the Holy See?" Indeed, a noble disregard for all temporal interests, when their sacrifice could in the least promote a spiritual end, was always evinced by the Roman Pontiffs. If Pope Alexander asks some pecuniary assistance from the count of Flanders, adding, "that he believes no alms will be more acceptable to God, than those which he may give to him for defending the liberty of the Church at that moment,"* he shows on many occasions that he would never suffer considerations of money to interfere for an instant with the attainment of a spiritual object. Thus, when preparing to strike the king of England with anathema, and offering him the last terms, he takes care to charge those whom he entrusts with the commission of the affair, to yield on every point in which mere material interests are concerned. With respect to the provisions promised for the archbishop's expenses on his return to England, "if the king," he says, "cannot be induced to pay the thousand marks, we are not willing that this should be an obstacle to peace, provided the king should consent to the other conditions."†

The same spirit breathes in his letter to all the brethren of the Cistercian order. "Although we are not ignorant of your faith and devotion to us and to the Church of God, we cannot on that very account but feel astonished that you should have caused our venerable brother, the archbishop of Canterbury, a man religious and honorable, and dear and acceptable in every respect to God, and to us, and to the universal Church, to remove from the monastery of Pontigni, instigated by threats and the fear of losing all your possessions in England. Therefore, since true charity expels fear, and that it is not the part of a religious man to prefer human to divine fear, we command your university, by apostolic writings, never in future to act thus, lest you, who ought to be a refuge of the oppressed exiled for the liberty of the Church, should give a pernicious example to others; and we charge you henceforth to receive the same archbishop into whichever of your houses he may choose, treating him with benignity and honor."‡

From such fear, indeed, the Holy See had always been delivered. Pope John, though he was come into France to implore the protection of Louis-le-Bègue, re-

* Ep. xc. † Ep. ccxlviii. ‡ Ep lxxiv.

fused to crown his second wife as he desired him, because his first, Ansgarde, whom he had repudiated, was still living.* But the dangers were often immense; so that alluding to them on one occasion, Bernardo Davanzati, speaking of the reasons which inclined Henry VIII. to believe that Pope Clement would favor his wish respecting the divorce, says, "Perhaps the pope would have gratified the king, if God had not by the chair of Peter given him assistance."†

The letters of Alexander III. to Henry II. are models of firmness and mildness. "We who cannot fail in paternal affection to your person," it is thus he writes, "desire to honor you as a Catholic prince and a Christian king, and to listen to you in all things, as far as honesty will permit, firmly believing and hoping that you are aware how much more glorious it is for you to have your will conquered, than for it to conquer in things which compromise the cause of God and of the Church."‡ Again, in another letter he reminds him, "That the more he has received as a king, the more will be required from him; that he is therefore peculiarly bound to seek the honor of God; and that, through paternal affection, he must consequently remind him of the demand of the last farthing, and admonish him so to think of things eternal, that he may hereafter reign in heaven."§

After all, we must remember that in resisting the persecutors of the Church, the Holy See could only command a power, for the efficacy of which, the existence of faith was indispensable. Not even in the middle ages could it in general exercise any other. But we may pause an instant, to admire the array of its mighty strength thus limited. "What sublime eloquence! what poesy!" exclaims a modern historian, alluding to the bull that was at last fulminated against Luther. "The exordium," he adds, "is itself a vast picture in the style of Michael Angelo. The heavens open, and God the father rises in all his majesty: he inclines his ear and listens to the supplications of his Church, which cries to Him to drive off this fox which infests the holy vineyard, this wild boar which desolates the forest of the Lord. Then St. Peter, the chief of apostles, attentive to the prayers of this Church of Rome, this mother of churches, the mistress of the faith, whose first stone he has cemented with his blood, rises up all armed against the master of lies, whose tongue is a burning coal, whose lips distill poison and death. St. Paul too, who has heard the tears of the faithful, advances to defend the cause for which he also has shed his blood, against a new Porphyry whose teeth fasten upon pontiffs, who died in the faith, as did formerly those of Porphyry on the holy Apostles. In fine, the whole firmament is revealed. One beholds the Church universal, the celestial cloud, the angels and thrones, the cherubims and dominations, the prophets of the ancient law, the martyrs, doctors, apostles and disciples of Christ; and all this blessed host with hands stretched out to the throne of the living God, implores Him to put an end to the triumph of heresy, and to preserve the holy Church of Christ in unity and peace."‖

* Chron. de S. Denis, An. 878. † Lo Scisma d'Inghilterra, Lib. i. p. 17.
‡ Ep. cxxix. § Ep. cxcviii. ‖ Audin, Hist. de Luther, i. 287.

And now methinks I hear sung these words of the offertory of the mass of certain blessed martyrs: "Dico autem vobis amicis meis, ne terreamini ab his qui vos persequuntur." I said at first that this was an heroic theme; nor will my words prove false, when we proceed now to speak of the courage with which the episcopacy, and the clergy in general, defended the sacred cause of the liberty of the Church. The spectacle will still be that of high honor, achieving triumphs of heroism so transcendant as to demand exclusive gaze, though allied with grace, at the bare remembrance of which separately a world might adore.

"Sancti mei, qui, in carne positi, certamen habuistis." The responses of the Church are history. Truly the saints had combats; and when the choir sings, "Isti sunt qui viventes in carne, plantaverunt Ecclesiam sanguine suo; calicem Domini biberunt;" and the response echoes, "Et amici Dei facti sunt," the anthems are history, pregnant with instruction for later times; for it is not said that they were made friends of the king, friends of the ministry, friends of this or that political party; but that they drank the chalice of persecution, and were made friends of God.

The clergy of the middle ages, when true to their own standard, fulfilled the divine prophecy that there should be in Sion men powerful in justice, who should be plants of the Lord to render Him glory.* They were ready servants to execute the counsel of the Highest, at the risk of all things; and the faith which many bore to their high charge, cost them the life-blood that warmed their veins. From time to time, a few hirelings might consent and prosper, like the canons of Cologne, who now side with persecutors; but the old adversary sought out the brave, those on whose heads the fiery tongues of celestial gifts still shone; here alone he struck his quarry, and elsewhere disdained to pounce upon the prey.

On the death of Lanfranc, St. Anselm, who was then abbot of Bec, inscribed to commemorate him these lines, which expressed the obligations of his office.

"Archiepiscopus non divitias, nec honores,
Lanfrancus subiit, sed curas atque labores."†

Such was in fact the prospect associated with a mitre. When the holy Wazo first took possession of his cathedral as bishop of Liege, we read that he wept, and seemed like a boy of seven years of age under the rod of a master.‡

With a view to the persecution of bishops and other superiors, an ancient author, when about to write the life of Boemund, archbishop of Treves, begins with a general reflection, saying, "As Walter de Castellione remarks, it is strange that the human race originally created good, should be so far depraved, as to be more ready to condemn than to yield indulgence. Hence detractors, a race hostile to peace, and deservedly styled hateful to God, interpret in the worst sense, whatever

* Is. lxi. 3. † Nuestria pia. ‡ Gestæ Episc. Leodiens ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 888.

is doubtful. As for us, let us be always benign and mild towards our prelates, supporting one another in patience, knowing that "the waters of Siloö flow in silence quietly."*

"Assuredly to the rank which I possess," says Matthew, archbishop of Treves, to Pope Alexander III., "there is annexed much honor, but far more of burden, so that my shoulders must of necessity fail, unless the Lord lends me his hand. For if your providence will deign to turn your eyes towards these parts, it will see that there are great torments for many good men, and grievous contests for them; which evils I, being unable to correct as a bishop, and not daring, through fear of the divine judgment, to dissemble as far as regards my office, whoever can doubt whether I am placed in straits is ignorant of my condition. But my hope is in God, and in you to whom I now appeal in behalf of one of my fellow sufferers for justice, and for the honor of God, my most worthy lord of Canterbury, who is now a proscribed exile with us here."† Thus were bishops well aware of the extent of their obligations in regard to the cares and labors which they had to endure: "They knew," as St. Thomas says, "that if pastors either through love or hatred, cupidity or negligence, or through hope or fear of temporal things should desert their post, or yield to vices, their candlestick would be removed, and the people would perish,‡ that shame and ruin would then be their portion; for salt that has lost its flavor is good for nothing; it is so worthless, they observed, that it cannot even be compared to the dung which serves for manuring the land. They knew that, as the martyr Cyprian says, Episcopus, si timidus est, actum est de eo, that it is all over with him," as St. Thomas adds, "because he is thenceforth absolutely useless: but that charity expels this fear, and makes men fit to lead the people."§

They were aware also of the full extent of the personal danger attached to the discharge of their duty. "You have to deal with one," says Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, to St. Thomas, "whose cunning is dreaded by those who are far distant, whose power his neighbors, whose severity his subjects fear; whom repeated successes and the smiles of fortune have made delicate, so that he deems an injury whatever is not obsequious; who the quicker he is excited, the more difficult it is to appease him; with whom impunity not merely nourishes temerity, but leads to crimes which call for unmeasured vengeance. Whatever he does, must seem to come from his will, not from impotence; for he seeks glory more than success, which would be commendable in a prince, if virtue and truth, not vanity and a meretricious adulation, were the matter of glory. He is great, and the greatest of many; for he has no superior who might intimidate, nor subject who can resist him; nor is he exposed to any external enemies, by whose injuries he might be tamed in regard to his innate disposition of domestic ferocity; but all who

* Gestæ Trevirens. Arch. ap. id. iv. 342.

† St. Thom. Epist. cxciii.

‡ Ep. clxxi.

§ Ep. cclxxiii.

have any cause of contention with him would rather agree to the delusive bonds of a vain peace, than come to trial of strength, since he exceeds in the abundance of riches, in the multitude of his adherents, and in the amplitude of his power."*

"Dangers surround me on all sides," writes St. Thomas to this formidable king. "I am placed between two great and fearful perils. If I am silent, I shall not escape the hand of the Lord; if I speak, I shall incur, I fear, your indignation. What shall I do then? Shall I speak, or shall I be silent? Both are perilous. Nevertheless, since it is safer to incur the wrath of man, than to fall into the hands of the living God; trusting in the mercy of the Most High, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, which He can turn as it pleaseth Him, I will speak to my lord, since I have once begun consulting your utility rather than your will."†

The danger on this occasion is intimated also by one of his correspondents, saying, "the king's ambassadors have denounced me before the pope, as his especial enemy; and it would not be expedient for me for all the gold of Arabia, that he should get me into his power. Yet my faith is not terrified, and I can say with Peter, Paratus sum tecum in mortem et in carcerem ire."‡ "Pursuing these measures, we are aware," says St. Thomas to the pope, "that great, yet surmountable labors are awaiting us; but we prefer following this straight and narrow way which leads to life, rather than the wide and spacious way which through worldly deceits draw on to hell."§

Again, he says to him, "that experiment is the mother and nurse of philosophy, was a celebrated saying of the ancients, approved of by the testimony of Apollo; and rightly, since each person can judge best of the things in which he has had experience, while to others who are inexperienced, there is but a vain and fraudulent imagination; which I premise, in order that the lord pope may now be no longer unwilling to credit me in regard to the perils which assail the Church and myself, or rather the Apostolic See, whose privilege I am defending, not without great and evident peril."‖

Such then were the dangers to which those who defended the cause of religion, and especially the ecclesiastical liberty, were in every age more or less exposed. But to meet them, the holy Church had been always provided with choice spirits tempered to the true heroic height of beatitude, uniting undaunted courage with gentleness and humility; and these two features of the sacerdotal character, we must illustrate by examples from the histories of the ages of faith. And first let us regard their fortitude.

"I know," said the emperor Theodosius, "that Ambrose is inflexible, when it is a question of his doing his duty, and that he will do nothing against the law of God, through respect for the imperial majesty." After citing these words, Olier, the institutor of the seminary of St. Sulpice, used to exclaim, "Oh! if there were to be some hearts like that of St. Ambrose in the Church, how would Jesus Christ

* Ep. xxi. † Ep. xlv. ‡ Ep. vi. § Ep. cclxxxiii. ‖ Ep. ccxci.

be glorified in the world! Oh, that is my please his goodness to raise up again some with the same spirit." Such men, however, were not wanting in the middle ages, when occasions called for them; nor do we look for them in vain, at present, as appears from the astonishment and confusion of those who thought that the age of moral heroism for a spiritual end was irrevocably gone.

When the Neustrian duke Rokkolen, the general of Chilperic, advanced with his army to the gates of Tours, and sent this message to the bishop; "If you do not make the duke Gonthramn leave the basilica of St. Martin, I will burn the city and its suburbs;" St. Gregory replied calmly, "That the thing was impossible." But he received a second message, still more threatening, "If you do not expel the king's enemy this very day, I will destroy every thing, even to the green herb, within the space of a league round the town, so that the plough may pass every where." The bishop Gregory was as impassible as before.*

The history of the Merovingian times might furnish other similar instances innumerable; and if we descend to ages less remote, we shall find that at each collision between the Church and the material power, holy men of the same fortitude were sure to rise up.

Such were the pontiffs and abbots who co-operated with St. Gegory VII. in enforcing his decree at the synod of Rome in 1074, respecting simony and incontinence,—Siegfried, archbishop of Mentz, Altman, bishop of Passau, the archbishop of Rouen, and Walter, abbot of Pontisare, who ran the risk of their lives to procure its execution.

Let us hear the old chroniclers relate some instances of courage in blessed men, resolute to obey God before his creature.

"The emperor Henry being excommunicated, yet still on account of his dignity, receiving accustomed honors, came in 1081, with a great company, and with much pomp, to visit the monastery of Prufeningen, near Ratisbon. It was thought that of course the abbot, the blessed Erminold, would order the bells to sound, and that he and all the brethren would come forth processionally in the accustomed manner, to meet the emperor; but the thoughts of the servant of God were not as their thoughts, who place pillows under every arm. He was not as a reed shaken by every wind of terror or favor, but as an immoveable column, insensible alike to fear or favor. As soon as he heard by messengers, that the emperor was approaching, he ordered all the gates of the monastery to be shut close, and forbade any one to leave the walls, or any one to be admitted within. Yet, in order that his motives might be understood by all, he came himself before the walls of the cloister, and said, 'I would gladly receive the emperor, if I were ignorant that he was not in communion with the Apostolic See.' 'Too inconsiderately and precipitately,' replied the emperor, 'do you deprive yourself of this honor;' to whom he answered, 'Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, knows that

* Thierry, Récits des Temps. Mérovin[illegible]

I act thus, from no other motive, but to defend justice, and obey the Papal mandate.' Otho the bishop here interposing, and saying, 'We ought not to avoid any one, unless we know for certain that he is excommunicated,' the blessed man calmly replied, 'I cannot be ignorant of a sentence which was promulgated by my own tongue.' The emperor, considering that the abbot acted in the spirit and virtue of Elias, reverently departed with all his company."*

When this wicked Emperor Henry IV. commanded Desiderius, abbot of Monte Casino, to come and receive investiture from his hands, the holy man assembled the brethren in the chapter-house, and spoke as follows: "I am in great straits on every side, for if I do not go to the emperor, the danger is great, and the monastery may be overthrown; if I go and fulfill his will, I risk my soul; and if I go and do not fulfill his will, I risk my body. Nevertheless I will go, delivering myself to death and danger. Neither will I make my life more precious than that of the most holy father Benedict; but for your common safety, both of soul and body, and for the safety of this place, if it cannot be otherwise, I wish I may be anathema from Christ; for though I were to be slain a thousand times, no one shall separate me from the love of this place. I am ready to go, I do not say to the emperor who is a Christian, but to any pagan or tyrant, provided I can deliver the goods of this monastery from the barbarian hands." So commending himself, he departed. The emperor used towards him both threats and promises, but all in vain. Desiderius said that he would not receive investiture from his hands for all the honor of the world; at length leave was given him to depart, and he returned in safety to the brethren.† Perhaps nothing can show more strongly the fixed resolution with which men resisted the least invasion of ecclesiastical liberty, and clung to the observance of the canons which protected it, than the fact, that when the emperor Henry IV. died in excommunication, his body remained during five years unburied, in a desert chapel;‡ notwithstanding the power on his side, so adequate was their courage to enforce the ecclesiastical discipline.

The ancient author of the life of the blessed Hartman, bishop of Brescia, furnishes an instance of episcopal courage in presence of an emperor, who espoused the party of an antipope, which he relates in these terms. "When the emperor on his journey besought this holy bishop to consecrate a portable altar for his use, the prelate replied that he would do so gladly, but on condition that it was done under the authority of Pope Alexander, whom the emperor did not acknowledge, choosing to favor the election of Victor. Nevertheless, he gratefully accepted it on such terms. Who would presume?" exclaims that old writer, "thus to resist such majesty face to face?"

The victory of St. John Nepomucen took place on the sixteenth day of May, 1383. His martyrdom was the more illustrious, because the religious seal of con-

* De Vita S. Emenoldi, Lib. i. c. 9. ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. tom. iv.

† Chronic. S Monast. Casin. iii. 50.

‡ Chronicon. Nurnbergens. ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. tom. i.

fession had found no previous victim. Appointed almoner at the court of Wenceslas, whose residence was at Prague, the pious and accomplished empress Jane chose him for her director, an example which was followed by most of the ladies of the court. The emperor loved his wife, but with fits of jealousy which neither her prudence, piety, nor unspotted life could appease. At last, he resolved to learn the secrets of her confessions; sending for John, he first endeavored, indirectly, to elicit the information he desired from him, and then openly made his demand. The saint, struck with horror, represented to him, in the most respectful manner, the utter impossibility of complying with his sacrilegious request. The tryant dissembled his anger. But, shortly after, John daring to remonstrate with him for a most outrageous act of cruelty, the tryant sent him to a dungeon. Then he endeavored sometimes by caresses, and at others by the most cruel tortures, to extort from him the confessions of the empress. But the holy man being proof against his attempts, at length, in a fit of fury, he ordered him to be drowned in the river Muldow; which order was executed from the spot upon the bridge on which the statue is now placed.

But let us return for illustrations to that glorious epoch of English history, from which we have already so largely drawn; for all of that we could find, however far we might pursue this course, in which heroic images abound, none else would be more worthy of regard than the last Canterbury martyr.

St. Thomas, however, had had predecessors endowed with a spirit as undaunted as his own. "Non fugio mortem," said St. Anselm, "non abscissiones membrorum, non quælibet tormenta, sed peccatum et ignominiam ecclesiæ Dei, et maxime Cantuariensis."* He had also the assistance of those encouragements which holy men were in the habit of addressing to each other, whenever the tempests of persecution assailed them, and which he was not backward to repay with usury to his brethren. Let us hear how they write on these occasions.

"As for any consolation here," says John, bishop of Poitiers, to St. Thomas, "in vain you expect it. Therefore whatever you do, beloved father and lord, with a view to preserve the liberty of the Church, you have only to look for help from God, and from him to whom God has committed the defence of it. I indeed expect, not alone a similar, but a harder trial. I wish that I may be, and that I had already been, a partaker of your exile. Nor will it be inglorious to us, that we who have often abused worldly prosperity for purposes of vanity and secular delight, should now, if it be necessary, suffer together without fear, and bear adversity for a celestial retribution." †

Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, writes to him in these terms: "Your holiness, recognizing the duty of the episcopal office, would forfeit your power and your possessions, and offer your person to every injury, rather than neglect it. You keep in memory the evangelic text, taught by the chief Shepherd, and confirmed

* S. Anselm. Epist. cviii.

† S. Thom. Epist. xi.

by His example, that we should lay down our lives for our sheep, and for our brethren, not provide delectable matter of gain to their detriment. And indeed your burden would be lightened, if a common cause were defended by all in common: but all others prevaricating and turning back, you are left alone to stand for Israel, and to redeem a second time with blood, that liberty which Christ once purchased for us by His own blood. For though the cause has not yet come to the effusion of blood, yet the devotion which not only exposed but offered your person to threats and terrors, supplies the merit of a passion. God can witness, I sympathize with your adversity, and with true charity embrace your person and your cause."*

John of Salisbury, in a moment of discouragement, uses these words to him. "I do not say, that even in the Roman Church should be the foundation of our hope, but in Him alone on whom it is founded, and in whom every work that is rooted faithfully will bear fruit, and be consummated in glory. Let Him be in the foundation of our conscience; and, doubtless, man will not prevail, nor need we fear either the threats of tyrants, or the snares of those that are carnally wise, or the perfidy of traitors, or the pusillanimity of a judge, or the avarice and inconstancy of those who seek in all things what are theirs, and what are of the flesh, not what are of Jesus Christ."†

Again, in another letter he says to him, "Above all things have recourse to prayer and other exercises of the Christian warfare, and commend your combat amidst the intercession of the saints to God: and thus proceed to do that, whatever it may be, which the Holy Ghost by his organs, that is, wise and faithful men. and your cause, may require. I believe that you also have the Spirit of God, because he who gives zeal to one undeserving, must in the article of necessity minister counsel to one who well deserves. I do not advise you, therefore, as lord Theobold was accustomed to say, to conceal in darkness the counsel which the Lord inspires in your heart, and to prefer the opinions of others less vigilant in your cause."‡

In like manner, the holy archbishop writes to encourage and commend others, by inflaming them with words of love that burn with a divine intensity. Thus to Henry, the noble bishop of Winchester, he writes as follows: "In this manner should a priest of Christ consummate his life, honoring his ministry while living, and after his death leaving an example of probity to edify the Church, that others may imitate or improve upon his actions. Therefore, since the Holy Ghost amongst innumerable gifts has conferred upon you the talent of counsel and fortitude more than all your fellow-countrymen and contemporaries, we entreat your paternity to confirm our brethren, to animate and strengthen them by your exhortations and example; for a brother aided by a brother is like an impregnable city, and your works ought to be the armor of the strong; and what the others

* Ep. xxi. † Joan. Sar. Ep. xxxiii. ‡ Epist. xxxiii.

may do ought to be ascribed to you whom they behold laboring; and indeed, as we hear and hope, that some of them are already risen, and are disposed to stand with you against the members of Satan, is imputed by them to your merits."*

Again in another letter he says to him, "Your faith and constancy have shown forth; you have preferred the divine commands to the threats, as well as flatteries, of all the officers of the public power, and, with a word of truth and an example of fortitude, have taught that one should obey God rather than man."†

To the chapter of Canterbury his words in conclusion are these: "Let all of us have but one heart and one soul in the Lord, lest any one should seek what is his own, and not that which is Jesus Christ's, and that which conduces to the public utility, and to the liberty and dignity of the Church hereafter. Comfort ye, ye who are weak in mind, for the time is near when all will see the glory of God, and the confusion and ignominy of those who persecute his Church. Let no one trust in the furniture of earth, or in the familiarity of satellites, because sordid booty has never a good end, and there is no faith in infidels."‡

To Roger, bishop of Worcester, he says, "Let not your faith, dearest brother, vacillate in doing these things; for God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength; trust in Him who overcame the world; and remember that he who fears the hail will have the snow falling on him, and that he who declines iron arms will fall beneath the brazen bow. Fear argues a degenerate mind; and those who dare bravely, will grace assist and glory crown. Whatever others may do, we are convinced that no force of any tempest will break your constancy."§

"Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
Quam tua te fortuna sinat."

How his calm indulgence in the memory of gentle studies, in such times of peril, indicates the unshaken resolution of the man! John of Salisbury, in like manner, conveys the same encouragement to another of his fellow-soldiers, in the familiar language of the Æneid.‖

But let us hear how St. Thomas writes to the terrible monarch who was to place the everlasting crown upon his head. Well did I observe in the beginning, that this would prove a happy theme. Truly these letters alone are sufficient to justify my estimate. Does not the heart dilate beyond itself at the sound of such solemn, such impressive words, so brave, so calm, so powerful, to inspire an heroic joy, tempered with that still small voice of heaven's own blessed patience which makes it ineffable, like a foretaste of beatitude?

"The daughter of Sion is a captive in your land; the spouse of the great king is oppressed by many, afflicted by those who have long hated her, by whom she ought to be honored, not afflicted, as most of all by you. Call to your remem-

* Ep. S. Thom. clxxxviii. † Ep. clxxxix. ‡ Ep. cxcl. § Ep. cclxxiii. ‖ [redacted]

brance the benefits which God has conferred upon you in the beginning and middle of your reign, and even until now. Discharge that debt, and suffer her to reign with her spouse, that God may befriend you, that your kingdom may recover its health, that shame may be removed from your generation, and that there may be peace in our days. Believe me, beloved lord, most serene prince, the Lord is a patient rewarder, a long-suffering expectant, but a most grievous avenger. Hear me and do well; otherwise beware lest the most Mighty should gird His sword upon His thigh, and should come with a strong hand and an immense army to deliver his spouse, not without great slaughter, from the oppression and servitude of him who troubles her, and to take vengeance on her enemies."*

Writing to the pope, he says: "The apostolic authority and the liberty of the Church will wholly perish here, unless the germ of these evils be eradicated; for the king has heirs who will imitate his cruelty. As for me, I would resist, not only unto blood, but unto death itself, rather than leave the Church exposed to such evils."† To John, bishop of Poitiers, he says: "If he speaks great things, if he introduces marvels, we do not admire, nor will we succumb to admiration; for it is better to perish by another's wickedness than by our own fears; but hold it for certain, whatever perjury may swear, whatever the captious austerity of a torturer may threaten, that by the mercy of God, neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor any creature can separate us from the charity of God, which subjects us to tribulation."‡ Again, to Gilbert, bishop of London, he says: "A dreadful tempest assails the ship; I am at the helm, and you bid me sleep. You remind me of the past favors of the king; but what has a Christian, a learned and religious bishop, to say on this head? For, supposing that they were even much greater than you say, ought I for their sake, though they were to be multiplied a hundred-fold, to expose the liberty of the Church of God? In this I will spare neither you, nor any one, nor an angel, if he should descend from heaven; but my reply to such advice will only be, Vade retro, Sathana; non sapis quæ Dei sunt. Far be from me the weakness, God avert from me the insanity, of being persuaded by any artifice to make a trade of the body of Christ; that I may be assimilated to Judas who sold, and my lord the king to the Jews who bought Him."§ Then to the pope he writes in these terms, "I have no doubt but that this contention would have been long extinguished, if the king had not found patrons of his will, not to say of his perversity. May God return them whatever is expedient for His Church, and judge between us. Their patronage would not have been necessary to me if I had wished to expose the Church of God, and acquiesce in his will. I might have flourished and abounded in the riches and delights of the kingdom; I might have been feared, reverenced, and honored by all men; I might have provided all the pleasures and glory of the world for mine own. But, since God has called me, who am an unworthy and most wretched sinner,

* Epist. xcv. † Epist. lvi. ‡ Epist. xciv. § Epist. lxx.

though flourishing in the world above all contemporaries, to the government of His Church, with His grace preventing and co-operating, I have chosen to be abject in His house, and to finish exile and proscription and extreme misery only with my life, rather than make a sacrifice of ecclesiastical liberty, and prefer the iniquitous traditions of men to the law of God. Let them do this who promise to themselves length of days, and, from the consciousness of their merits, better times. But I know for certain, that my days are short, and if I do announce to the impious his iniquity, his blood will be required from my hands by Him to whom, unassisted by any patronage of man, I shall have to render an account of all that I have committed and omitted. There, gold and silver, and the gifts which blind the eyes, even of the wise, will be of no use. We shall soon stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, by whose majesty and tremendous judgment I call upon you, as a father and lord, and the highest judge on earth, to administer justice on those who seek my soul, and not to suffer His Church to be trampled down under the feet of the impious."* To Bernard he concludes a letter with these words: "If it be the will of God that we should die in banishment for the liberty of the Church, may the sacrifice be pleasing to Him; for we have determined to die, rather than for any price of the world to betray that sacred cause, and sell an impious king the inheritance of our fathers."†

Again, to the bishop of Worcester, he says: "Is it for us to be silent amidst such contumely of Christ? Let hirelings be silent, as they will be silent; but whoever is a shepherd of the Church, without doubt, will join us. If we were to dissemble farther, we should fear lest the avenging sword of God should fall upon our heads."‡ Then to the pope he says: "We are proscribed and miserable; for we have acted, not with a view to live more securely and more quietly, avoiding the importunity of such a persecutor, but that the Church of God may flourish in our times, and may breathe with more freedom in those of posterity. For happily are hard and grievous things endured for a time, in order that happier may succeed."§ "During the last five years the king has raged against the Church; and, what I fear to say, almost daily have I beheld Christ crucified in His members, and I have not drawn the sword of the Word of God. When I read of the zeal of Phinees, Heli, Mathathias; when I read of the apostolic fervor; when I read of the holy fathers who opposed themselves to princes and powers for the house of the Lord, I tremble for myself, and at the danger of my miserable soul, and I fear a just condemnation of my unjust patience."‖ "Are these things," he continues, "written to be the fables of a narrative, and not examples of manners and a form of life? These things, indeed, are on the tongue of every preacher; but, I blush and grieve to add, the lives of some demonstrate that they are not in their hearts."¶ Then to Cardinal Albert, after a terrible reproof

* Epist. cxxxiv. † Epist. cxlviii ‡ Epist. clxxx.
§ Epist ccli. ‖ Epist. ccxiv ¶ Epist.

of venal ministers in the Roman court, and a complaint of his own efforts being counteracted by them, he says: "God sees and judges; but for the liberty of the Church, we are prepared to die. Let whatever cardinals will rise up; let them arm, not only the king of England, but, if they can, the whole world for our destruction, I, with God's help, will not depart from my fidelity to the Church either in life or death. To God, in fine, I commit His own cause, for which I am a proscribed exile. He will take charge of it as He knows best. Henceforth it is not my intention to trouble your court. Let them repair to it who prevail by iniquity, and who return boasting of the confusion of the Church. I wish that the road to it had not proved fatal to the innocent. Who in future will dare to resist the king when the Roman Church seems to animate and arm him to leave a pernicious example to posterity?"*

"Behold how they who seek to abolish the authority of the pope in England are punished by the Roman Church! Behold the reward of those who are faithful! these things are seen by God, that terrible majesty which will judge the ends of the earth, and take away the spirit from princes. We, by His grace, whether living or dead, are and will be forever His, prepared to sustain, for the liberty of the Church, banishment, proscriptions, and all the sufferings of the world; I only wish that we may be found worthy of suffering persecution for the sake of justice."† Finally, in his last letter from the continent to the pope, he concludes with these words: "We seek not, as God knows, in any thing our own glory; we, who wish that we had never received the pastoral office, pregnant as it is doubtless with many dangers, and with eternal death; but we wish that in our and your days, the occasion of schism may be cut off, and perpetual peace by your means restored to the English Church. These things we say to you in the presence of Him who will judge us both, and to whom we must render our accounts. May He inspire and teach you what you ought to do. You have heard of our combat; but, as the proverb says, He alone who is near the fire feels the heat. We believe that we are about to proceed to England; whether to peace or to pain we know not; but the lot which is to befal us has been divinely ordained, therefore we commend our soul to your paternity, returning thanks to you and the Apostolic See, for all the consolations which it has ministered to us and ours in such a necessity."‡

"The archbishop," says William of Canterbury, "walking on the sea-shore with his company, to judge if the weather were likely to permit his voyage, Milo, the dean of Boulogne, came hastening with letters from Matthew, count of Boulogne, to this effect: 'Provide for your safety! They who seek your life are ready waiting for you on the English coast, that they may assassinate you as you disembark, or else put you in irons and convey you to prison.' The archbishop replied: 'Believe me my son, not if I were sure to be torn limb from limb would I desist from this journey: neither fear nor violence nor torture shall move me more.

* Epist. cclvii. † Epist. cclix. ‡ Epist. ccxcvii.

It is sufficient that the shepherd has been seven years absent from the Lord's flock. My last petition, for when men can do nothing else any longer, they ought to express their last will, is that, to the Church, from which I have been banished while living, they may permit me to be borne dead.'* O blessed! who, for death preparing, went on thus with constancy, invincible to the end.

We ought not to pass from this theme without remarking the heroic courage displayed by other generous spirits in the same great struggle. In the letters of St. Thomas we find mention repeatedly of religious men in England who were not to be moved by the fear of the king's officers, nor by the public commands of the government.† Henry, bishop of Winchester, publicly and solemnly protested that he would obey the Holy See with all devotion, as long as he lived; and he required his clergy to make the same declaration. The bishop of Exeter imitated him, and retired into a monastery until iniquity should pass. The bishop of Norwich, though prohibited by the king, yet, in presence of his officers, excommunicated Count Hugo and others, as he was commanded; and then descending from the pulpit, placed his crosier upon the altar, saying that he would see who would put forth a hand against his Church, and then entering the cloister, lived with the brethren. The bishop of Chester acted similarly, and, in order to escape the king's officers, withdrew into that part of his diocese within Wales."‡

In adopting this course, these prelates only followed an ancient custom observed on similar occasions. Thus, in the sixth century, at a council of Lyons, eleven bishops braving the menaces of King Sigismond, passed a resolution to stand by each other, if any one of them should be attacked by the temporal power, and in that event to retire into different monasteries, until peace should be restored to the Church.

But we must not omit to cite some expressions of John of Salisbury, testifying the devoted intrepidity of that generous friend of the holy martyr, in the same sacred cause. To the bishop of Exeter he writes in these terms: "If it be a question of making my peace with the king in your presence, I beseech you to take care that the form agreed upon be such as not to involve me in the least stain of perfidy or baseness, for otherwise I would rather remain forever in banishment. If it be required from me to deny my archbishop, which no one as yet has done, far be it from me to be either the first or last to acquiesce in such turpitude. I have been faithful to my Lord archbishop, but only conscientiously so, and with a saving of the king's honor, against whom, if any one should say that I was guilty, if I cannot produce a good excuse to his honor, I am prepared to amend as far as is consistent with justice. For the Searcher of hearts, and the Judge of words and works knows that oftener and more severely than anyone else, I admonished the archbishop not to provoke him unadvisedly; since many things were to be dispensed with in consideration of place and times and persons."§

* In Vit. S. Thom. Lib. iii. c. 3. † Epist. cxc. ‡ Epist. ccxl § Joan. Sar. Epist. xxiv

Again, to Raimund of Poitiers he says, "If my peace is to be made with the king, it must be in such a form as not to offend God or tarnish my name; and if it can be so made, I will thank God, and you, and every one who contributes to it; but if oaths be required, my lord bishop knows with what subtle reverence, I am bound in such matters. I can never swear in that prescription of words, or rather proscription of salvation, which, as I hear, is required and admitted by others, in which there is no mention made of saving God, or the law, or our order; and who but an alien from faith and a despiser of all oaths, would take an oath to observe reprobate customs and laws, unknown or repugnant to the law of God?"* Again, to Roger, bishop of Worcester, he says: "I do not fear that I have been speaking to the wind, or that it is dangerous for me to have spoken truth to the ears of such sanctity; yet I do not dread the snares of those who oppose truth; but I wish that I had devoted my whole life to truth, and that I may spend the rest of my life in asserting it."† Finally, to another correspondent, he writes thus: Charity at least cannot be prohibited; for where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty. Is it not lawful to hold and defend the ecclesiastical liberty? Certainly it is lawful to proclaim the commands of the divine law: it is lawful, for the Word of God, which assumed flesh and suffered death for us, to expose not only our possessions and the perishable goods of this world, but also our lives. May the Inspirer of all good spirits vouchsafe us perseverance in this affection, since He has given us the will of this affection. My lord of Canterbury will consent to no conditions unless the Church of the English shall enjoy its due liberty; and when I say its due liberty, I do not say that this is to be determined by reference to the times of any Henry, but to the legitimate sanctions of the Word of God; because, by profession, he ought not to be a Henrician, but a Christian: quia ex professione Henricianus esse non debet, sed Christianus."‡

We have seen the courage of these great and holy men; let us observe how faithfully they adhered also to the meekness and humility which became their state, meriting that praise which has been inscribed upon the medal in commemoration of De Quelen, the late archbishop of Paris: "Et de forti egressa est dulcedo."

A modern writer says, that in one sense or other there is something of the savage in every great man. He can have only studied pagan and modern times. The preceding books will have amply disproved his assertion, as far as the Ages of Faith are concerned: here our observations are to be confined to those who evinced heroism in defending the Church; and it will not require much delay to demonstrate, not that there was nothing of the savage in their character, for it is not so much this charge which is brought against them, but that nothing entered into it which was opposed to the humility, and gentleness, and pacific desires of the ascetically Christian mind.

* Epist. xxxii. † Epist. lv. ‡ Epist. lxiv.

"Sacerdotes," said St. Ambrose, "turbarum moderatores sunt, studiosi pacis, nisi cum et ipsi moventur injuria Dei aut ecclesiæ contumelia."* Such is the character that the clergy merited during the middle ages; a testimony which cannot be denied to them without flagrant injustice: nor does the epoch of St. Thomas of Canterbury form an exception, as some writers pretend; for, without extending our researches beyond it, we can easily adduce evidence in proof of the fact. The truth is, that so accustomed were the clergy to revere the authorities of the state, and to breathe only peace towards all men, that whenever occasions required them to resist the king, and to denounce the injustice of his government, they were alarmed at the heroic virtue of their own members in fulfilling their strict obligations. Hence all those letters of advice, addressed to St. Thomas by persons who beheld his intrepidity with admiration, but at the same time, with fear. Thus one of his correspondents writes, "Whatever the perversity of the malignant may design against your innocence, I advise and beseech you to acquire and preserve the king's favor, as far as you can, consistently with fidelity to God; for this is expedient to the Church. Nor do I see how you can govern with utility, so long as the king is adverse to you in all things; as the Roman Church will only give you words, and all losses will be imputed to you."†

"We cannot indeed behold, with dry eyes," says John, bishop of Poitiers, "the vineyard of the Lord demolished; though we do not persevere in opposition as we ought, though we dissemble many things in consideration of the dangers of the time."‡ "I think no one wise," says John of Salisbury, "who dissuades us from peace, if it can be had in the Lord, and without derogation of honesty. Let there be only peace in our days, I say devoutly, if it can be with a safe conscience and unspotted fame, and not merely pretended and momentary. But this depends on God, and its attainment is beyond our power."§ "We exhort your fraternity in the Lord," says another correspondent, "with all earnestness, to persevere as you have begun. May you be strong and patient, sitis fortis et patiens; for the more patience you evince towards him, the more heavy will be the hand of the Church against him if he should not correct himself."‖ Nor was the conduct of the archbishop contrary to patience and the love of peace. Indeed, his compliance at first with the king's demand, and the tears he shed when reproached for it by his cross bearer, prove how willing he was to avoid a struggle. He who wept at the voice of such an humble monitor as his cross-bearer, could hardly have been proud. Necessarily indeed, his elevation of mind appeared pride to those who knew not God, "the loftiness of the humble and the fortitude of the right, Celsitudo humilium, et fortitudo rectorum," as the Church says on Holy Saturday.

Describing his own conduct, St. Thomas says, "We heard all things patiently,

* Epist. xxix. † S. Thom. Epist. v. ‡ Epist. viii.
§ Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxii. ‖ Epist. S. Thom. ccxx.

hoping that the king's indignation would be mitigated if he were to pour forth without being contradicted, all the acerbity which he had conceived in his mind."* Let no one belie the truth, saying that I was adverse to concord, provided it was in the Lord, and without injury to the Church. For I am not so insane as to sacrifice, with such readiness, the things which are most grateful to other men, and to despise what is greatest in temporal matters, if I could preserve them without making shipwreck of things eternal. Let no one defend his own error in the appetite for vain rest or for worldly goods, by accusing me of being contemptuous; for God, who cannot be mocked, before whose tribunal we shall stand, will soon reveal with what mind each man has lived; I have, for the inspector of my conscience, and my witness, Him whom I look for as my judge."† When the king made his second demand for three hundred pounds, which St. Thomas had received while he was warden of Berkhamstead, the archbishop replied, that more than that sum had been expended in their repairs; "but," he added, "he would pay it; for mere money should be no ground of quarrel between him and his sovereign: but when the king requires such new and undue customs, let no one persuade you that I form an impediment to peace; for it is he opposes it, who subverts the love of God and disturbs the whole Church. Whatever I can do, saving my order, and without giving a pernicious example, I will willingly do to restore peace and recover his favor; but far be it from me to do any thing knowingly against God for the tranquillity of a moment, and for goods not so much perishable as the cause of men perishing."‡ To the king himself he says, "The Searcher of hearts, the Judge of souls, and the Avenger of faults, knows with what purity of mind, and sincerity of love, we made peace with you, believing that you acted towards us with good faith. But, whether we live or die, we are, and ever will be, yours in the Lord; and whatever may befall us, may God be gracious to you and to your children."§ In fine, John of Salisbury bears this testimony to the archbishop; "He was desirous of peace, but still more desirous of ecclesiastical liberty. He desired the salvation and the glory of the king, and the indemnity of his children."‖ Methinks we have already seen sufficient proof that he did not stand in need of the counsels of men of these latter days, to learn by what means, and with what spirit he should pursue this great contest. Yet hear him farther: "We return thanks to your worthiness," he says to the pope, "that you have been so solicitous respecting our peace. The king of France himself proclaimed our innocence, and removed the suspicions excited against us; for we are not so dull and slow of heart to believing the law, and the prophets, and the Gospels, as, in such a necessity, to leave spiritual weapons, and the muniments of apostolic discipline, to trust in carnal arms; for we know that there is no trusting princes, and that he is cursed who makes flesh his arm."¶ With respect to

* Epist. clxxx. † Epist. ccxiii. ‡ S. Thom. Epist. ccxv.
§ Epist. cccix. ‖ Joan. Sar. Epist. lxxxi. ¶ Epist. cxiv.

the spirit of his opposition, assuredly those who recognized him as their champion, were not men who would have done so, if he had evinced the disposition of which the moderns accuse him. "I see," says Peter of Blois, writing to John of Salisbury, "that you are placed between the anvil and the hammer; but if truth doth not lie, the end of your persecution will be interminable beatitude. It is a great gift to suffer for Christ. To you it is given, not alone that you should believe in Him, but also that you should suffer for Him. I congratulate you, therefore, if you do this from the motion of reason and justice, not with the thought of revenge, or the desire of injuring another; you must do nothing from rancor or hatred, but every thing in charity; for you will not gain this sheaf of salvation from your persecutions, unless your whole intention proceed from the most inward charity. The mind of him who prepares himself to endure persecution must first be softened with the oil of charity, that in sufferings he may never fall from it, nor turn against his brethren with an unholy flame."* Thus did these priests admonish each other; so that when John of Salisbury, who received these admonitions, which to our ears might sound like an intimation of his requiring them, proceeds to administer them in his turn to St. Thomas, we must not suppose that they were more applicable to the latter than to himself.

It is true, on one occasion he reproves the severity of the archbishop's language. "Having read your letters to William of Pavia, though I do not dare to judge the mind of the writer, I cannot approve of the style, for they do not seem to me to sound humility, or to proceed from the mind of a man who hears the Apostle saying to the disciples of Christ, Modestia vestra nota sit omnibus; for you seem to write through bitterness, rather than through charity."† But this criticism only proves the tender solicitude of a friend, and the extreme caution of holy men, in the ages of faith, to avoid the least appearance of evil. If St. Thomas be guilty of pride and a desire of usurpation, can St. Ambrose be excused, who assuredly, under his circumstances, would have acted with even more promptitude, and would not have shrunk from uttering a single word that ever escaped the lips or pen of his glorious fellow-combatant? No; let us continue to hear the counsels of his contemporaries without betraying such folly as to imagine, for an instant, that we shall be able, by means of them, to bring down this colossal hero to the level of our own stature, and inflict a wound on his blessed memory.

"Perhaps," says John of Salisbury to him, "God, for your greater perfection, wishes you to live in the midst of those who seek your life to destroy it. Ought you not, then, to acquiesce in such a condition? But some one will say that it is presumptuous to expose yourself to hostile swords, and that it will be more cautious to wait until you have done penance for your sins, for that your conscience is not yet fit for martyrdom. To whom I answer: No one is not fit, excepting the man who does not wish to suffer for faith, and for the works of faith; it

* Epist. Pet. Bles. xxii. † Joan. Sar. Epist. lix.

matters not whether he be a boy or an adult, a Jew or a Gentile, a Christian or an infidel; for, whoever suffers for justice is a martyr; that is, a witness for justice, an assertor of the cause of Christ. But why do I say this? Because I know, what my mind presages, that the king is not yet recovered, so that you can be secure; and, because the archbishop of Rouen thinks fit to say, that whatever you do is through arrogance and anger, you must meet his opinion by showing moderation in deeds as well as in words, in gesture as well as in habit, which indeed is of little avail with God, unless it proceeds from the secrets of the conscience."*

Again, writing to his brother Richard, he says, "In this conflict of power and of law, the archbishop ought to proceed with such moderation, following law, being led by grace, and assisted by reason, as neither to seem to be guilty of temerity against the power which God has ordained, nor to consent to iniquity through fear of power, or through love of evanescent goods, to the depression of the Church, so as to be counted a deserter of his office to the ruin of present and future generations, a prevaricator of his profession, and an impugner of justice."† In fine, when desiring the archbishop to send some one of his clerks to the bishop of Chalons, he gives an injunction to conduct himself with great modesty, adding, "because the men of this nation are modest."‡ Moreover, the archbishop repeatedly declared that advice of this kind was only conformable to his own intentions. "Your legates," he says to Pope Alexander, "require us to envince humility and moderation as the only qualities by which we can appease such a prince; and we reply to them, that most willingly and devoutly we shall show to him, as to our lord and king, all humility, and service, and devotion, saving the honor of God and of the Apostolic See, and the liberty of the Church, and the honor of our own person, and the possessions of the Church. And if it should seem to them that any thing is to be added to these or to be taken from them, or changed, we will answer as they may advise us."§

In his letter to the cardinals Albert and Theotimus, he says, "To speak, as before God, whom we expect as our Judge, and invoke that He may judge our cause, although we have greatly loved our king and waited on his nod, with all our strength, before the priesthood was imposed on us, yet without consciousness of crime, being unwilling to consent to him in things injurious to God and to the Church, we have opposed him for God; choosing rather by offending to recall him to pardon, than by flattering to precipitate him into hell. The cause is not against us, but between him and God; for we have sought nothing else from him but what God has left to his Church by an eternal testament."‖ In such language it would be hard to detect arrogance or disloyalty; and indeed his contemporaries bear express witness to the "great humility, meekness of spirit, and serenity of

* Joan. Sar. Epist. xxxiii. † Epist. xxxvi. ‡ Epist. xxi.
§ St. Thom. Epist. cxiv. ‖ Epist. clxxi.

countenance," with which the archbishop replied to those who spoke for the king at Gisors, when their express object was to provoke him to indignation, and induce him to answer less wisely, and with less humility.*

CHAPTER X.

ULTÆ tribulationes justorum, et de his omnibus liberavit eos Dominus." Such are the words with which the Church introduces the memory of some of her blessed martyrs, which we shall see verified still more abundantly as we proceed to speak of the sufferings endured for the sake of justice by those who had commission to turn and to watch these wheels, on the movement of which depended the free action of religion and the liberty of the Church.

In many respects, the difference in the lot of men on earth was no mystery to the observers of the middle ages, who, not alone as monks and philosophers, but as mere thoughtful pilgrims, were accustomed often silently to account for it to themselves, as they contrasted the magnificence and repose of the rich and powerful man in his princely abode, which arrested their attention, as they walked or rode along, with the humiliations and distress of some wise and virtuous victim of oppression, who they remembered was in the meanwhile bearing his heavy cross, far removed perhaps and concealed from every human eye but that of the agent of the persecutor. Not unfrequently, while the seigneur was enjoying the pleasures and the pride of life within his ancestral towers, the bishop or abbot, perhaps as noble and nobler than himself, since the crozier was often swayed by men of royal blood, was pining in some obscure dungeon, or exposed to the harassing annoyances of a thousand ignoble persecutors in distant cities, who were incensed against him on account of his daring to stand up in defence of the liberty of the Church, which, we must remember, comprised the material and spiritual interests of the people, as in detail it entered into innumerable questions of a most humble seeming, which agitated each parish, as well as the most solemn councils of the state.

Let us suppose travellers in the middle ages, like Sir Espaing de Lyon and

* Joan. Sar. Epist. lxvii.

Froissart, riding on their way, and discoursing concerning the different objects which struck their attention as they pas-ed from the lands of one count to those of another, traversing rivers, woods, and mountains; mundane perhaps in their mind too often, still at times pensive, even devout, as when the sight of a cross, like that on the spot where the two squires fell, moved those riders to say for the souls of the dead a Pater-noster, an Ave-maria, and De profundis, with a Fidelium. How many castles, how many monasteries, how many noble churches, met their view! Lo, near them, one pile more prominent than the rest, rising in stern majesty over the woods: there dwells at ease some puissant seigneur. Could you mount those battlements, your eyes would survey a glorious prospect; you would discern over the forest a noble river that bounds on one side his ancestral domains; beyond which rises the blue chain of mountains, which form the horizon toward the west. Could you view the halls and galleries within, you might think that here was luxury itself enthroned. What can be wanting to the transport of his days? what difficulties has he but those which he seeks for himself? what cause concerns him but some interest of temporal and material vanity? Now let them bend their eyes in another direction, and they will see some lofty spire, or some vast irregular pile of high steep roofs, announcing the sanctuary where the bishop or abbot is or ought to be residing. But if they ask concerning him, mournful looks or piteous ejaculations will lead them soon to collect that he is in exile or in prison. Yet piety had prepared for him too an august and admirable habitation. He also might have had delights and honors, continuing to enjoy "the friendship of his king" and of his powerful neighbors; but a proud choleric prince, or some petty tyrant on the mountain near, was to be opposed; for some poor man had been wronged; brute force was used to suppress some right of nature, or violate some sanction of the holy Church; perhaps some young innocent prince was cast into prison by a suspicious father, and the bishop was known to be attached to him; as when the bishop of Lescar incurred the wrath of the count of Foix, for the sake of his son Gaston, when he had thrown him into the tower of Orthez. Hence, would the travellers exclaim; hence the contrast of their condition! No rest or sweets any longer for the man of God; no more for his eyes the beautiful horizon from embattled heights, but perhaps the obscurity of the hideous dungeon pit, which lies below the rock within them; to whose cavity profound a faint beam can scarcely, when the sun is highest, make its way.

It is not necessary to calumniate or exaggerate in order to bring down the rich and powerful of the earth often to the true level to which the calm voice of history and of personal observation consigns them. "Quot et quanti magnates indigeant," says Pope Innocent III., and who may not confirm the testimony from his own experience? "ipsemet frequenter experio."* Germanicus, as Tacitus says, heard

*Inn. III. de Cont Mundi, iii. 8.

the harmonious tones from the statue of Memnon; but every one is not a Germanicus at sun-rise to hear them, and least of all the rich man and the great, who can behold that spectacle without its firing all his faculties with glorious joy. Come evening once again—season of peace! Nor does that soothing lustre of expiring day, nor yet "the radiant planet that to love invites," making all the western serene to laugh, recall his thoughts to charity. As they walk upon those battlements and watch, as I have watched, the sun in splendor indescribable sink upon that river, now a stream of rosy light, empurpling woods and mountains on its shore, and blending them with that western paradise of clouds, little reck they for the bishop or the monk, who in his dark prison is expiating his devotion to the cause of God, of the holy Church, of the wise and free, of the helpless and the poor. Alas! what feels his heart the while! Yet does he not refuse thus, for Christ's sake, through every vein to tremble. Sometimes he suffered merely for defending the patrimony of the poor against the unjust and violent neighbors, whose persecutions may be conceived from the number of laws of emperors "de rebus Ecclesiarum injuste invasis." This was a sacred duty. By the canons of the counsel of Arles in 540, it was decreed, that if a clerk should deteriorate any of the goods which the bishop had intrusted him, he should, if young, be corrected by the discipline of the Church, and if old, be regarded as an assassin of the poor.

St. Theodard, bishop of Maestricht, having undertaken a journey in 669 to the court of Childeric II. in Austrasia, in order to obtain from him restitution of the goods of his Church, which had been usurped by some lords, the usurpers assassinated him on his road in the forest of Benalt, near Spires. Descendants of men, who, like St. Blaithmaic, son of a king, and abbot of Iona in the eighth century, chose to be massacred by the Danes rather than give up the treasures of the Church, these holy pontiffs and abbots considered death in such a cause as true martyrdom. Oftener, however, it was for defending interests of a kind more immediately spiritual that they suffered persecution. It was for such that Ives de Chartres lay in prison; it was for such that Hildebert, bishop of Tours, suffered persecution; who was not singular in his distresses, though, from the poetical description he has left of them, I am tempted to distinguish him as an example. This great man, whose promotions are remarked by Bulæus as an evidence of the genius of the middle ages to love learning, suffered many things, he says, for the name of Christ and liberty of the Church, from Rotrocus, count of Mans, by whom he was spoiled of all his goods and cast into prison, where, besides many prose works, he composed elegies and verses to record his own persecution, such as these:—

"Nuper eram locuples multisque beatus amicis,
Et risere diu prospera fata mihi.
Sæpe mihi dixi, Quæ sunt tam prospera rerum?
Quid sibi vult tantus, tam citus agger opum?
Hei! mihi nulla fides, nulla est constantia rebus!
Res ipsæ quid sint, mobilitate docent.

Res hominum atque homines levis aura
  Et venit a summo summa ruina gradu.
Quidquid habes hodie, cras te fortasse relinquit,
  Aut modo dum loqueris desinit esse tuum.
  . . . . . .
Ille pudor patriæ me non impune tuentem
  Justitiæ leges expulit a patria.
Inde ratem scando, vitam committo procellis;
  Vela tument, gemina cymba juvatur ope.
In fragilem pinum totus prope cogerit iras
  Mundus, et est hostis quidquid obesse potest.
Ecce rapax turbo, tollens ad sidera fluctus,
  Impulit ad littus jam sine puppe ratem.
Sic miser et felix, quassa rate, rebus ademptis,
  Evasi ventos, æquora, saxa, Jovem.
Ecce quid est hominis! quid jure vocare paternum,
  Quid miser ille sibi plaudere dote potest?
Hoc est hic hominis semper cum tempore labi
  Et semper quadam conditione mori.
Nemo potest rebus jus assignare manendi,
  Quæ nutus hominis non didicere sequi.
Jus illis Deus adscripsit, statuitque teneri
  Legibus, et nutu stare vel ire suo.
Ipse manens dum cuncta movet, mortalibus ægris
  Consulit, et quo sit spes statuenda, docet.
Ille potens mutis, tenor et concordia rerum,
  Quidquid vult in me degerat; ejus ero."*

The tombs of the middle ages too might alone furnish evidence to prove the extent of this persecution. Celebrated is that of the Pope St. Gregory VII. at Salerno. The epitaph on St. Gebehard, archbishop of Salzburg, resembles it; for on this we read,—

"Propter justitiam, toleravit et ipse rapinam
  Regis ab hoc odium, fugit in exilium;
Malens ille miser, quam schismatis esse minister.
Hic pro lege Dei nescivit cedere regi,
  Vel cuiquam forti, vel quoque dedecori."

Scarcely in effect a day passed on which the Catholic Church did not gain some new confessor within this order of sufferings for justice. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the contest between the Church and the empire was carried on, as we already observed, every where between each bishop and each seigneur. Of all to speak were vain attempt, for my wide theme so urges that my words fall short of what bechanced: but we may admire the uniformity of circumstances attending each instance. The history of the persecutions suffered by Bandared, bishop of Soissons, in the time of Clothair, when "he was chased from his see

* Bulæus, Hist. Universit. Paris. tom. ii.

without a Synod, without judgment of the bishops, by the tyranny of laics," might seem written to record the events at Cologne and Posen in these latter days; so similar were the magnanimity of the suffering prelate and the grief and resentment of the people irritated by the king's injustice.* In the lists of these holy sufferers of course the Roman pontiffs take the lead. Tried by the standard of St. Paul, they proved themselves pre-eminent as ministers of Christ in every age. Thus the Emperor Constans, at the time of the Monothelites, choosing to impose silence on what he termed the two parties, the Pope St. Martin, for having condemned that heresy, was made prisoner, dragged as a culprit to Constantinople, and thence, after innumerable cruelties, banished to the Tauric Chersonesus, where death put an end to his sufferings. It would be long to cite instances.

"All have risen and conspired against us," said St. Gregory VII. in his last appeal to Christendom, "only because we would no longer be silent amidst the dangers of the times; only because we could no longer endure the attempts to reduce the Church to servitude." On the 25th of May, in the year 1085, this holy pope, whose whole pontificate had been a trial of sufferings, mental and bodily, from the rage of his enemies, closed at Salerno his earthly career; just rallying strength, amid the exhaustion of his powers, to utter with his departing breath the words, "I have loved justice, and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile."†

Who could describe the sufferings of other supreme pontiffs in the same cause? Urban II. at one time was so deprived of all resources that he was obliged to subsist on the alms of the faithful. In all these trials the whole body of the Church participated. During the contest between St. Gregory VII. and the empire, many fled into cloisters; and the abbeys were filled with prelates, noblemen, and warriors. According to the expression of a contemporary, the cardinal Deusdedit, Henry, and his instrument Guibert, renewed the persecution of Nero. All who would not embrace their party were maltreated or plundered. From the bishoprics, churches, and abbeys the Catholic priests were expelled, being replaced by vicious and ignorant clerks. Within two years no less than ninety thousand men were reduced to the greatest extremities, or put to death by Henry and his coadjutors."‡ At one time nearly all the Catholic bishops of Germany were obliged to seek safety in flight.

Among the prelates of the western Church none, however, were more tried by persecution than those who ruled the see of Canterbury. Lanfranc, who, as primate, was doomed to behold without being able to prevent the frightful tyranny of William the Conqueror and of his barons, the misery of the people and the oppression of the Church, prayed for death, and implored the pope, but in vain, to relieve him from the burthen of the episcopacy."§ St. Thomas says that the authority of the Apostolic See would have perished in England long before his time if the

* Acta. Sanct Bolland. i. August.

† Paul Benried, c. 4.

‡ Döllinger, iii. 312 Dr. Cox's Tr.

§ Id. iii. 312.

church of Canterbury had not opposed herself to princes. "Rarely," he adds, "has any one governed that church without suffering for justice either the sword, or the grief of exile, or the injury of proscription."* "To pass in silence," he says, "over our other illustrious predecessors, whose learning and example edified the Church, the late archbishop Theobald was twice banished from his see and country for his faith and obedience; King Stephen persecuting him, because he went, contrary to his royal command, to the council of Rheims, at the call of Pope Eugene, while the other bishops disobeyed him, and remained at home, in compliance with the king's orders. Thus it has ever been; while the archbishops of Canterbury have sometimes shed their blood for the law of God, and at others offered it to their persecutors. So great were the difficulties and perils to which our immediate predecessor exposed himself, in resisting these customs now imposed on us, and attending the council in spite of the king's prohibition, that the pope returned him thanks in full council, because, to use his words, 'Natando potius quam navigando ad concilium venerat."†

"What is never or rarely recorded of another see," observes Baldwin, bishop of Noyon, "Canterbury has always had its bishops and confessors either crowned by martyrdom for the faith of Christ, or exiled and proscribed for justice and the liberty of the Church. So that he who now rules it does but fill the measure of his fathers, being now, for the honor of God, in the fifth year of his banishment, suffering not like them only in his own person, but in his whole house, with all his relations and friends; an addition of cruelty unprecedented in history or in the memory of the living."‡ The records of this Church indeed were not wanting in tragic episodes: let us observe briefly some of the details. William Rufus had usurped the ecclesiastical revenues and forbad an election of bishops to vacant sees; so that after Lanfranc's death Canterbury was left five years without a pastor, while the monks were unceasingly harassed by the royal officers. Falling sick at Gloucester, in a fit of remorse and terror, he named St. Anselm to the vacant see, who only consented to acquiesce on the condition of the king's restoring what he had seized from the Church, and recognizing Urban II. as the legitimate pope. But the king soon resumed his former habits, and then began the persecutions of Anselm; for the holy archbishop refused to give up the property of the poor, and required the king to permit abbots to be elected, that vacancies might cease, and bishops to hold councils to reform abuses.

The king endeavored to depose him, and to prevent other bishops devoted to the court from obeying him. The nobles were firmer than the bishops, and refused to withdraw their obedience from the primate. Then the king sent ambassadors to Rome, with promises of an annual pension if the pope would depose Anselm; but the legate, who came into England, declared it impossible, and transmitted him the pallium. Finding the king still bent on oppressing the church of Canterbury, St. An-

* St. Thom. Epist. clxv. † Epist. lxxxiv. ‡ Epist. cxiv.

selm, despairing of his own power to prevent abuses, after in vain seeking permission to leave England, fled in disguise of a pilgrim to France, and thence to Rome, where he begged the pope to accept his resignation of the see; but the pope ordered him to retain it, saying, "A courageous man ought not to abandon his post." Afterwards, at the council of Bari, finding the pope about to pronounce sentence of excommunication against the king, he threw himself at his feet, and conjured him to suspend it. He found, however, that he could not recover his see as long as the king lived; of whose terrible death he was informed when in the abbey of La Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne. On the accession of Henry I. he returned to England; but the new king required from him the investiture of his dignity, which the saint could not grant; the late council having expressly forbidden it. While the king saw his crown in danger from his brother Robert, he was liberal in promises to St. Anselm, who in fact, by his influence, confirmed it on his head; but when the storm was past, he resumed his schemes of enslaving the English Church, by arrogating the right of investiture to benefices. St. Anselm went again to Rome with the royal consent; and the Pope Paschal I. having given sentence against the king, St. Anselm on his return, having reached Lyons, received orders from the king not to enter England. He retired to the monastery of Bec, where the difference being at length arranged, he was permitted to return to England in 1106; but it was only to prepare himself for death, where, after a sickness of three years, he terminated his glorious career. Such is the outline of the history. Passing now over the second Henry, King Henry III. having exhausted his finances, began to seize the ecclesiastical revenues of bishoprics, abbeys, and other benefices which were at his nomination, and which he neglected to fill up for that purpose; or when he named any one, his choice was sure to fall on some creature of his own utterly unworthy. St. Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, not being able to execute a bull of Gregory IX., authorizing him to name after a vacancy of six months, escaped from England, and took refuge first at the court of St. Louis, and then in the abbey of Pontigni. After some time he died in exile, and was buried in the monastery in which he had found an asylum.

Other churches, however, found themselves deprived of their pastors by similar persecutions. After the death of Ralph Nevis, bishop of Chichester, in 1244, king Henry III. recommending to that see an unworthy court favorite, whom the ecclesiastical authorities had rejected as unqualified, and Richard de Wiche being preferred to that dignity, who was consecrated the year following, the king seized his temporalities, and caused him to endure during two years many hardships and persecutions. This holy man had accompanied St. Edmund into France, when that primate was exiled, and had remained with him till his death.

But to return to St. Thomas. His property was confiscated: his relations and friends, after being stripped of every thing, were banished to the number of more than four hundred persons, who were made to swear that they would, one by one, visit the archbishop in his retreat to grieve his heart by the spectacle of their

The whole orders of Cistercians and Gilbertines were threatened with persecution for receiving him a suppliant to hospitality. This tyrant evinced the rage of Neptune, who was indignant against the Phæacians for furnishing their guests with means to pursue their journey. "For being mindful," he says, "of our office and the judgment of God, and for daring to speak for justice, we are given to be an opprobrium to many, exposed for Christ to all kinds of danger like a mark for arrows, then driven into banishment with all belonging to us, clerks and laics, women and children, young and old; so that neither reverence of order, nor condition of sex, nor the pitiful stage of age, could appease anger or fury. Many of them are now dead in exile, who, since they suffered innocently for justice, we trust are flown away to rest, and have already with the elect received the reward of their labors. But most of them are still waiting for the mercy of God, in hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness. Others are held in chains; amongst whom is our religious chaplain who, for conscience sake, and with the king's consent, remained in England; but, after what they call the appeal, by his commands he is afflicted in prison. All these we have sustained, trying whether by the patience of meekness we might not mitigate his severity. But the more we suffer, the more his cruelty increases; so that he now publicly confesses that he can be appeased by nothing, unless the Church be exposed to his pleasure, and with the pope's consent all his perversities be received by all. Therefore, because we do not acquiesce, but say that we must obey God rather than man, he seeks our life, that with it he may take away the liberty of the Church and overthrow in his kingdom the privileges of the Apostolic See. For our sake he has even announced enmity against the whole Cistercian order, and declared that he will exterminate their houses from his territories unless they eject me—a man banished and proscribed for God and for the liberty of the Church—from Pontigni, whither I came invited by the abbot and brethren."*

Describing the miserable state of destitution to which his fellow-exiles were reduced, he says to the pope, "Our persecutors provide sedulously that we should be vexed with expenses and journeys, and so afflicted with wants, that we may become burdensome and odious to the king of the French, who gives us alms among the other poor of Christ."† "Let the ancient histories," he says, "be examined; let the deeds of former tyrants be recounted, let the annals of the primitive Church be referred to, you will not easily find an instance among all persecutors, of any one persecuting one man in such a manner, as to extend his rage on account of him against a whole multitude of innocent persons."‡

"Now truly," says John of Salisbury, "there is need of courage; for on all sides we hear of terrors; and for the same cause men are suffering losses, insults, blows; they are proscribed, incarcerated, banished; and nearly from the whole Latin world, whence they migrate to the Lord, they seek the reward of their passion,

* St. Thom. Epist. lxxiii. † Ep. cxiv. ‡ Ep. clxxxii.

to the advantage of the Church. These are the reports now with us, where he alone is safe whom fury agitates, or whom the Holy Ghost makes a despiser of all temporal things; but whether the world wills it or not, let him be Anathema who loveth not the Lord Jesus, who is blessed above all for ever."*

Among those who suffered with St. Thomas, some deserve especial notice. Henry, bishop of Winchester, was obliged to leave England in the time of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, who endeavored by letters to dissipate his fear of the king's indignation. Radulph de Serra, a gentle, mild, and sociable man, though not belonging to the family of St. Thomas, yet on account of suspicion was banished with him, at an age, as John of Salisbury says, "when he was more fit for burial than for exile." †

Some who remained in England, were compelled to swear that they would receive neither letters nor messengers from those who were in exile. "Miserable necessity," as John of Salisbury says, "when it was not lawful for good men to fulfill the duties of charity according to the commands of our Lord." ‡ John of Salisbury, who, as Peter of Blois says, "was the hand and eye of St. Thomas," suffered banishment with him during six years, being his companion in labor and sorrows; and then, as Petrus Cellensis says, "having been besprinkled with the precious blood of that blessed martyr, was made bishop of Chartres." He describes his own sufferings in various letters. Thus to Petrus Cellensis he says, "I wish I could send you more joyful news; but after my return from Rome so many troubles came upon me, that I thought I had never endured adversity until then. Do you wonder what could so disturb me? I will disclose this to your ear in few words. The whole indignation of my most serene lord, the most powerful king, our invincible prince, has been turned upon me. If you ask the cause, it is perhaps, that I favored his promotion more that I ought to have done; for which injustice, to which compassion instigated me, God perhaps punishes me now. Alone now I am said to derogate from the royal majesty, for it is thought that my lord of Canterbury only follows my instructions. On which account I am so persecuted, that I regard my banishment as certain. If it be necessary, I will endure that for the sake of justice, not only with equanimity, but with joy."§

Very affecting is his letter afterwards from France to his brother Richard. "Farewell, and affectionately salute for us those whom you know we ought to salute; above all, our mother. Obtain for us the suffrage of prayers, lest the Lord should suffer us to wander from His way, and that He may lead us through adversity and exile, triumphing over the affections of flesh and blood, to despise inferior things, and to compassionate the wretched men who are uselessly occupied with the trash which they collect from the Church's plunder."‖

To Pope Alexander he says, "Father, our soul is in bitterness. Some of us dying for the defence of justice, seek revenge of the innocent blood from God and

* Joan. Sar. Ep. c. † Joan. Sar. xv. ‡ Ep. xxvii. § Ep. xi. ‖ [redacted]

from the Church; others are visited with various punishments; all of us are exiles and proscribed, that we may be compelled to prefer the nefarious traditions of men, to the law of God, and the sanctions of the Fathers."*

Then to Milo, the bishop of the Morini, he says, "We the domestics of the archbishop, proscribed indeed as to possessions, but ascribed amongst the faithful, who honor their ministry by suffering for justice, are dispersed as exiles through the kingdom of the Franes, having however Him everywhere present to us, who feeds the fowls of the air and clothes the lilies of the field."† "We have suffered losses, injuries, contumely, and exile. The world reputes this our faith insanity; it calls our constancy pertinacity, our professions of truth it stigmatises with the name of vanity; our piety it endeavors to render vile by the appellation of hypocrisy, or superstition, or of other falsehood. But the prince of the Apostles teaches the contrary, "Hæc est enim," as he says, "gratia apud Deum; quia in hoc vocati estis in Christo, ut sequamini vestigia ejus."‡

The spirit and disposition with which these men carried their crosses in the mystic train of Him whom Mary did bring forth, might furnish further illustrations of the general principles which, in the beginning of this book, we ascribed to the blessed who suffered persecution on account of justice. And first their cheerfulness is remarkable. We might apply to them the old monastic verses by Notker, which describe the holy pilgrims who came to St. Gall as voluntary exiles for God.

"Cumque pro Christo patriam, parentes,
Rura, cognatos, genus, et caducam
Gloriam mundi, simul abdicarent,
Pergere certant.

Corde lætantes, alacres et omnes,
Orbe jam toto celebrata sese
Cominus gaudent adiisse tecta
Plena salutis."§

Hear how St. Anselm speaks of the persecutions of a contemporary prelate. "It is not necessary that I should write concerning the expulsion of Lord William, bishop of Winchester, with what joy and thanksgiving, that God should have given him this honor, you will easily understand. For it is greater glory and praise for him with God and good men, to have been plundered and expelled on account of justice, than if he had been enriched with all the wealth and possessions of the world, having violated justice. Let his friends, therefore, rejoice and exult, that by no violence, by no fear, he could be subdued, and by no cupidity separated from truth."

That St. Anselm, during his own persecution, enjoyed the peace and holy joy which he ascribed to others under similar sufferings, is clear from the remarkable

* Ep. lviii. † Ep. lii. ‡ Ep. xxvii.
§ Ap. Caniss. Lect. Antiq. ii. ‖ Epist. S. Ansel. Lib. iii. 70.

fact, that it was during his banishment, and as he says himself in the preface, "in great tribulation," he wrote his celebrated book, "Cur Deus homo." This immortal fruit of a calm intelligence, and of a peaceful heart, was composed at the time that he durst not send a letter to a friend, lest he should involve him in his own sufferings; for he says to one whom he loved, "I cannot write to you as often as I and you might wish, because though I have opportunities, yet I should fear that offence might be taken by the king, who hates all things from me, and all who love me, and who might rage against the bearer if he knew it."*

John of Salisbury, when threatened with the horrors of exile, and aware how the indignation of Henry II. was kindled against him, was so engrossed with the Paschal solemnities, that he could not answer the letter brought to him from Petrus Cellensis, that generous friend who says to him in one epistle, "If that monster should vomit you from his land, here we have a house prepared for you, where you will find plenty of books, and as much leisure for studying as you can desire."† When the festival was over, he writes to him saying, "The king's return is expected daily; what shall I do? To leave the island seems like flight; to decline meeting my calumniators seems to argue a guilty conscience; not to wait for the king's presence, is to subject myself legally to the penalty of high treason. On the whole, it is better, if possible, to wait the issue at home, where I shall have the happiness of being with friends."‡

When deprived of these, however, by banishment, he found other resources, for he writes thus to Master John Saracen. "I am ashamed altogether to have spoken through weakness of the bitterness of my exile; since although this is the fourth year of my banishment, and the third of my proscription, I am every day less and less disturbed by the tempests of fortune and by losses, knowing for certain that my enemy hath done me no real injury, or rather I should call him my friend, who has opened my eyes to discern the fantastic delusions of fortune, and by delivering me from the vanities of the court, and the seductions of pleasure has impelled me on the way of virtue, and associated me with the throng of the lovers of wisdom. Far more free than when loaded with worldly goods and fortuitous possessions, I experience a joyful condition, I do not say poverty, which philosophy forbids me to call it, for every soil is the country of a brave man, and to a Christian the whole world is a place of exile, while he journeys from the Lord. For the future, therefore, let complaints respecting the illusions of fortune cease, while from agitating philosophic questions we do not cease; and let us look with indulgence on our persecutors, who perhaps know not what they do."§ Only the distresses of his friends recalled him to a sense of suffering. "I doubt not," he writes to Raimond of Poitiers, "you would pity me if you knew with what solicitudes my mind is agitated; yet it is not, God knows, for myself, though I dwell with the Duricordi, that I am solicitous, but for my friends; because, as far as I am personally concerned, letters

*Lib. iii. Epist. xxv. † Pet. Cell. Lib. v. Ep. 4. ‡ Ep. xii.

would suffice to console me, if others were not constantly urging me, to whose necessities I must communicate. The people of this province of Rheims, you know, are called in old histories the Duricordi; but to us truly, they have proved themselves worthy of being styled Mollicordi, while our own countrymen appear to be of the race of the Duricordi."* In fact, it is but justice to acknowledge that the French generally during the ages of faith deserved the praise bestowed on them by a lawyer in the year 1607, who denominates them "la plus pieuse et la plus dévote nation du monde."†

John of Salisbury, referring to his residence at Rheims, says in another letter, "Scarcely without sighs and tears can I recall to mind our dearest brethren and lords who dwell in the house of blessed Remi, remembering how happy I was inhabiting it lately, as if in a paradise, while I enjoyed their presence, and experienced the image of that charity which is hoped for in the eternal life."‡ "Francia, omnium mitissima et civilissima nationum," as this holy exile terms it,§ could then of itself console the English sufferers for justice. "When I reached Paris," says John of Salisbury, "and saw the abundance of provisions, the joy of the people, the reverence of the clergy, the majesty and glory of the whole Church, and the various occupations of the philosophers, I was filled with admiration as if I beheld that ladder of Jacob, the top of which was in heaven, furnishing a way to ascending and descending angels, so that I was compelled to exclaim, "vere Dominus est in loco isto;" and that verse also came to my mind, "Felix exilium cui locus iste datur."‖

Nor was it only to himself that in his opinion these persecutions proved useful. "Without doubt," he says, "this exile has been of great advantage to my lord of Canterbury, 'quoad literaturam et mores,' and I return thanks for it to Divine Providence, also on my own account."¶

With a similar mind, Sir Thomas More declared "that the king's highness had done him great good by taking from him his liberty, by the spiritual profit that, he trusted, he took thereby; so that among all his great benefits, heaped upon him so thick, he reckoned upon his imprisonment even as the very chief."

St. Thomas of Canterbury, from the beginning, was sensible of the immense glory attending such sufferings in such a cause. In fact, that glory had been long before proclaimed by the voice of the Holy See, as when Pope Innocent III. exclaimed, addressing the archbishop of Canterbury, and his fellow prelates in exile, in the time of John, "O how meritorious is it before God, and how worthy of praise before men, to prefer spiritual to temporal things, that temporal may give precedence to spiritual things! to exchange one's country for banishment, riches for poverty, honor for injury, quiet for labor! We are not sons of the handmaiden, but of the free, with the freedom which the only begotten Son of God

* Ep. xxxii. † Floquet, Hist. du Parlement de Norm. i. 417. ‡ Ep. xciii.
§ Ep. lxiv. ‖ Ep. xvii. ¶ Ep. xxiv.

bestowed on us in our deliverance. I beseech you to consult your own conscience, and it will answer that more tolerable is it for you to endure honorable persecution out of your country, than in your country to suffer the most vile servitude, far worse than that which the people of Israel of old endured in Egypt under Pharaoh.*

To the last act of this sublime drama, which closes for the spectator with scenes of such bitter grief and admirable majesty, I shall only allude in passing, for it has occupied the pencils of great masters, who copied from originals, and I should fear to incur reproach by attempting to represent it with my unworthy hand. Yet, to use the words of John of Salisbury, "thus much in regard to such a gift of the divine dispensation, which excites the admiration of all to the glory of God, and of his martyr, I think ought not to be passed over in silence; namely, that all the circumstances so concurred in the contest of the pontiff, as to confer an imperishable title on the sufferer, and an eternal disgrace upon the persecutors. For if the person be regarded, it is an archbishop, the primate of the Britons, a legate of the Apostolic See, an incorruptible judge, an asserter of the ecclesiastical liberty, a tower of defence to Jerusalem, and a consoler of the poor. If the cause be considered, none could be more holy or more just than his; if the place, it was in the church, before the altar, in the arms of priests and monks, that he was offered as a living victim, holy and agreeable to God; if the time, it was during the solemnity of our Lord's nativity, on the day after that of the holy Innocents."†

No martyr in his passion was ever more divinely constant. "I, indeed," he said to his murdurers, "am ready to die for God, and for the assertion of justice, and the liberty of the Church; but I prohibit you, on the part of Almighty God, and on pain of anathema, to hurt any one else, whether monk, or clerk, or layman, great or small; for they should be free from punishment, as from giving cause they are free; for not to them, but to me it is to be imputed, if they undertook to maintain the cause of the persecuted Church. Death to me is welcome, provided the Church by the shedding of my blood may obtain peace and liberty." In all his tortures the martyr showed an invincible mind; not a word escaped from him, not a groan nor cry; nor did he oppose an arm to the striker; but with a wonderful constancy, he held his head immoveably inclined and exposed to the sword until it was finished; and then, falling on the earth, he lay without moving a foot or a hand."‡

"Holy Father!" exclaims the archbishop of Sens, addressing the pope, "a horrible work, an enormous wickedness is accomplished in your days, at which the ears of all who hear of it tingle. Non est auditum in Theman, nec est visum in Chanaan. Another Herod, sending lictors from his side, feared not to pierce with wounds the sign of the Lord's Passion, and to defame the celestial image. A voice is heard, crying, Avenge, O Lord, the blood of thy servant and martyr, who is slain for the liberty of the Church."§

* Inn. III. Epist. Lib. xv. 727.
† Joan. Sar. Ep. xciv.
‡ Ep. xciv.
§ S. Thom. Epist. cccxxiii.

"The innocent lamb has suffered!" writes Theobald, count of Blois, to the pope. "The blood of the just man is poured out on the spot where the blood of Christ is offered for our salvation. The king's officers have shed it. I would write more fully, but that I fear my words might be ascribed to hatred; and the bearers of these presents can relate the whole order of this prodigy."*

"A cruel wound is inflicted on the holy Church of God," so writes William, the prior of Grandmont, "by the killing of the holy primate. But what remedy is there now? It is not he who is slain that is to be pitied, but he who slew him. For the slain their is a crown prepared; for the slayer, hell, which already opens its expansive jaws to swallow him up alive."†

"I write to you," says William de Trahinac, prior of Grandmont, to King Henry, "not without fear and dread, for if you were the cause, not to say the author, of this crime, I would not and durst not address you."‡

Peter Bernard, the ex-prior, writes to him at greater length: "Your crown is tarnished, the roses are faded, and yet, O king! immense is the debt of gratitude which we of Grandmont owe to you; therefore, it is hard for the Christian republic, and, above all, most hard for us to hear of what has happened. You began well; but you have not persevered. What skills it to be praised by men, if you be despised by God as reprobate? The light of grace, which alone gives serenity, is obscured in you. You are blinded by the flattery of your courtiers, who now, with damnable silence, will permit you to perish.

"What word is this that sounds to the poor of Grandmont? You promised to Father Simon, to the prior of the Carthusians, and to me, that you were ready to re-establish the Lord Archbishop Thomas in your kingdom, provided he evinced humility towards you before the people. He did a hundred times what you demanded, and he lies in the heart of the earth! We have heard from the ground a voice of blood crying to God, 'How has the word of the king failed?' but such are these rich men. If you do them service, their grace is light as a feather; if any fancied wrong, their anger is like lead. O favor of princes! what are you to us! Trust not in princes, nor in the children of men, in whom is no salvation. O revered sacred martyr, introduced to the marriage supper of the Lamb! O blessed pontiff, whose soul is in paradise safe from all thy enemies, and from those who hated thee without a cause! Good God! we have heard with our ears, and our fathers the archbishops of Rheims and of Sens, the Lord John of Poitiers, and the Lord Bernard, bishop of Nevers, have related to us the crime, not of the king of England, but of this nefarious murderer. Far be it from him to have required such a deed, who bears the sword only for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them who do well! Remember, my lord, the oath which you took at your consecration on the twentieth day of December, in 1154. 'I, Henry, promise before God and his angels, law, justice, and peace to the Church of God, and to the peo-

* Epist. cccxvi. † Epist. cccxx. ‡ Epist. cccxxi.

ple." Is it thus that you observe justice? They say that it is you who have perpetrated this atrocious parricade? We, though in ignorance, already mourn for you, dreading to hear what we wish we had never known. How is the fine gold tarnished? The best color changed? You built and endowed our churches, and now you have struck the shepherd of the Church, and scattered the sheep of the Catholic fold, and, what is incredible, by murder! Many are the benefits you have conferred upon us; but for all these, what reward will you now have? The prophet of God has declared it. All will be forgotten. In vain have you labored building cells, in which a few men may reside, by the waters of the blood that is shed, weeping when they remember your zeal for our Sion. To build to-day and to destroy to-morrow. Quid est aliud quam animam tuam in vanum accipere? I wish, I wish, that you had never done us good. I wish that I might have perished under anathema, for the safety of your crown; but God, the just Judge and the strong, who arms his creature to avenge his cause, will have blood for blood. I see the bitter zeal of sons rising against their father's sceptre. God grant that I may prophesy falsely; meanwhile prepare your soul for tribulation.* Peccatum peccavit Jerusalem, propterea instabilis facta est. There is no peace in the bones of the king, by reason of his sins, for the powerful will suffer torments in proportion to their power, and the Eternal Judge fears the greatness of no one. The thorns of our desert have a sharp tongue, not without puncture do they speak; but they pierce in order to excite compunction. Let them sell in another place their oil of flattery for sinners. The words of courtiers are soft, yet are they darts. I wish that I might be a worthy minister of the New Testament, coming to you with hard words, to excite contrition, and to be cruel in order to show mercy. While we thus address you, lofty son, seeking not to flatter you, as we owe you no flattery, we shall, perhaps, excite your indignation against us. I fear nothing; nor do I count my life more precious than myself. It is better for me to incur that indignation, and by two old men, accused of evil days, to fall without evil works, into the hands of men, than with my murdered lord of Canterbury into the hands of the living God, which the doctor of the nation believed to be something horrible. Perish our temporal goods, even though by me, provided thy eternal soul be not lost, for which Christ died, the just for the unjust. Farther to proceed, and longer to converse with you, I am forbidden. I dread the contagious wound of excommunication in your soul, lest my soul should catch the infection; for Paul, writing to the Corinthians, prohibits me to communicate in any thing with the avaricious and rapacious; and the disciple whom Jesus loved forbids me to say, Hail to him who bringeth not with him the doctrine of charity.† You must understand, therefore, that we can no longer have any communication with you, until you wash away the stains of your soul. In Jerusalem there was a pool of probation, in which, on the moving of the waters,

* Two years later the prophecy was fulfilled.

† 2. Joan. 1[illegible]

they who descended into them were healed. There are at Rome, too, pools of Siloë; since there, the Apostolic See receives sinners to repentance.

"Go then to these pools of Siloë! Hasten! make no delay! There is peril in delay! Wash seven times! Let the wretched and pitiful ruins of your soul be purged with a sevenfold ablution; by confession, by tears, by fasting, by satisfaction, by discipline, by pilgrimage to holy places, and by alms, redeem yours sins, and console the Church whom you have made a widow, that she may pray for you. We, indeed, shall cease not praying for you, night and day, that preventing His face by confession, you may return to the Lord, if perchance He may hear you and cure you. Forget us. There is nothing more in common between you and us. He who feeds the fowls of the air, will take care of us. We do not expect any letters from you. We do not ask for any. Write no more; for your name is blotted out of the book of the living. Let us not see your face, nor that of any of yours, scorched with the lightning of excommunication, lest being made participators of malediction, we should be separated with you from the grace of God, without which we can do nothing. If you wish to find us, return, return to our heavenly Father, whom and by whom we live, and move, and have our being, and say to Him, in a spirit of humility, and with a contrite heart, 'Father, I have sinned against Heaven and against thine.' Nothing more do I ask from you. Have pity thus upon your soul, appeasing God. The people of Grandmont will wait until your change cometh, seeking from God, who giveth food to all flesh, the bread of grace for you in sackcloth and ashes, made obedient unto God. In our prior-general, I thus speak to you and exhort you in Christ Jesus our Lord. The strict Judge, though all things are bare and open to His eyes, says that He will make inquiry with lights, as to the works of Jerusalem, which He so dearly loves. Then what will He do to the reprobate? Malos male perdet, are the words of the Gospel; qui ex Deo est, verba Dei audit."*

This is not merely a voice from the desert, which found no echoes in the society of men. Immediately the whole Church proclaimed, that the cause was decided respecting the title of the holy archbishop. Miracles attested by such eye-witnesses as John of Salisbury seemed to dispense even with the delay of waiting for the authority of the Roman Pontiff, before invoking the new martyr. John of Salisbury says "that he should fear to offer up prayers for his soul, lest such a devotion should have the appearance of doubting their reality, or of disrespect to the blessed martyr.† On the eve of his passion, he had been great indeed on earth; but with a perishable grandeur which one false step might have overthrown. But from the moment when he fell at the foot of the altar, he soared above the earth as high as heaven, placed beyond the limits of human fragility, above the reach of his enemies, like the sun, which all the dust that we make here below cannot obscure."‡ Churches on the farthest shores of Christendom were placed

* Epist. cccxxiii. † Epist. xciv. ‡ Ozanam, Deux Chanceliers d'Anglet.

under his invocation. That which stands on the Lilybæan promontory is enriched with particles of his brains that were scattered. Its orgin was deemed providential; for a ship laden with Corinthian columns for building his church, while sailing to England was driven here by violent winds, and so with these columns thus divinely sent, the church was constructed.* Moreover, by the shedding of his blood, the Church gained liberty; for the king, to obtain reconciliation, bound himself to abolish the statutes of Clarendon, and all the evil customs introduced in his days, and to moderate, according to the counsel of religious men, those that might have previously existed. He promised also to make restitution of the ecclesiastical property, and to receive to peace all who, on account of the archbishop, had incurred his displeasure.† The struggle, of course, which must be interminable, was only suspended for a time. It was never to end: it was ever with tears and fortitude to be begun anew. At each epoch the monstrous drama was represented; in later times, perhaps, relieved by the greater audacity of the temporal power, as in England under Henry VIII., and in Russia under Nicholas, where the law declares, like the Persian edict, in the year 379, that "it is folly to desire to have any other religion, than that of the great king;" but the immediate result was no less confirmatory of the old experience respecting the fruits which are to be expected from such seed.

Reader, now we need repose; our eyes are cloyed with views of tyranny, and deeds of death done on the innocent. Enough has been adduced to clear from wrong the memory of the glorious Pontiff Thomas, who, as the Church says in her solemn prayer, fell by the swords of the impious; who, in some histories, lies yet prostrate under envy's cruel blow,—enough to justify her applying to him and to others who suffered from a similar cause, the words which she sings upon his festival. "Hic est vere martyr, qui pro Christi nomine sanguinem suum fudit: qui minas judicum non timuit, nec terrenæ dignitatis gloriam quæsivit, sed ad cœlestia regna pervenit."

* ii. 883. Sicilia Sacra.

† S. Thom. Epist. cccxxxiii.

CHAPTER. XI.

THUS have we seen how many various elements of hostility, which separately were employed in animating men against the Catholic Church, in its collective capacity, as well as against its members, one by one, have existed in past ages. We are now about to witness the combined action of these elements giving rise to a persecution more terrible and extensive than any which had before assailed the Church of God, and which, after abruptly closing for some countries the Ages of Faith three centuries ago, continues to afflict the world at the present day, as it will continue, probably, till the end of time; since its development assumes the last form under which the principal of opposition can be manifested; since it comprises all errors, and is, in fact, the last expression of all possible resolutions contrary to truth and love.

Pythagoras, as long as he conversed promiscuously with every one, is said to have been graciously received by men; but after he had begun to confine his conversation to his disciples alone, the public favor left him; and from that time he had always enemies who plotted against him. If the Catholic religion had not had its distinct initiations and its exclusive pale, "within which," as St. Augustin says, "all were as one man, on account of the unity of the body of Christ,"* there is no doubt that it would have been spared much suffering from its infancy: the pagans would have permitted it to exist in peace amongst their own various but not discordant religions; and, under various forms, it might have survived to a late period, undistinguished by any particular persecution, further than what it might draw down by its natural justice. The powers of the world at all times seek to assimilate to themselves whatever is near. If they could have contrived, therefore, to effect the identification of the Church with themselves and with their own systems, they would have extended their friendship to it; but, because it could never consent to this union, but declared that it must always retain independence, they united to persecute it.

Truly remarkable in this respect is the constant recurrence of the same phenomenon. "Nam de secta hac notum est nobis, quia ubique ei contradicetur," said the Jews at Rome to St. Paul;† words precisely similar to those used in reference to the Catholic religion at the present day, when it is the only religion frowned upon and suspected by rulers, who, like Frederic the Great of Prussia,

* In Ps. cli.

† Act. xxviii.

find it the sole obstacle to the realization of their plans. It is well said, that "the battle of belief against unbelief is the never-ending battle." From the first the hostility of the whole human race seemed to be turned upon Christians. "Hic erit crimen," said Tertullian, "ubi veritas et Dei devotio est."* "Apud vos," he says again to the Gentiles, "quodvis colere jus est præter Deum verum." So it continued to be, even within the Christian world, after schism and heresy had risen up. It is true the empire, the state had become Christian, professedly: "Formerly," says St. Augustin, "it was a crime to reply to a pagan, and now it is a crime to remain a pagan."† Nevertheless, at that time and to the present hour, innumerable men regarded the Church with pagan eyes, and required the admonition of that holy doctor; "Noli habere oculos paganorum: Christianos oculos habe."‡ Obedience to the true authority still constituted a crime, against which all who were not faithful instinctively united; so that with impunity men might profess any religion, and even hold the Catholic doctrines separately, as Lactantius says, the heathen sects of philosophers did,§ and, as the heretical sects continue to do, provided they did not yield obedience to the Chair of Peter, and hold all these truths together in the Catholic faith. For those who did embrace all truth and hold to that chair, the old examples of the heathen emperors were revived: the world was again to behold Catholics persecuted by men "of the most amiable and philosophic character," as Gibbon says, "and according to the laws of kings, distinguished by the wisdom and justice of their general administration." Men not unworthy of being compared with Trajan, Marcus Antoninus, and Decius, would unite with tyrants such as Nero in persecuting them; while authors, comparable perhaps to Seneca, Pliny, Tacitus, Plutarch; Galen, Epictetus, and whole universities collectively, would be as obstinate as a Lucian and a Prophyry, and the various schools of pagan philosophy, in overlooking or rejecting the wisdom of their faith. This singular union of all discordant elements, when once directed against the Catholic religion, has been observed in all ages and under great diversity of circumstances.

"The heretics cannot agree amongst themselves," said St. Ambrose, "but against the Church they agree."‖ When St. Francis Xavier and his companion Fernandez began to preach in Japan, in presence of the bonzes, these men, who were divided into seven or eight different religions, and who were continually disputing with each other, no sooner heard the divine law announced, than they all united against it, and forgot their private disagreements to oppose it with all their force.¶

The same quality of assimilation, when subjected to the presence of the Catholic faith, existed in all those heterogeneous elements which formed the varieties of heresy, while it gnawed itself as one with rage distracted. Gibbons says that the Jews would have been scorned by Julian, if their implacable hatred of the Chris-

* Apol. 30. † In Ps. lxxxviii. ‡ St. Aug. in Ps. [illegible]

§ Lib. x. de Divin. c. 7. ‖ Lib. i. de Fide, c. 4. ¶ Bouhours, Vie de S. F. X. [illegible]

tians had not entitled them to his friendship; so wherever there was seen a hatred of Rome, the shrewdest and most moderate of the reformers recognized their brethren, even though their opinions, like those of Almerick de Bene, might justly be qualified, as were his by the fourth council of Lateran, as being not so much heretical as insane. "These are the heretics against the Catholic faith," says Isidore, "condemned by the holy councils, which, though divided among themselves, agree in common conspiracy against the Church of God."* Raban Maur concludes his catalogue of heresies with the same words.† This negative unity in hatred appeared also in the heretics of the middle ages. "They are divided into sects amongst each other," says Reinerius in his treatise against the Waldenses; "but in attacking the Church they are united. When the heretics are in one house they cannot agree; each condemns the other: but in impugning the Roman Church they act together."‡

Similarly combined against the Catholics were all those whose faction was their religion; "whose combinations," as Clarendon says, "were not entered into upon real and substantial motives of conscience, how erroneous soever, but consisted of mere glutinous materials of will, and humor, and folly, and knavery, and ambition and malice," which made them cling inseparably together while protesting against Rome. "Thus the evil," as St. Augustin says, "even while murmuring against the evil which they cannot avoid doing; for one person in health will more easily endure two sick persons than two sick each other,"§ unite with the evil, so far as combining against this one cause. In regard to every other, Satan can eject Satan, as St. Bernard remarks; but here shade can protect shade. "Umbra protegit umbram," as blessed Job says of the wicked; while the Spirit of truth which can never be contrary to itself, can accept of no combination to deliver men from persecution, but what is combatible with the light of the Sun of justice.

To express the sufferings of Catholics in defence of religion, St. Augustin condescends to use a familiar image, saying, "Beyond comparison is the truth of Christians more beautiful than the famed Helen of the Greeks; and beyond comparison have our blessed martyrs fought for it against the world, more courageously than did the heroes of Greece for Helen against Troy." In fact, when the modern philosophy arose, to embrace that truth was to embrace persecution; "magis eligens affligi cum populo Dei, quam temporalis peccati habere jucunditatem."‖ What St. Augustin says would take place at the end of the world seemed to have already commenced. "Both parties were in all nations; one which oppressed, the other which was oppressed: one which said peace and security, the other in which the sun was obscured and the moon deprived of her light, in which the stars fell and the powers of heaven were shaken."¶ Miserable times of

* Isidori Etymolog. Lib. viii. 5. † Rabani Mauri de Institut. Clericorum. Lib. ii. 58.
‡ In Bibl. Pat. Max. xxv. 262. § In. Ps. xxv. ‖ Ad. Heb. xi. 25. ¶ In Epist. ad Ezech.

division arose in which, as Richard of St. Victor says, "scarcely would any one man agree with another, unless it was against the Lord and against His Christ."* If the new teachers and the old were tried by the rule of St. Paul, and it were asked which had endured most labors, been oftenest in prison, had received most wounds, had been most frequently in danger of death, had been in greatest perils from the Gentiles and from brethren; which had suffered most persecution, in fasting and afflictions, in cold and nakedness, there could have been no difficulty in determining which were the children of beatitude. "Le monde veut être trompé," said a French prince; and it is only those who persist in preventing it from indulging in a voluntary ignorance that are the proper objects of its persecution.

Reader, we have now reached the sad confines of a shade congenial with discourse on bitter contrast to the peace of blessed men in ages of faith.

> ——" And, lo! by slow degrees
> Gath'ring, a fog makes tow'rds us, dark as night.
> There is no room for 'scaping; and this mist
> Bereaves us, both of sight and the pure air,
> Hell's dunnest gloom, or night unlustrous, dark,
> Of every planet 'reft, and pall'd in clouds,
> Did never spread before the sight a veil
> In thickness like this fog; nor to the sense
> So palpable and gross. Ent'ring its shade,
> Mine eyes endure not with unclosed lids."†

Ah! well does St. Augustin say, that "the life of faith, which is the day in comparison with the life of the impious, is the night in comparison with that of angels ‡ its shadows are longer than its gleams. Tribulationes civitatum audivimus, quas passæ sunt et defecimus: timor et hebetudo mentis cecidit super nos et supe liberos nostros."

The same drama is again to be represented; but its former monotony would now be desirable; for it will have hideous scenes this time which it had not before. Now begin rueful wailings to be heard: now am I come where many a plaining voice smites on mine ear. "The river of blood," as Dante says, "approaches, in the which all those are steeped who have by violence injured." The drama of Luther and Calvin opens, unfolding things incredible to those who witnessed them. "Dies iste, dies iræ," as old writers cry, "dies calamitatis et miseriæ." The history of Sir Thomas More and of Bishop Fisher before Henry VIII., the history of three centuries of persecution by those who consented to his work, is that of the martyrs before the proconsuls, of Athanasius before Julian, of Ambrose before Theodosius, of Chrysostom before Arcadius, of Gregory VII. before Henry IV., of Thomas of Canterbury before Henry II., but it is these histories, stripped of every relief from the grandeur and poetry of events and characters.

* De Gradibus Charitatis, iv. † Purg. xiv. ‡ In

It is not a brilliant meteor which destroys and vanishes; sepulchral pit that opens daily during a pestilence, which light, but ever burns.

"Brethren," says St. Augustin, of whose words, as of some in need to prepare our mind for encountering the objects that " If we ought not to lift oursleves proudly against the Je the root of the patriarchs, but ought rather to fear and say sunt opera tua! how much less ought we to lift ourselves ag of those freshly cut off? The Jews of old were cut off, and From that graft the heretics are now cut off; but neither to lift ourselves proudly, lest perchance we should oursel for delighting to insult over the fallen. Brethren, we en may be, who are in the Church, be not willing to insult th it; but rather pray that they also may be within it." * move us; for at this day, as St. Augustin says of those bo natus, "you find men who know not what is the Church he was born; and you will not overcome his custom, which his mother's milk. Let us suppose him reading the Scr ing on them, preaching; yet he will not see in them the C hæretica insania," he exclaims, alluding to the diffusion o all nations; "what you do not see you believe with m deny. You believe with me that Christ is exalted which we do not see; and you deny his glory over we do see." ‡ But if we ought not to lift ourselves prou of this last great persecution, neither ought we to o their deeds, or assent to their apotheosis as heroes to from excuse to excuse, which is the course required fo be at last obliged to excuse the murderers of Christ. St. A Magnus following him, teach us to repeat, in reference to t the banner which first announced this war, the Psalmist's et revertantur qui quærunt animam meam." "What then," loving your enemies, of praying for those who persecute persecution, and you curse those from whom you suffer it. imitate the preceding passion of our Lord hanging on t 'Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt.' To such, answers, 'Why do you object this? What have I said of n dantur et revertantur.' Such is the revenge already tak the martyrs. Saul, who persecuted Stephen, heard the voi and prostrated, and raised up to obedience, after having b cute. This is what the martyrs wish to their enemies; con

* In Ps. lxv. † In Ps. xxx.

tur; for so long as they are not confounded and turned back, they will defend their actions; they will glory in them; they will rejoice, because they bind, because they scourge, because they kill, because they dance, because they insult. From all these actions let them be confounded and turned back, that they may not excuse them; for if they are confounded they will be converted; nor can they be converted unless confounded and turned back. Let us then wish this to our enemies; we may wish it securely. Lo, I have said it, and to yourselves I have said it. All ye who still dance and sing, and insult the martyrs, may you be confounded and turned back, and within these walls brought to smite your breasts."*

The elements of this persecution are not difficult to analyze, although the results are manifold. Every man who has imbibed them will, in his capacity of an alien from the Catholic faith partake of the property of Proteus, as all who contend with him discover; for as the old Egyptian, in poetic fabling, became first a lion, afterwards successively a dragon, a panther, a great swine, water, and a lofty tree; so to those who would seize the bold and subtle spirit of heresy, it will seem at one time the symbol of all things brave and royal; it will then terrify by its hideous aspect; it will seduce by its gay colors; it will assume a wide similitude to attract the vile propensities of carnal nature; it will glide away softly as liquid, or it will present a towering form, and seem to reach heaven by its boasted sovereignties.

But let us commence our alchemy, for this is of a kind of which the use will be perpetual. "The pretence is of the spirit," said the clear-sighted bishop Gardiner to Somerset, speaking of the false reformers, "and all is for the flesh,—root of that ill plant whose shade such poison sheds o'er all the Christian land, that seldom now good fruit is gathered." Here then at once we find an ingredient of great use in persecution. The agents were, in fact, like him whom they served, more useful as a persecutor than as a prince and friend,—men whose wine was better than their manners, "beveurs très-illustres," as an old writer says, "pantagruelisant, c'est à dire bevans à gré," whose wisdom in one respect resembled that of Ulysses, agreeing with his opinion that there was nothing better than a banquet, when men are feasting in a house, sitting in order, and hearing singers before tables loaded with food, with cups, and the best wine,

Τοῦτό τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεδὶν εἴδεται εἶναι,†

mere carnal sinners borne abroad by the tyrannous gust of sensuality, men whom St. Augustin compares to dogs and swine, "who would rather pertinaciously bark, than studiously inquire; or who would neither bark nor inquire; but wallow in the defilement of their pleasures."‡ Such were the elector John, and his son Frederic, the landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, Ernest and Francis of Lunebourg, and Henry VIII.

* St. August, in Ps. lxix. Albert Mag. Comment. in Ps. lxix. † Odyss. ix. 5.

With this was necessarily joined the covetous desire: for the flesh engenders and expands that cursed flower, that hath made wander both the sheep and lambs turning the shepherd to a wolf. But what else enters into the compound? Error; obliquity of mental vision; distorted or maimed truth, identical with error. Now error is destructive by its nature; it produces nothing; figs are not gathered on thorns, nor on briars grapes. It is in the moral order, an envious sneaping frost that bites the first-born infants of the spring. It must hate, as Catholicism must love: "Ut destruas inimicum et defensorem." "Who is this?" asks St. Augustin, "but the heretic who is an enemy and a defender, attacking the Christian faith and seeming to defend it?"* Here is then matter to cause the grand triumph of persecution, of which we still witness the effects. "Quoniam quæ perfecisti destruxerunt." St. Augustin, after citing these words of the Psalm, adds, "This he says against all heretics, for all, as far as in them lies, have destroyed the praise which from the mouth of children and sucking infants God hath perfected; while with vain and scrupulous questions they disturb the little ones, and permit them not to be nourished with the milk of faith. So what thou hast perfected they have destroyed. Where, unless in their conventicles, where the little ones and those ignorant of internal light, they do not nourish with milk, but kill with poison?"† They destroy with doubts; they destroy with such words, as "This is a hard saying:" but as St. Augustin says, "It is they that are hard, not the saying; for if they were not hard, but mild and gentle, it would be as oil to them, so as to penetrate even to the very bones."‡

What do they not destroy? Do you suppose that they will spare things because they are sixteen hundred years old, and were dear to the apostles? You little know them. In their spleen and bilious egotism, they will sacrifice these the first. Prayers, processions, signs of the cross, all must be abolished. They cut off sources of tenderness, and shut out from our senses the access to devotion; they remove the image of her whose countenance alone, as a modern writer says, "can suspend our steps on the highway of the world, discourse with us, soften and chasten us, showing us our own unworthiness by the light of a reproving smile."§ If they leave the evening dance upon the green, (for, unless under Calvin's ephemeral theocracy, nature will be too strong for them,) they will not suffer the bells that used to announce the hour of benediction to interrupt it suddenly, nor the hands that joined there to meet together at the portal fountain, and touch the brow reciprocally with its lustral waters: though, as Gardiner said to Ridley, "If holy use were coupled with holy water, there would be more plenty of holiness than there is; but as men be profane in their living, so they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, not so much as water, fearing lest it should take away sin from us, that which we love so dearly well." The dance continues; the praise which God had perfected they have destroyed. Heresy, styled by the people who first witnessed its effects,

* S. Aug. in Ps. viii. † In Ps. x. ‡ In Ps. xcviii. liv. § Landor.

"Ce maudit presche," has engendered only false minds and hearts without faith, in which generous sentiment is laughed down, and the sanctification of nature systematically excluded, which the thirst of selfish pleasure devours, and which the spleen of doubt and dark suspicion kills. The Pythagorean poet invokes the graces, adding,

Σὺν γὰρ ὑμῖν τὰ τερπνὰ καὶ τὰ γλυκέα
Γίνεται πάντα βροτοῖς,
Εἰ σοφὸς, εἰ καλὸς εἰ τις ἀγλαὸς
*Ἀνήρ.**

It was not merely these sweets which fled at its approach: as in the third circle where the poet found himself, its destructive words fell like showers, ceaseless, accursed, heavy, and cold, unchanged for ever, both in kind and in degree, till every flower of the holy world perished and stank all the land whereon that tempest fell.

Fruits it leaves none, but thorns instead, with venom filled. It destroys all that beautiful development of interior love and purity, which had been so long effecting by the Catholic wisdom. It obliterates all traces of that old and simple age when still the carved monitor and label by every rustic pathway rested safe; it strips the Church of its ornaments, the country of its institutions, religion of its mysteries, morality of its sanctions, youth of its simplicity, age of its reverence, and even language of its grace. It persecutes mind by taking from it that rule of faith which is essential to its peace, and involving it in a labyrinth of self-contradiction, for, as Pelisson says, "Before resolving upon the most terrible of all actions, which is to separate from the Church, men are bound by these principles not to trust to what their fathers and grandfathers said, but to examine for themselves both sides of the question, and to verify the facts of both; which the majority can never do, and yet without doing which it is in vain to talk of being sincere." It persecutes mind by constantly opposing, like the enemy of men who is qualified in the ordinance of an Armenian king, as he who always says, "No." It persecutes, as Sir Thomas More said, by "a shameless boldness, and an unreasonable railing, with Scripture wrested awry, and made to minister matter to its jesting, scoffing, and outrageous ribaldry, not only against every estate here on earth, and the most religious living, but against the very saints in heaven and the mysteries of God, more especially those of the holy sacrament of the altar; wearying out all the world by its importunate babblings, and overwhelming them with a weight of words;" "the spreaders of error," he adds, "are always more active than the defenders of the truth. Many are so wearied with sorrow and heaviness to see the world wax so wretched, that they fall into a slumber, and let the wretches alone; but if we would match them, we must watch and pray, and take the pen in hand."

Sister Jeanne de Jussie, in 1534, at Geneva, made the same remark: "The

* Olymp. xiv.

Christians," she says, "began already to lose courage, and verted, and no one dared any longer to say a word."* S cantons of Switzerland, before rallying to defend themsel their despair in these words: "Since all is denied us, sinc dured this violent anguish, pride, and iniquity, without th ing of an end, we are constrained to address our complaint holy Mother, to the whole heavenly court, and to all who ha and justice."†

It persecutes the intelligence, by substituting the autho that of the Catholic Church; for, as St. Augustin says, "I by men of little minds. Only great men, great but evil, m secutes by exclaiming, 'Magnus ille vir, magnus ille ho Donatus! what a man was Arius!"‡ Leaving it for cry,

> "Le peuple aveugle et faible est né pour les gra
> Pour admirer, pour croire, et pour nous obéir."

It persecutes by the proud display of their prosperity, b with us; we are rich and happy in this life: depart from what they cannot show."‖ It persecutes also by its prodig imperturbable reliance on exploded errors: by a specious may soften to a paralogism on the lips of some. Great almost always been grounded on a pretended great clea said the Arians, some of whom were men of great talents reproachless life, than these words, "The Father is greater selves of Timon's words, "If a theory has many faces, the c heresy "groups them, mingles them, makes them play and so quick a hand, that you have not time to catch the Whether the disorder of its expression, the incoherent agg heterogeneous propositions be an effect of its art or not, ce its refutation is the easiest when you read it, the most diffi you feel as those who, piercing not the drift of the answer exposed in mockery, nor know what to reply. No one victim; sometimes it emits from its bosom the deepest si opinions: it is also the gentlest of beings; and the mon caresses you, it seizes you in its claws!"

Its objections, eloquently stated, and mixed up with t addressed to whatever is most elementary and gross in t hence vulgar minds are dazzled by them. It never pre introduces novelty under the mask of antiquity. It appeal

* Audin, Hist. de Calvin, i.
† Id. 233.
§ Voltaire, Mahom. i.
‖ In Ps. cxxii.

to condemn the doctrine of the time. At these clamors, the intelligent, seeing the crowd pass moved with such transports, mix with it, accompany the triumpher; the adherents of truth seem like men detected of crime, and for ever disgraced; they suffer persecution of mind; although after the procession criticism may come, which calls gold gold, and brass brass, and which puts back things and men in their true places.*

"Abscondes eos in abscondito vultus tui a conturbatione hominum.—Proteges eos in tabernaculo tuo a contradictione linguarum." What is this tabernacle? "The Church," replies St. Augustin, "which is but as the tent of travellers. In this tabernacle they will be protected from the contradiction of tongues. Many tongues contradict: different heresies, different schisms, oppose the true doctrine. Run to the tabernacle of God; hold to the Catholic Church; depart not from the rule of truth, and you will be protected from that contradiction of tongues."† Where minds are thus proof, the persecution extends to bodies; though indeed often both are involved together; for, as St. Anselm says, "If from persecution of the body we fly from city to city, how much more are we from a persecution of mind!"‡ It would be long to tell, as St. Augustin says, "how the martyrs labored and suffered perils in the great tempests of hatreds in this world, not so much in body, to which they were often exposed, as in faith, lest, yielding to the sorrows of persecution, they should lose what God had promised."§ One who witnessed the forerunners of this persecution says, "It is the property of the vain science which in our times endeavors to domineer, to seek novelties, and to draw on others to follow it, and to hate and persecute those whom it cannot induce to follow it."‖

St. Augustin describes its effects in these words: "There are two kinds of persecution, of those who blame, and of those who praise—vituperantium et adulantium. Plus persequitur lingua adulatoris quam manus interfectoris."¶ "Therefore," he continues, "let these also be turned back, who say to me, 'Tis well, 'tis well. For why do they praise me? Let them praise God. For who am I, that I should be praised? With such oil the head of heretics is made fat, when they say, 'Ego sum, ego sum:' and it is replied, 'Tu domine.' They accept the Eugo, euge; they follow Euge, euge. They are made blind leaders of the blind. With most clear voices is sung to Donatus that canticle, 'Euge, euge, dux bone, dux præclare;' and he did not say to them, 'Avertantur statim et erubescant, qui dicunt mihi, Euge euge;' nor did he wish to correct them, that he might say to Christ, 'Dux bone, dux præclare.' But the martyrs say, in the persecution of flatterers, 'Avertantur statim erubescentes, qui dicunt mihi, Euge, euge.'"**

In fine, as it is too late to demand instruction, when one knows dissimulation, heresy lapses into a lethargic state, persevering in its destructive opinions, but as

* Timon. † In Ps. xxx. ‡ Ep. xiii. § S. August. in. Ps. lxix.
‖ Luc Tudens, ii. 3. ap. Hurter, Gesch. Inn. iii. ¶ In Ps. lxix. ** In [redacted]

incapable of defending as of renouncing them; and then t
misery is a mental persecution of others. "There is in erro
"a disposition which fatigues and afflicts with sadness thos
cere compassion and peaceful love. This is the calm volu
monuments, facts, and multiplied proofs in favor of truth.
accumulated, and they are let pass like flowing water; s
scarcely looks, then closes again, and the dream contin
count taken of the reality."* But let us turn to facts;
cut short discourse with the children of Luther, and Zwin
attend to great and general facts, avoiding, as far as possib
for, in regard to the figures of this tragedy, the style of
spirit of the Ages of Faith, is the best; one smiting v
nothing more said.†

The calamities which befel the world at the preaching
and the multitudes who suffered persecution for the sake
are facts belonging to the domain of history; though in t
porters kindled, they seem to have thought that the voice o
science of the human race would be abolished, as Tacitu
burning volumes in the Forum.

Nothing else could have been expected. The Montani
Arians, the Donatists, all had persecuted with heathen fu
at warfare with external or internal foes, has ever found
bitter assailants. Of the horrors of the new persecutio
given in the learned and admirable book entitled, "Jerusa
image of both churches, being a treatise historically dis
olics or Protestants be the better subjects."‡

The new choice of disobedient wills was formed, as
where, from north to south, it congregated followers. Wh
in France, when from Geneva it came forth and leaped th
flight that tongue nor pen may follow it; tow'rds Hollan
then tow'rd England smote, and upon Scotland, with so fi
Isle of Saints, far in the mild west, was conscious of the p
it wrought over Europe, and the new-discovered world, is
of Dante, "barked of in hell," and by England's best
mourned. Hence weep still many who are pursued by it in
of their hearts; who see by it the world's harmony and pe
geance upon vengeance wrought for the ancient sin.

Hear now some instances of what befel the just in speed
lambs of the Church, whom so many wolves incessantly a

"The heretics," says one who witnessed their violence i

* The Père de Ravignan. † Carlyle on the Hero as a Poet. ‡ L

and who describes them precisely, as they are painted by Sir Thomas More, "cannot endure to live on terms of equality with Catholics. The spirit of pride, of unutterable insolence, cannot suffer the presence of the lambs of the Church, without falling on them.* "Ask," he continues, "at Gergean, at Pluviers, at Estampes, at Ponthoise, where the Huguenot tempest has past, what marks it has left of its violence. They will tell you that nothing can be imagined more terrible or more barbarous."†

Let them ask of those who have witnessed the persecution in England and in Germany, which in horror yeilded only to the slaughter and great havoc that colored Gallic fields with crimson stain, and they will find matter for composing tapestry, now that they like decoration, and admit pictures, sufficient to hang the walls of all the preaching theatres that ever can be built with gold. These persecutors, by their own avowal, were what the Greeks styled a sanguinary race, φονικώτατοι.‡ "Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood," was their text, even among the English, the least sanguinary of all nations; from which they argued, that those who gave any quarter were to be reproved. "Repent thee, thou wicked cardinal," said Melvil to Beaton; "I protest that it is neither hatred of thy person, nor fear of thy power, which moves me to seek thy death, but only because thou hast been, and still remainest, an obstinate enemy to the Gospel." Having spoken which words, without giving him time to make an act of that repentance to which he exhorted him, he thrust him through the body, and the cardinal fell dead at his feet. This was the Melvil whom Knox styled a man most gentle and most modest, and this the action which he relates as his godly deed.

The Calvinist, Froumenteau, in his curious work, entitled, Le Secret des Finances de France, reckons the number of persons massacred, in the diocese of Soissons alone, at two thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, amongst whom were twenty-five priests and twenty-two monks. Yet, notwithstanding the atrocious deeds perpetrated by the persecutors in Soissons, when the Catholics recovered possession of that city, the former lost only three persons, and their fate was the result of private intrigues; the safety of the rest being viewed as a matter of general concern to the conquerors.§

The persecutors themselves have acknowledged that they put to death more than forty thousand priests in France.‖ For the one massacre of St. Bartholomew in which Catholics as well as Protestants were involved, that political enormity of Catherine de Medicis, which bishop Péréfixe called "the most execrable plot that ever was;" and which so many, like Sigognes, governor of Dieppe, refused to execute, there had been many massacres of the Catholic population during the ten or twelve years preceding, of which the modern authors are careful to say noth-

* Premier Advestissements des Catholiques Anglois aux François Catholiques, 56.
† P. 101. ‡ Thucyd. vii. 29. § Hist. de Soissons, tom. ii.
‖ Advertissements des Catholiques, &c. 116.

ing. There was the massacre of Merindol, the massacres of the south, the pillage of Rouen and of Lyons, besides outrages and injuries innumerable. The picture which history discloses is that of a Catholic people persecuted, and of a government which, by its edict of Amboise, in 1562, and by that in 1570, which the parliaments refused to enregister; by its choice of men, like the duc de Bouillon for the governor of provinces, and by its coercive measures to support them, seemed to take part with those who made them suffer all the horrors of the invasions of the pagan barbarians for adhering to their faith.* "The apathy of the civil power," says Audin, "which the reformers represent as so cruel, may well astonish us."† And when the murmurs of the outraged people obliged it to act in their defence, it avowed in language most insulting to the Church, that it sought to maintain not so much religion as the will of the king.‡ The clergy endeavored to temper the intolerant measures of the servile parliament which ensued,§ for which assuredly, they were not responsible; but the violence and cruelty of the destroyers, whom no edict of toleration could content, seemed to excuse every act of rigor. "It is most remarkable," says Floquet, "that one never saw the reformers so seditious as when they had full liberty."‖ Not content with seeing the Catholics disarmed, and themselves in a position of legal equality, after two or three months they recommenced their insults, seditions, and devastations."¶ "We are the strongest," said they, "while harassing, insulting, plundering, and killing."**

"Who can deny," exclaim even the writers favorable to them, "that the parliament were constrained to adopt rigorous measures to check their career."†† One Sunday witnessed the sack and devastation, by armed hordes, issuing from their preaching, of thirty-six parish churches in Rouen, besides innumerable others that were collegiate and monastic, from which the monks were turned adrift pennyless; so that in twenty-four hours there was a work of destruction, along with murders and pillage, "for which," as Beza himself observed, "one might have thought twenty-four weeks insufficient;" and all this, as the registers of the parliaments attest, by "those of the new opinion."‡‡ But who could describe the persecution in detail? At one time it is the insolence of a rich local proprietor, an Antoine de Croy-Porcien, who, "hearing the evening bells for the Salve Regina, from the neigboring church, imperiously commands that the troublesome noise should cease; while he has the audacity to announce, by sound of horns in the night, through all the streets of Rouen, that his preacher will hold forth."§§ At another, it is by infesting the roads with armed bands of assassins so as to intercept all communications. One captain of the persecutors in the south used to wear a belt garnished with the ears of monks."‖‖ In Normandy many of them used to wear

* Vide Floquet, Hist. des Parlement de Norm tom. ii. et iii. passim. † Hist. de Calvin, i. 146.
‡ Floquet, iii. 62. § Id. iii. 139. ‖ Id. ii. 293. ¶ Floquet, iii. 10.
** Id. iii. 20. †† Id. iii. 34. ‡‡ Id. ii. 390-5.
§§ Vide Floquet, Hist. des Parlement de Norm. tom. iii. 25.
‖‖ Monteil, Hist. des Français, v. 351. Martin Marteau, Le Paradis de la Touraine.

the ears of priests and monks as cockades in their hats. De Bourgueville says that they perpetrated acts there too infamous to be named.*

"A contemporary author," says Wadding, "assures us, that in one of our general chapters in Rome, in 1650, the provincial of Ireland, Terence Albert O'Brien, then present, said, that he recollected six hundred friars in his province; and that, in the chapter of 1656, it was proved that only the fourth part remained alive, the rest having died on the scaffold or in prison for their faith."† At first, indeed, in England, the clergy seemed taken by surprise, and unwilling to suffer; but, as Patterson says, when the bishops of England had thought upon the matter at issue, they stood stoutly for religion against Elizabeth. Scot, bishop of Chester, died at Louvain, in exile; Goldwel, of St. Asaph, died at Rome; Pate, bishop of Worcester, was indeed at the council of Trent, and subscribed there for the clergy of England, but he never returned. Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, was deprived with the rest, dying suddenly and very shortly after; so did also Tonstal, that learned and celebrated bishop of Durham, while he was prisoner at Lambeth, yet not before he had personally given the queen a sound and godly admonition concerning her strange proceedings, with that liberty and freedom of zeal which became so venerable a prelate and true pastor of God's Church. Bourn, bishop of Bath and Wells, was prisoner to Cary.—Thirlby, bishop of Ely, was first committed to the Tower, and afterwards he and secretary Boxhal were sent to Lambeth, where they died. Bishop Bonner, of London, Watson of Lincoln, with the abbot of Westminster, Fecknam, all died prisoners, and some say in the Marshalsey. Prior Shelly died in exile. "Imprisonment or only exile for those who disregard our exhortations," said Farel, "and never a more rigorous chastisement."‡

The persecutions which fell upon the laity has never yet been adequately described. To form a just conception of it, one should hear the domestic traditions which are still transmitted with the freshness of a narrative from personal recollection. Those solemn mansions, dark and hid away amidst huge trees, in which peace and silence might be supposed to have ever reigned, were then the scenes of many a tragedy. Those echoing court yards, desolated turret-chambers, and whole suits of rooms shut up and mouldering to ruin, those terrace gardens, that have such an oppressive air of melancholy, with their great iron gates, disused so long and red with rust, dropping on their hinges and overgrown with long rank grass; that decayed and sombre aspect of the whole house, which strikes the beholder with a sense of sadness; all tell of the sufferings sustained for the sake of the Catholic religion, through many long sorrowful years, by races that were proved faithful. "The queen's proclamation against despisers of the orders of the Church," says Strype, "and absentees from public service of it, looked towards papists as well as others, and accordingly those in commission proceeded ac-

* Les Recherches et Antiquités de Normandie 181.

† Tom. v. liv. 36.

‡ Audin, Hist. de Calvin, i. 238.

cording to law against them." At this time a certain papist lady, the lady Huddleston, inhabiting the diocese of Ely, was one of them avoiding coming to church, and now, upon their inquisition, absenting herself from her house, and being greatly suspected to contemn the order of religion settled, the bishop of Ely being about to send for her, she removed herself into another diocese, to a place called Harling Hall, in Norfolk, a great harbor for papists. This the said bishop signified to the bishop of Norwich, and what a dangerous person she was; and that he would do well to use his endeavors to take her. Accordingly the bishop, in whose diocese she was, framed a letter to Ashfield, an active justice of the peace in those parts, not knowing any more convenient way to have her apprehended, than to desire him to take the pains either to travel himself to Harling Hall, where she was, or else to cause her, by his letter, to come before him, where she might lay in good bonds with securities for her appearance before the bishop of Ely, or other high commissioners, to answer such matters as she might be charged withal, which perhaps might fall out(as she wrote)worse than they knew of; "for surely," as the bishop added, "there is a wicked nest of them together, as he had been informed." He further excited the said justice by telling him, "That the travail herein would be acceptable to God, and profitable to the commonwealth." This was writ in February. But he being justice of the peace for Suffolk, and Harling Hall lying in Norfolk, he could not meddle therein; desiring only sufficient warrant, "and then," he said, "he would be ready not only to fetch that lady, but any other papist whatsoever within either of the two shires," praying his lordship to follow this matter which was so well begun. The issue was that the bishop, as he wrote to the bishop of Ely, procured a warrant under three of their hands, who were commissioners, to call the lady Huddleston to answer her disobedience; and the rather, "because there was," he said, "a wicked brood at that house that ought to be looked to."* How affecting is it to behold the solemn portraits of those who suffered such persecution, looking down so calm and benign from the old tapestry in the very rooms which they once inhabited, and from which they had so often to fly at the least alarm!

The old annals abound with proof that the intensity of the persecution was as great in Germany.† There it lost not its sanguinary character.

When St. Fidelis, of Sigmarengen, a Capuchin friar, was sent by the Congregation de Propaganda Fide to preach to the Grisons, after that people had apostatized, the Calvinists loudly threatened his life, and Fidelis prepared himself for martyrdom, and announced from the pulpit that his death was at hand. So numerous were the conversions which he effected, that hopes began to be entertained that the whole nation would return to the faith; the Calvinists, however, determined to prevent his further efforts. On the twenty-fourth of April, 1622, a musket

* Strype's Annals, an. 1573. † Annales Nvosienses, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. iv.

being discharged at him in the church, the Catholics entreated him to leave the place. On his road back to Gruch he was met by twenty Calvinist soldiers, with a minister at their head, who stopped and commanded him to embrace their sect. "I am sent," he replied, "to confute, not to embrace heresy. I fear not death." He was instantly beaten down to the ground. "O Lord, forgive my enemies," he said, raising himself on his knees; "they know not what they do? Lord Jesus, have mercy on me. St. Mary, pray for me." Another stroke clove his skull, and he fell to rise no more but as a crowned martyr; His body is in the Capuchin convent of Weltkirchen, of which he was the superior at his death. St. Francis de Sales, for preaching the faith in the provinces of Switzerland, was repeatedly exposed to death from the violence of the Calvinists, some of whom attempted to assassinate him, but were prevented by the arm of God. However, with ingenious cruelty, the heretics sometimes avoided open violence. In Belgium, four Franciscans being seized at Geuzium, in 1579, were compelled to swallow fine sand, and then they were set free as if nothing had been done to them; but death was the speedy result.* In England the thirty-two Franciscan martyrs, under Henry VIII., were caused to die by the horror and filth of their prison, which indeed was the general mode of inflicting death on the Catholic martyrs in England.† In Ireland, on the contrary, in 1582, we find them violently slain before the high altar of their convents.‡

Another characteristic of this persecution was a spirit of atrocious mockery in which it was carried on, or, as its admirers say, "the vein of drollery," which was in the men who conducted it, and which they declare they like much in combination with their other qualities. Sir Thomas More, who observed it too, did not see it in that light. "You men of the new learning," he said, "boast that ye have taken away hypocrisy. It may be so: but of this I am right well assured, that ye have left impudence in its place." The French clergy in many places were obliged to be dispensed from the tonsure in consequence of their multiplied insults;§ as in later times, to shun the same derision, they have often been disguised. Ridicule was an old weapon against the just; as when Cham derided his father,‖ the men of Phanuel, Gideon¶ and Michol, David.** Neemiah testifies that the prophets generally were made objects of derision. Among the pagans there were scoffers who attacked the Christians with ridicule; but the new race of persecutors evinced towards them a genius of savage irony; resembling more that which prompted the wagging of heads before the cross, or that of the Merovingian tyrants to victims of their unimaginable cruelty, than the heartless pleasantry of Lucian.

The jest of Henry VIII. respecting the sending of a cardinal's hat to Fisher, so like that of the Austrasian duke Raukhing, who said that he would keep his

* Martyrologium Franciscanum, July 6. † Id. July 31. ‡ Id July 20.
§ Floquet, Hist.des Parl. de Norm. iii. 14. ‖ Gen. ix. 22. ¶ Jud. viii. 6. ** 2 Reg.

oath at the prayer of a priest not to separate a young peasant from his wife, and caused them to be buried alive in the same grave, was characteristic of the men who followed his banner. It was considered so admirable that they were never weary of repeating it, and improving it, as may be witnes-ed in the pages of Hall, and Hollinshed, and Fuller, and other of their sect. The gibes with which Calvin, grinning with ghastly feature, insulted the dying shrieks of Servetus, imploring mercy; the drolleries of Knox, and of Theodore Beza, as when the latter laughs at the cutting off the hand of the aged and beloved Villebon by the sword of Vieilleville;* the witty device practised in so many places of strewing broken glass where berefooted pilgrims were known to walk, are other instances in proof. The Lutheran irony, so bitter and bloody, was often literally like that which prompted the words, "He trusted in God. Let Him deliver him if He will have him. Prophesy unto us, O Christ, who it is that struck thee. He saved others, Himself He cannot save." The Lutheran mockery cannot be translated for common readers, or described without offending them. It was not mirth; the foes of the Church had little cause for it; but it resembled that which Dante found in Malebolge, when the gnarling souls of the tormented looked to their leader for a signal, which he gave as Luther said he would himself reply. And in truth, had their triumphant march been seen, a poet, to have witnessed demoniac manners, needed not a journey into hell.

Against the children of the beatitudes, whether in cowls or mitres, in knightly steel or the poor peasant's garb, a true satanic ridicule was directed, when the persecutors of the sixteenth century thought to laugh down the Catholic Church.† The force of scenic exhibitions was very generally employed. In Holland, in 1602, the mass was mimicked by thirty soldiers, wearing chasubles and copes, in the town of Edan.‡ The same blasphemous buffoonery was adopted in England, and indeed, every where. Heresy was like the frozen circle where Dante marked a thousand visages, which the keen and eager cold had shaped into a doggish grin, whence crept a shivering horror over him. Again, two other features of the pagan persecutions distinguished the conduct of the false reformers. There was a kind of astonishment expressed at the fact of men refusing to renounce their faith, as if it was a certain magical infatuation; and there was an agreement to punish them as offenders against the laws of the state. They sought also to disgrace them by distributing calumnies and blasphemies among the people, as was done of old by order of Maximian. It startles a reader not familiar with the early history of the Church to hear St. Clement of Alexander saying, "Therefore, the Christian is no atheist: for this is what I had to demonstrate to the philosophers; and nothing disgraceful does he ever commit."§ St. Augustin says, that the pagans of his time used to cover the Church with opprobrium, saying, "You corrupt discipline, and

* Hist. Eccles. ii. 670.

† Turris Babel, sive de Mortifero Linguæ veneno. Auct. J. Pelecyo. ii. 15.

‡ Id. ii. 16. om. vii. 9.

pervert the morals of the human race;" and if they were asked how, that they replied, "By allowing men to do penance, and promising impunity after sins and forgiveness."*

Catholics in this last persecution were similarly ranked with atheists and perverters of morals. They were stigmatized as enemies of the Gospel, public enemies, traitors. In vain did Sir Thomas More declare that he would meddle with no matter of this world, but that his whole study should be upon the passion of Christ, and his own passage out of this world. The king was no less resolute in affirming that he was the occasion of much grudge and harm in the realm, and that he had an obstinate mind and evil towards him, and malignant. While John Forrester, the Franciscan friar, confessor of queen Catherine, was burning at a slow fire in Smithfield, these verses were distributed amongst the crowd:

"Forestus frater, mendacii pater,
Qui mortis author voluit esse suæ,
Per summam impudentiam
Negavit Evangelium
Et regem esse caput Ecclesiæ."†

To the affecting letter addressed to him by the queen when he was in prison among felons, as also to that written to him by the Lady Elizabeth Hammon, one of her maids of honor, this holy man sent very sublime answers, saying, that it was not for a friar who had lived sixty-four years, forty-three of which were spent wearing the habit of St. Francis, to fear death, and asking their prayers, foreseeing the horrible tortures that he was about to suffer.‡ But, if we could resume this theme, there would be no end of citing instances to show with what a true spirit these Catholics met death. Camden, with all his prejudices, is forced to acknowledge that Sir Thomas More's behavior in the last act was not unbecoming the primitive age of the Christian Church. "Patiendo magis quam faciendo contumelias Christi fundata est Ecclesia," said St. Jerome;§ and so it continued to be maintained whoever might be its foes. But to return to the persecutors. Like the Arians, in the instance of their cruelty to St. Eustathius, patriarch of Antioch, the rage of these men was not satisfied with deprivation and banishment. They employed subornation of perjury in order to overwhelm their victims with disgrace.

The chiefs of the persecution in the sixteenth century were not apprentices in the detracting art. Balduinus relates that Calvin, when at College, did nothing but calumniate his fellow-scholars; so that they surnamed him Accusativus, saying that John can decline as far as the accusative.‖ The calumnies employed by him against illustrious Catholics are not less prodigious than those of Luther himself. By all the progeny that sprang from both, Catholics were represented

* In. Ps. ci. † Wadding, Annal. Min. tom. xvi. ‡Id.
§ Epist. xxxix. ‖ Audin, Hist. de Calvin.

as men that ought to be expelled in order to stop a plague, as the Pagans supposed that the Jews were from Egypt, being genus hominum invisum Deis, men of an absurd and sordid rite, as Tacitus calls them:* in banishing whom a king would only imitate Antiochus, endeavoring demere superstitionem, quo minus taeterrimam gentem in melius mutaret. They were said also to be enemies of their own nation; but as they might have replied in the words of an enemy, "Certainly if ignorance and perverseness will needs be national and universal, then they who adhere to wisdom and truth are not therefore to be blamed for being so few as to seem a sect or faction."

"Little reason is there in truth," said they, "that Protestants should clamor so loud as they do, and cry out nothing but, Treason, treason! against religious and good men. They tell the world that no less than two hundred priests have been executed in England for treason since the Reformation, which is certainly a very heavy report, and sufficient to make them odious to all the world, if it were true; but they call that treason in England which in all parts of Christendom besides is both called and counted religion and the highest virtue. For we beseech them to tell us, Of what treason do they convict us at any time, but the treason of being a priest? the treason to say mass? the treason to refuse the oath? the treason to absolve penitents confessing their sins? the treason to restore men to the communion of the Church? the treason to preach and administer Christ's sacraments? the treason to be bred up in the seminaries, where only, as things now stand in England, they can be Catholicly bred."†

"How strange," continues this ancient author, "that the laws of England should make a function so ancient and honorable in England as the priesthood once was, to be treason? which certainly is the same function now that it was then, when it was most honored; and hath suffered no more change from what it first was than St. Paul's church hath suffered change since the time it was first built by king Ethelbert; that is, it is grown old indeed; and for papists, if men go about to make them a sect, and endeavor to suppress them under that notion, truly we shall be found a very ancient sect; and I believe it will trouble the best doctor in England to assign us any other sect-master, any other author and founder of our profession, than our Saviour Christ and St. Peter."‡

Of such charges we may say, in the words of Philemon,

> Ὁ λοιδορῶν,—ἐὰν ὁ λοιδορούμενος,
> Μὴ προσποιῆται, λοιδορεῖται λοιδορῶν.

Of the reality of these laws against the priesthood we can still witness monumental proof in these secret recesses for concealment, so artfully contrived in the old houses of Catholics in England, which, where minds have been well directed, as in that venerable hall to which my memory will ever revert when it seeks to be

* Lib. v. 8. Jerusalem and Babel, 531. ‡ Ibid. p. 568.

consoled by a living image of the ancient honor, are shown to some favored few, as things too deeply interesting to be made the theme of talk, or even to be seen by those whom curiosity alone impels, but which should be approached with profound religious sympathy, as some holy spot which is the object of a pilgrimage, and which only the devout can wish to penetrate. Well may they be prized ; for they are true sanctuaries, hallowed by the sufferings of blessed confessors who endured persecution for the sake of justice. No bed of honor in the old discipline of knights, no sacred page of martyrology chanted at the convent board, can be more fraught with a power of inspiring hearts with a love of honor and of highest truth, than these dark vaults under the sunken and uneven floor of the time-worn oak-panneled room, or beneath the tower's winding-stairs, which seem to admit of no space hidden from the eye of him who mounts them; when a noble and pious hand raises the mysterious door over which massive beams seem resting, and reveals to a stranger, impressed with awe and reverence, the secret tradition of the family.

The legal character of this persecution was not a novelty to the Church, further than in extent and duration. Julian's policy resembled that of these later days. He disqualified Christians for bearing offices in the state. He forbade them to teach either rhetoric or philosophy : he commanded by an edict, that they should no longer be called Christians, but Galilæans; and though he pretended toleration, he destroyed more souls by recompenses, caresses, and stratagems, than he could have done by cruelties. He levied heavy fines, and seized the estate of Christians, saying in raillery, that he did it to oblige them to follow the poverty which their religion recommended. He often put them to death, but on other pretences, that he might deprive them of the honor of martyrdom.

On the rise of the new opinions, or rather, as Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, styled them in the House of Lords, in 1559, "of the errors and sects of ancient condemned heretics," kings and rulers, lords and commons, allowed themselves to be led on by the mania which had formerly seemed inherent to the Byzantine throne, of forcing their ideas as laws upon the Church. For more than two centuries laws more violent than those of Valerian or Diocletian were put in full force in England ; and thousands suffered either death, or confiscation, or exile. It was the same elsewhere. "Geneva," says Audin, "resembled Rome under Tiberius."* Shakespeare seems to have had the false reformers and their victims in his view, when he made Aaron say, "Swear !" and Lucius to reply, "Who should I swear by? Thou believ'st no God ; then how canst thou believe an oath ?" For upon this retort he makes Aaron answer thus :

"What If I do not ? as indeed I do not :
Yet—for I know thou art religious,
And hast a thing within thee called conscience,

* Hist. de Calvin, ii. 172.

And twenty popish tricks and ceremonies,
Which I have seen thee careful to observe,—
Therefore I urge thy oath."*

The progeny of Calvin, who from France flocked to Geneva, the German princes who embraced the reform, and the English nobles who assisted to establish it, might all have held this language.† Lords and Commons showed themselves wiser in legislating against priests and monks, and Catholics generally, men, women, and children than they have proved since in regard to the ordinary objects of the law. It must be confessed that he who first guided them on this path, like the barbarous Cyclops, did his business well, *πάντα κατα μοῖραν*.‡ All was deeply planned, and executed with an infernal malice. Thus in Elizabeth's time we find, in a state document of 1558, entitled Device for Alteration of Religion, these cruel words: "Ireland also will be very difficultly staid in their obedience, by reason of the clergy that is so addicted to Rome. What remedy for these matters? Some expense of money in Irelund." The blood boils in one's veins when one reads the seventh arcticle of the propositions sent to the king by both houses so late as in 1642, in which they entreat his majesty "to consent to such a bill as shall be drawn for the education of the children of papists by Protestants in the Protestant religion." Laws were framed with a design, rendered feasible by the moral consequences of the new opinions, to separate man from wife, children from parents, brothers from sisters, friends from friends. They were so subtle that they reached the heart; and he who could not accuse his friend of open wrong might say, complaining with the poet,

"I have not from your eyes that gentleness
And show of love as I was wont to have."

The odious letter of the unfortunate youth, Edward VI. to the princess Mary his sister, is an instance. The persecution thus was alternately artful and atrocious, like that of Pharaoh, who made the people of God hateful to his subjects, while seeking means to destroy them. "Come," said he, "let us oppress them wisely, prudently;§ that is, secretly and craftily. He did not, indeed, force the Israelites to quit their religion, nor to sacrifice to strange gods; they were suffered to live, and to possess what was necessary to life; but their life was made insupportable by loading them with labors, and giving them governors, who oppressed them. At length he proceeded to open persecution, and condemned their male children to be drowned in the Nile.‖

The persecutors of whom we speak aimed also at humiliating their victims by a thousand legal disabilities, resembling those which the Mahometans imposed in the middle ages upon Christians in the east; but their cruelty descended to a meanness, to which nothing parallel could be found out of their immediate sect,

* Tit. Andron. act. v. sc. i
† Audin, Hist. de Calvin, ii passim.
‡ Odys. ix.
§ Exod. x. 11.
‖ Bossuet, Elévations.

as in the conduct of the lords in the time of Edward IV. in persecuting Mary. In all this too, as the Viscount Montagu said in the House of Lords, "the legislature was only lending itself to the designs of those who looked to wax mighty and of power by the confiscation, spoil, and ruin of the houses of noble and ancient men."

But of this fearful union of all persecuting elements, the most calamitous result, as affecting the present condition of the just militating in the Church on earth, has not yet been considered. Terrible as it appears when we survey its sanguinary, insidious, and legislative character, it is, when regarded chiefly as disturbing the pacific order of social and religious principles and consequences illustrated, in the last two books of this history that its native deformity is most clearly seen.

"While the pope reigned," said Luther, in his letter to the people of Antwerp, "one heard of no troubles." To whatever cause he might ascribe it, the fact was so. "All the world," as Florimond de Raimond says, writing to Stephen Pasquier, "was living in peace on the subject of religion, every one continuing tranquilly in the faith of his fathers, till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when all became disunited and divided into sects and heresies, which covered the whole earth with misery and desolation."* This counsellor of the parliament of Bordeaux, who reaped his full share of calumny, describes the happy pacific state of Italy at the very time when these horrors reigned in Germany, France, and England. Nothing can be more delightful than his faithful representation of the religious and social tranquillity which that faithful land enjoyed under the holy Pope Clement VIII., whose labors to promote peace were extended over the whole Church;† and it is idle to think of justifying the disturbance of this order by a false statement, and a poetical figure, saying that "the European world was in a state of stagnant putrescence, loathsome, accursed death, and that a paroxysm was necessary to cure it." France herself, as we have seen, had appeared a paradise to those who visited it in preceding times. The State of England during the previous reign of Henry VII. was prosperous and powerful; and to the social order of Germany in the days of his youth, Luther used continually to recur with a melancholy pleasure. But no sooner had the destructive element of heresy been introduced, than all this beautiful world of faith was broken up and dissolved. That lying, virulent, seditious voice was like the tongue of the daughters of black Night,

Καρπὸν φέροντα πάντα μὴ πράσσειν καλῶς·

bearing for fruit that nothing should be well;‡ a harvest which the sons of Eve are reaping, by their own avowal, to the present hour.

"O! heretical insanity," to use the words of St. Augustin,

* Lettres De Pasquier, xx. 5.

† Hist. de Naissance, Progrezet Décadence de l'Hérésie de ce Siècle, tom. i. liv. iii. 4.

‡ Æsch. Eumen. 831.

"Thou art the author of this evil.
. . . . . Now plenteous, as thou seest
These acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,
Though heaviest by just measure on thyself
And thy adherents: how hast thou disturb'd
Heav'n's blessed peace, and into nature brought
Misery?. . . . . .
. . . . . How hast thou instill'd
Thy malice into thousands once upright
And faithful, now prov'd false?"

"Auferat omnia irrita oblivio, si potest; si non, utcumque silentium tegat," said Scipio, on one occasion of the belief and hopes and wishes of his fellow-men.* We too, as appears from our procrastination, led to this pass by strict necessity not by delight, have shrunk from looking upon the contrast to the peaceful bliss of Catholic states during Ages of Faith. All my inclinations strove to check my onward going, that oft-times with purpose to retrace my steps, I turned; but silence here were vain; and though I unfold that which may with many woefully disrelish, at last, though late, it must be seen.

In the Church, as we have shown from history, in the nations and ages faithful to it, was the vision of peace, as in Jerusalem; but now arose a race of persecutors, "who hated Jerusalem, who hated peace," as St. Augustin says, "who wished to break unity, who did not believe true peace, but who announced a false peace to the people. Peace," he continues, "cannot be with their spirits, who diffuse dissensions; for, if it were, they would have loved peace and kept unity."† It was their principle to confound all unity, to divide each kingdom. In attacking both moral and social liberty, their state maxims were subversive of the peace and security of every state. After destroying all that had been held sacred before their time, the false reformers attacked even the political instincts of man; "so that," as Florimond de Raimond observes, "if some have said truly, that heresy was a false opinion, or an error opposed to the truth of faith, destined to attack the 'Christian religion,' as the Emperors Gratian and Theodosius have described it, others have no less truly said, that it was an invention of the author of discord, the god of division, sown in the world as universal solvents to decompose the greatest and most flourishing monarchies, and reduce all things to a chaos of confusion and disorder."‡

"See," says De Raimond, "how these bands, separated from their first mother, after quitting her banner, tear even one another, anathematize each other, attack, defame, reproach, and insult each other."§ "In Geneva, Berne, and in every other city," says De Haller, "Protestantism produced nothing but hatred and discord, even among its own followers,—discord between states, discord between the citizens." "I never stop one mouth of the devil," says Luther, speaking of the reform-

* Liv. xxviii. 29. † In Ps. cxxiv. ‡ In Ps. tom. ii. liv. i. c. i. § Id. liv. ii. 13

ers who opposed him, "without his opening ten others against me." How many would he find open now?

The spectacle of their dissensions, and of the domestic persecutions to which they led, was enough to deprive a country of its joy. Each Catholic, however he might have hoped to pass his life, silent, unobstructive, far from the spectacle of human vanity, felt the wound in his heart of hearts. "Accursed and unquiet wrangling days," he cried; "how many of you have mine eyes beheld!" Lord Clarendon says, that "the disease of murmuring became almost incorporated into the nature of the nation." "Ventum jam ad finem esse," he might have said in the words of Livy, "domi plus belli concitari, quam foris." Indeed, from the precise fruits which the false reform bore, the Catholic Church from the earliest times had daily besought God to deliver all her children; so that, with a mind prophetic of the woes that were preparing, she seemed to have composed those lines of the meridian hymn:

"Extingue flammas litium,
Aufer calorem noxium,
Confer salutem corporum
Veramque pacem cordium."

But these fruits were to be gathered; and neither bodies nor souls were to have peace any longer. And now, says Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, in 1559, "sithence the coming of our most sovereign lady, Queen Elizabeth, all things are turned upside down; obedience is gone; humility and meekness are clear abolished, as though they had never been heard of in this realm." We might address each of these innovators in the words of Æschylus:

Ὀρφεῖ δὲ γλῶσσαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχεις.
Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἥγε πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾷ,
Σὺ δ' ἐξορίνας νηπίοις ὑλάγμασιν
Ἄξῃ, κρατηθεὶς δ' ἡμερώτερος φανῇ.*

"What are the consequences of their pretended reform? It has produced," continues Fénélon, "nothing but scandals, troubles, disputes, and irreligion." Under its fairest forms, it has persecuted with systematic cruelty, so that it resembles a grove planted around the temple of the Furies. Its ordinary fruits were rebellion, insolent defiance of its natural rulers, tyranny, oppression of the people, bloodshed, destruction, war, religious wars, intestine wars, national wars, fulfilling the sentence of Almighty God, "Non est pax impiis."

For the religious wars of France there is a trilogy of Protestant historians,—La Place, La Planche, and La Pepinière. Besides these, in later times, Theodore Agrippa D'Aubigny, grandfather of Madame de Maintenon, chief of the same party, left a work, breathing the inspiration of a warrior. The Catholic Church

* Æschyl. Agam. 1615.

contemporary historians for the epoch of these wars. All the activity was on the side of their opponents, "which," adds Michelet, "is unfortunate." Among the historians of a later period, who described these wars from what they had heard or read, may be distinguished De Thou; often exact, but timid, and, in regard to the parliament, worthless; for being a parliamentarian, he did not dare to record the truth, whether good or evil. Pierre Matthieu must also be examined; one of the grand historians of the French language, strictly impartial, and, in regard to style, magnificent. An earlier work, however, too remarkable to be passed over in silence through deference to those who charged it with partiality, is the great history of the rise of heresy by a counsellor of the parliament at Bourdeaux, Florimond de Raimond, whose convictions are more energetically expressed from their being the fruit of his own long experience and personal observation. Michelet supposes that Bossuet had this work open before him, when he was writing his history of the variations; and he takes occasion to observe, that these great legists of the south are not sufficiently known to his contemporaries. As sources of historical literature relative to the same period, he cites also the admirable literary works of the great Jesuits of that time. The injustice of the three last centuries caused, he says, the Catholic writers to be laid aside, and would suffer no others to become popular but the Protestant books; which are, in effect, like Lethe, or that place seen by Dante, "whither to lave themselves the spirits go;" excepting, indeed, that the blame of those who seek to efface it here, has not been by penitence removed.

However, as late authors say, a great change in this respect has taken place in men's ideas. By dint of research and comparisons, one grave historian even says that he arrives at this historical formula—to regard as false whatever the chiefs of the reform adduce as true, to count glorious whatever they stigmatise, to crown and extol all that they degrade and outrage; and he assures us, that if they apply this formula, we shall never be mistaken:* words which may seem quick and rash until they have been weighed by an accurate and experienced intelligence, and then it will be found that they are as measured as they are mournful. Those who have a right to be heard, from having studied history, like this author, at its sources for five-and-twenty years, will admit that they have discovered the rule long since by themselves, and that, to doubt its validity, would in them be affectation. But having pointed at the sources, let us ask now, What, upon the whole, is the information? Let the eye-witness, let the older observers speak: "This discourse demands audience, gentlemen Lutherans, Calvinists, and Zuinglians," says Florimond de Raimond; "open your eyes through the cloud of dust rising over so many demolished churches. Penetrate the density of the smoke of so many conflagrations; contemplate the kingdoms that are covered with sepulchres and cemeteries of new made graves: you will recognize the work of

* Audin, Hist. de Calvin, ii. 407.

your fathers and progenitors, authors of these desolations; and you will acknowledge deplorable traces of their fury and devastation."*

During the first seven or eight years, it was a war of fierce conflicting tongues, of insults, calumnies, and lies against the Holy See. "After I am dead," said Luther, "my ashes will make war against this papal crowd." That did not look like the man of "peaceable disposition," which some pretend that he was. Then, at the sound of his trumpet, the subject began to arm himself against his prince, the vassal against his seigneur, the citizen against his magistrate; and the sweetness of peace was changed into a cruel lamentable war. Thenceforth we read only of leagues, massacres, seditions, devastation of provinces, and, in short, of a world of miseries and unprecedented calamities. Luther being dead, all Germany prepares for war.† Then each prince was like Alaric, who thought that an invincible fatality drew him on to attack Rome. After mounting thrones, heresy, in the league of Smalkalde, swears against the chief of the empire an eternal war. Spent with crimes, and having desolated Germany, it calls to its aid the savages of the north, and causes the thirty years' war. Then follow the wars of the United Provinces, the intestine wars of Switzerland, and the religious wars of France, reviving the horrors of the invasion of Attila, the religious wars in Ireland, and the long series of cruelties and insults which marked the policy of its government. Alas! poor country; thou canst not witness the monuments of early Christianity, teaching how the pagan mind could persecute without being reminded of thine own sufferings. The Roman orator, describing Sicily under Verres, seems to have foreseen and copied thee: "O, spectaculum miserum atque acerbum!"‡ As De Haller says, the introduction of Protestantism was everywhere with violence and oppression. In general, it only advanced in proportion as armed battalions took possession of territories.§ "On such a day the divine justice has passed by such a village, and hearts were converted," say the preachers, meaning that the people on the devoted spot were obliged to capitulate and surrender. "We conjure all men of good faith," says a late historian, "to say whether the conversion of Switzerland was effected by other means."‖ When preaching, swords, and cannon had proved ineffectual to shake the faith of a canton, Zurich and Berne attempted to reduce it by famine, seizing the passes, blocking up the roads with fragments of rocks, and burning the crops.¶

"As soon as peace was made," says Florimond de Raimond, "between the princes of Germany, by the last defeat of cruel Albert, war began again between the writers; then followed colloquies and synods, divisions of states, and decrees that all subjects should follow the religions of their respective princes. Meanwhile, in England, martyrs followed martyrs to the block. Open your eyes, gentlemen who pretend to be reformed, glorious title that you acquire in France, by

* Hist. de la Naissance, &c. l. i. 6. † Liv. iii. 1, 2. ‡ Ver. Lib. v.
§ Hist. de la Reforme en Suisse, 20. ‖ Audin, Hist. de Calvin, 1. ¶ [redacted]

strokes of the sword and the firing of cannon. Contemplate the picture of your poor country bathed in blood. Ah! how easy it is to ruin and destroy! but to build again, gentlemen, ah! there's the difficulty. You reformers of the world know how to pull down, but not to build. Marvellous workmen you are, who in such brief space have destroyed the labor of twelve hundred years, and caused more arms to be wielded than ever the Romans moved for the conquest of the universal world. To this day, that we escape from these horrors, you have caused in France nine drawn battles, more than two hundred great engagements, which, in loss of men, equal many regular battles, taken or retaken, sacked or resacked nearly all the cities and castles of the kingdom, and made to pass by the sword of fire more than a million of your fellow-citizens."* "You know," he continues, "how the Christian religion began in peace and benediction and salutation of peace; but this libertine religion comes forth from its mother ready-armed with teeth and claws; it comes forth to the sound of trumpets and drums, to the clink of arms; and before it can speak, moves its hands, and fills the world with terror. See the difference between the two. See on one side the minister flanked in the midst of bands and squadrons of warriors, and on the other, the apostles of Jesus Christ, surrounded with persecutors. Wolves here and lambs there. Serpents and dragons and simple doves. There, armed brethren, breathing only carnage, and carrying a Gospel presented like a musket at their God and at their king. Here, the ancient champions of faith, exposing themselves to death to honor their master, to save kings and people breathing only sweetness and love. There, a band amongst the children of the world, frantic with the spirit of Satan. Here, the peace of God amongst the children of heaven. See how this reformed libertine, when he grows tall, sounds sedition and war, and inhumanly conducts it, wherever he can place his foot and insinuate a hand: and what gospel is this? who sees not that it is a weapon of him who, from the moment of his fall, has never ceased to make war against God, and against his Church, and to feed his appetite with the lives and blood of men?"† Nor, let it be repeated, were these consequences unforeseen by the authors of this division. From the first, as we have seen, they proclaimed them as inevitable, so that it is by no means such "strange reasoning to charge the Reformation with them all." "Luther, to a slight observer," we are told, "might have seemed a man whose chief distinction was modesty, affectionate shrinking tenderness." It must have been to a very slight observer then. That seeming gentleness, however, would not have peace at any price. At first, it must have war with the scholastic philosophy, war with the popedom, war with theology, war with the sacerdotal hierarchy, against which it issued a treatise that might be said, as one of its biographers observes, to be written, not with ink, but with human blood: "Non atramento sed humano sanguine scripsisse videtur."‡ Then

* Flor. de Raim. tom. i. liv. v. 13. vii. c. i.

† Ibid. ii. liv. i. c. 9.

‡ Ulemberg. 161. ap. Audin, Hist. de Luth. ii.

this was not sufficient, and he who was led by it exclaims, "I do not choose to turn a sword into a pen. The Word of God is a sword; it draws after it fire and ruin, scandal and perdition; it is like the bear on the high road, the lioness in the forest. If you understand the spirit of the reform, you must know that it cannot work without tumult and sedition. Talk not of my passion. See, nothing lasts that is done with calm. What will you? The Word of God never goes forth without trouble and tumult, and thunders on the heights. One must renounce either peace or the divine word. The Lord is come to bring war and not peace; I am seized with terror: væ terræ! woe to the earth!" He sees a futurity all of blood; for it is a tragedy he is about to play, which will end, like the ancient tragedies, by murder. That does not discourage him. He is never satiated repeating it. His work he knows will cause tears and blood. It matters not. He will still persevere. Væ terræ! the prophecy will soon be accomplished. As Germany will rise up; murder will walk the streets of her cities. There will be blood in the market-places, blood in the churches. Væ terræ!"* In the war of the peasants more than a hundred thousand men were slain in the field of battle, seven cities were dismantled, and fifty monasteries razed to the ground. Then it was that Luther, encouraging the princes to slaughter the peasants, exclaimed, "Mirabile tempus nimirum ut principes multo facilius trucidandis rusticis et sanguine fundendo quam alii fundendis at Deum precibus cœlum mereantur."† Truly, deeds and words such as these, might seem to need the avowal of their authors; though, had they been silent, or denied what they avowed, they had not hid their sin the more. Judge then for thyself, reader, of those whom I so oft accuse to thee, what they are and how grievous their offending, who are the cause of all our ills; for where is the state, where the family, in which, to the present hour, some are not persecuted, in consequence of the bitter seed which they sowed three centuries ago?

Let us only cast our eyes back towards the region of peace, intellectual and social, which was traversed in the last two books, and we shall feel the force of this persecution, which the Catholic society had now to sustain for adhering to the principles which had governed it during Ages of Faith. Transgressing these, it fell, no less than nature, from its state in paradise. For while these ages lasted, spirits that sowed discord, whether between states or individuals, were driven out from all the confines where they could trouble holy rest; and even frequently courts themselves, contemplative like Heaven, the seat of bliss, brooked not the words of violence and war. These knights of the old mark were saying with the fabled hero, that "the time was no longer, when men should thus conquer kingdoms, to the injury of their neighbor and of their Christian brother; that such an imitation of these ancient Herculeses, Alexanders, Hannibals, Scipios, Cæsars, and others similar, is contrary to the profession of the Gospel, by which it is com-

* Audin, Hist. de Luth. I.

† Ap. id. ii. 178.

manded that each should guard, save, rule, and administer his own country and lands, and not hostilely invade others; and that what the Sarassins and barbarians used to call prowess, is now called by us brigandery and wickedness."*

"Sire, je te prie que il te preingne pitié de moy et m'oste de ces guerres entre crestiens." Such was the prayer of the Seigneur de Brancion, as Joinville relates, offered with a loud cry before the altar, at which the brave knight knelt immediately after a battle. But what a change of sentiments on this head attended the decline of faith! Let us fix our eyes attentively at this feature, denoting the love of war in the character of the false reformers, to whom the Bible appeared as the true Arbre des Batailles, the manual for those who were to fight.

We have seen that, in Ages of Faith, wars were sanctioned in certain cases, as necessary for the interests of peace, and that "fortitude which defends by war a country from barbarians, or protects the weak at home, or allies from plunderers, was deemed full justice," as St. Ambrose says.† But how great was the distance between this just estimate of the lawfulness of war and the spirit of the innovators of the sixteenth century, who sought by force of arms to propagate their religious views, and who waged it recklessly on every occasion when their passions raged! Theirs was a spirit essentially opposed to the meek virtues which engender peace, rendering men similar to him who was most hateful even to the Homeric deity, for loving always discord, wars, and battles. We have seen that those who took part even in just wars were regarded as requiring penances to effuce the contamination of blood, so conformable was the general impression to the judgment of Plato, when he said, "neither will we place arms in temples, as offerings to be suspended from the walls, for whether these be taken from Greeks or strangers, we should rather fear that there would be a pollution to the temple which received them!"‡ we have heard the reiterated admonitions that were then addressed to all who advocated war; who were told, as by the poet:

> "Lordinges, ther is ful many a man
> That crieth werre, werre, that wote
> Ful litel what werre amounteth;"

we have marked the affecting entreaties of holy men, resembling in their end the concluding words of the Orestes:

> ἴτε νῦν καθ' ὁδὸν, τὴν καλλίστην
> Θεὸν Εἰρήνην τιμῶντες.

"May length of days be in thy country's right hand, and in her left riches and honor: may all her ways be pleasantness, and all her paths peace;" we have even seen how general was that conviction to which Plato looked as conducing to an ideal social perfection, "that no one should ever hate another, and that it was not

* Rabelais. † S. Amb. de Off. ‡ De Repub. v.

holy to have an enemy," which was a lesson imparted to youth from earliest years, as well as to manhood and to old age, which, as Plato says, "would supersede all those Homeric notions of martial glory,"* which he considered so dangerous, that, on that account, he would exclude the poems which instil them from his republic. But while Catholics generally were acknowledging, with the Marquis de Pescara, the difficulty of serving at the same time Mars and Christ, as Brantome relates in his Memoirs, the preacher of the new opinions was invoking πολύδακρυν Ἄρηα, and exercising the two-fold office of minister and captain. How would it be possible to make mention of forcing new opinions in religion upon a faithful peasantry, at the point of the bayonet, under the banner of kings, or elsewhere, of rebellion against kings who stood faithfully for the Catholic religion, of storming of cities, and of the carnage of drawn battles in a civil war, without speaking of this ambiguous personage, the black-robed or surpliced captain? How could one record the injuries sustained by those who defended their religion and their homes against domestic enemies, without finding him in the fraternity of those who were leagued together to inflict them?

Many are the tearful consequences which nations suffered from the false reform; manifold the persecutions to which it led; τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, to use the words of Thucydides, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ἔχοντες· for, let it be observed, wherever they penetrated,

> "Hic matres, miseræque nurus, hic cara sororum
> Pectora mœrentum, puerique parentibus orbi
> Dirum execrantur bellum . . . ."†

Some, indeed, whose habits of life, consequent upon the new opinions that were afloat, excluded all sympathy with the multitude, might be steeled to endure the spectacle of these woes. Joseph Scaliger frequently told Heinsius, that when in Paris, in time of the troubles, he studied Hebrew with such ardor, that he never once heard the noise of arms, the cries of children, the lamentations of women, or the clamor of men.‡ But such insensibility was never found in those holy cloisters, that we lift there up aloft, where the spirits of men contemplative groaned in pain at the sufferings of the faithful people.

The persecutors of the Catholic Church, in all ages, as in our own, have resembled Mahometans in this respect, that they heartily relished propagating their opinions by material force, by the sword. They have always been ready to advocate a war of religion, a war of principles, whether the banner be that of Gospel light, or liberalism, or conservatism. Their leaders have been inhuman, encouraging their bands in words like those of Cæsar to his troops.

> "Sed dum tela micant, non vos pietatis imago
> Ulla, nec adversa conspecti fronte parentes
> Commoveant."§

* De Repub ii † Æn. xi. 215. ‡ Heinsii Orat. ii. Lucan

Their followers, true lovers *μάχης δακρυοέσσης*, have been sanguinary and eager, like wolves, as Homer would say, to slay and to devour:

. . . . . οἱ δὲ, λύκοι ὡς,
Ἀλλήλοισι ἐπόρουσαν, ἀνὴρ δ' ἄνδρ' ἐδινοπάλιζεν.

In the sixteenth century, historians expressly remark that the eagerness for war evinced by the people of St. Gall, and of other parts of Switzerland, was a new feature in the history of the country. On the slightest pretence they used to rush to arms and march in bands, carrying destruction with them, as Constance, Arbon, and many other states had reason to remember. Theodore Beza boasts, indeed, of the fine discipline in the Calvinist army, of the strict morality, the daily psalmody, and prayers and sermons of the ministers; but, as Anquetil observes, "The result was a sombre and ferocious zeal, each soldier being convinced that the greatest cruelties were lawful for the cause of his religion;" and, for the better recruiting of their armies, some years later, this strict morality was found compatible with two of their most eminent chaplains publicly avowing that their own soldiers, when taken prisoners, and released upon their oaths that they would not again bear arms, were not obliged by that oath, and with the ministers absolving them thereof, in order to engage them again in the work of rebellion. In presence of what Gibbon terms this high-spirited enthusiasm, which caused the Protestant soldiers to shed tears, like the primitive Moslems, when they were held back from battle, one need not refer to Christian antiquity, to find a contrast, or appeal to the canons of St. Basil, which decreed that all who were polluted by the bloody trade of a soldier should be separated during three years from the communion of the faithful. The very pagans can supply it, and corroborate the opposite views of glory, which prevailed in Ages of Faith.

"Metellus tuus est egregius consul," says Cicero to Atticus; "unum reprehendo, quod otium e Gallia nunciari non magnopere gaudet. Cupit credo triumphare. Hoc vellem mediocrius; cætera egregia."† To succeed in obtaining a triumph, it was necessary, by the discipline of the republic, that he should kill at least five thousand men in battle. The humane mind of the philosopher might therefore justly qualify his praise; and they who most admired the great men of the Protestant camp, would have done well to have imitated him in their panegyrics. The admiral Coligni, indeed, affected to be a lover of peace, and, in order to deceive King Charles, told him that he thought of nothing but gardening; as a proof, showing to his messenger a little hoe which he held in his hand: but eight days afterwards he appeared in the field, a true son of Mars, at the head of his Protestant troops. Another king, too, as an English historian attests, upon the observation and experience he had in the same party, reformed his first opinions as to the virtue of his contemporaries, "finding those of the most unsuspected integ-

*Ildefons von Arx, Geschichte des S. Gall, ii. 404. † Ep. i. 10.

rity, and of the greatest eminence for their piety and devotion, most industrious to impose upon and cozen men of weaker parts and understanding, upon the credit of their sincerity to concur with them in mischievous opinions which they did not comprehend, and which conducted to dishonest actions they did not intend. He saw the most bloody and inhumam rebellion, contrived by them who were generally believed to be the most solicitous and zealous for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom, with such art and subtilty, and so great pretensions to religion, that it looked like ill-nature to believe that such sanctified persons could entertain any but holy purposes. In a word, religion was made a cloak to cover the most impious designs, and reputation of honesty a stratagem to deceive and cheat others who had no mind to be wicked. A barbarous and bloody fierceness and savageness had extinguished all relations, hardened the hearts, and bowels of all men; and an universal malice and animosity had even covered the most innocent and best-natured people and nation upon the earth"* Thus faithfully could the wiser sort pourtray the most prominent features of their own party. Holy men had predicted the expansion of this cursed flower from the growth of vicious roots among the people. "In the time of our ancestors," says a contemporary, "Master Thomas Conette, and brother John de Rochetaillade and other great preachers, declared that the prevalence of vices and worldly vanities would cause a deluge of woes: the people would not believe them; and lo! the tempest of war gathered and burst, and left only ruins and desolation, and, after a hundred years, it is not yet over. †

"Our poor England should be a warning to you," he adds; "what a stain has our negligence brought on our honor! What disgrace to our ecclesiastics! What shame on our nobility! What turpitude and persecution on all the people!" Cræsus ascribed his having made war to the malice of some demon: "For no one," he said, "would be so senseless as to choose war instead of peace: since in the one, children bury their fathers, and in the others, fathers their children." But of this choice, of this heresy of war, the persecutors under the banner of "the Reform," were always guilty; nor should we err in attributing it to a similar cause: for we might truly say of them, in the words addressed by the ghost of Darius to the queen, in the oldest tragedy,

Φεῦ! μέγας τις ἦλθε δαίμων, ὥστε μὴ φρονεῖν καλῶς.‡

They chose wars: but what wars! "Gentlemen Huguenots," exclaims one who saw their ravages, "there is not a town in France which you have entered that has not felt the difference between your entries and those of Catholic princes. Is there a country in Europe that has not heard the groans of the poor of Languedoc? What did you not perpetrate at Nismes? at Calvisson? at Pau? at Agen? at Figeac? at Ortez? at Mombrison? at Bazas? Demand of the Catholics of Bearn, some trait of your clemency; of the inhabitants of Angoulême, the history of your good-

* Clarendon. † 2d Advertissement.

ness; of the citizens of Montaut, in the country of Foix, the instances of your mercy." Who could describe the persecutions inflicted by this terrible invader on the citizens of Lyons in 1562, and of Rouen, in the same year? Holy was the quarrel on the part of those who tried to ward off such unutterable desolation, black and fearful was that of its instruments; yet, as the defenders of the League lamented, evil men would join even their ranks, as the clearest stream must receive filth in its passage.*

Catholics then had to undergo perils of false brethren, from men answering to the description given of Biron, who had been badly brought up; Calvinists at first by education, then Catholics for sake of interest, retaining through life only indifference for both; of moral discipline, either ignorant or disdainful, passionate, obstinate, presumptuous.

In that danger of the republic, while persecuted Catholics, as Pasquier recommended, "had recourse to God by humble prayers, processions, and public rogations, the corrupt men of the time, who had imbibed the spirit of infidelity, ridiculed such things, leaving the cross to good men, and taking up for themselves the staff of the cross, of that John represented by Rabelais."†

The numbers of the latter increased for he says that "the wars between the two parties for the last thirty-four years in France, had brought nothing but atheism,"‡ which was to add the last drop to the cup of persecution that was then preparing, and which shortly afterwards, in another revolutionary torrent, was to overflow the world. Here would be place for fresh sights of horror; but the time permitted now is short, and, without attending to such recent woes; § more not seen remains to see.

* Second Advertissement. &c. 18. † Lett. liv. x. 6. ‡ Liv. vi. 26.
§ Vide Mém. pour servir à l' Hist. de la. Relig. pendant le xviii. Siècle, tom ii.

CHAPTER. XII.

AMONG e blessed who were persecuted on account of justice by those who proclaimed themselves reformers of the Church, there was, however, a distinct class of sufferers, against whom their fury was directed in an especial manner. In the last book, we adduced the inhabitants of cloisters as constituting a distinct world, pre-eminent for its pacific character; and here we must return to that society apart, and view it exposed to all the sufferings resulting from the peculiar hostility of those who combated against truth and peace.

"All carnal are hostile to spiritual men," says St. Augustin; "all who covet present, persecute those whom they find meditating eternal things. These are the children of Edom, who cry, Evacuate, evacuate, usque dum fundamentum in ea. In every persecution of the Church this is the cry against the houses of the spiritual. The unhappy children of Edom, wasted with misery like the daughter of Babylon, subject to the devouring solicitude of Satan and his angels, following the concupiscence of the flesh, and all its strong allurements, exclaim, Away with them! let not one remain! down with them to the foundations! Thus do they cry; and thus are the martyrs crowned."*

Moreover, we must bear in mind that the desire of beatitude by suffering persecution for justice, entered into the original design of the monastic orders, which were a most natural and even necessary development of the spirit of Christianity. They were founded, as the Church was founded, on poverty, sorrow, contradiction, crucifixion, every species of worldly distress and humiliation. "Voluntary poverty," says St. Bernardine of Sienna, "and temporal persecution are sisters; and the keys of the kingdom of heaven are given to them both. not only promissively but possessively. Voluntary poverty is a kind of martyrdom; for it is externally lacerated by the points of the world, and internally stimulated by many vexations. In both, it is necessary that the mind should conquer, and in both we seek favor with God alone, without dreading to be confounded in the sight of men."† Hence in the sublime fresco of the lower Church of Assisi, which represents the marriage of Poverty and Francis, the bride, though crowned with roses and a radiant light, is represented with bleeding feet, from having walked

* In Ps. cxxxvi.

† S. Bern. Sien. Serm. xii.

on thorns and sharp stones. The children of the world insult her; they are shown throwing stones at her, and striking her, and loading her with maledictions, while the choir of angels profoundly adores the mystic union.*

It was the monastic spirit to covet such persecution as the perfect joy. St. Francis walking once with brother Leon, said to him, "God grant that the minors may give a great example of sanctity to the whole world: nevertheless observe that this is not the perfect joy. O Leon, though they should give sight to the blind, utterance to the dumb, and raise the dead, it would not be the perfect joy." Then, after a time, he said, "O brother Leon, if the brothers knew all tongues and all sciences, if they had the gift of prophecy, and could read hearts, it would not be the perfect joy." Again, after a pause he said, "O Leon, little sheep of God, if the minors should speak with the tongue of angels, if they knew the course of the stars, the virtue of plants, the secrets of the earth, the nature of birds, fish, men, and of all animals, trees, stones, and water, it would not be the perfect joy." And again further on, he said, "O brother Leon, if the brothers should convert all infidels to the Christian faith, it would not be the perfect joy;" and thus he continued to speak during many miles, till at length Leon in surprise demanded, "O Father, I pray you, in the name of God, tell me then, what is the perfect joy?" He replied, "When we shall arrive at St. Mary's of the Angels, wet, cold, and hungry; and after knocking at the gate, the porter will say, 'Who are you?' and we shall answer, 'Two of your brethren,' and he will rejoin, 'It is false; you are two idle vagabonds, taking alms from the really poor,' and we shall be left without all night in the snow; and we suffer this with patience, and without murmuring, believing charitably that the porter speaks thus by the permission of God; and when, constrained by the cold, we shall implore him to admit us, and he will be irritated, and will rush out to inflict blows with a great stick, and we shall bear it all, in the hope of participating in the sufferings of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, then, O Leon! be assured that this will be the perfect joy; for amongst all the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which Christ vouchsafes to his servants, the greatest is to suffer for the love of God."†

"Persecutionem pro justitia sustinere," is an express prescript in the rule of St. Benedict,‡ which words have as much relation to the history as to the duty of the monastic state; for it sprang from persecution, and its office was to endure it meekly. "Hoc ad nostram claustralem pertinet disciplinam," says Petrus Cellensis, "pati et non facere mala: sed potius pro malis reddere bona."§

What is the whole of monastic history, from the beginning to the present hour, but a history of persecution! What a number of blessed men persecuted for sake of justice, both my pagans and Moors, and heretics, pass before us in the Marty-

* Chavin de Malan, Hist. de S. François, 86. † Fioretti di S. Francisco, vii.
‡ Cap. iv. § Pet. Cell. de Disciplina Claustrali ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iii.

rologium Franciscanum, or in the archives of any other order? It is not singly either that they pass, but in whole troops at a time. Thus in the Franciscan Dypticks, we behold the passion of eighteen blessed friars, who suffered by the hands of the Turks in 1541 in the territory of Vienna; at Prague, in 1611, the passion of fourteen blessed brethren put to death by the heretics; in Palestine, in 1288, that of seven martyrs slain by the Sultan of Egypt; in Japan, in 1597, the passion of six friars along with seventeen lay brethren; at Damascus, in 1370, the passion of sixteen blessed brethren; at Potocia in Lithuania, that of five brethren slain by the Tartars in 1563; in Sicily, from 1243 to 1245, that of many brethren martyred by Frederic II. for fidelity to the Holy See; in 1343, in Vilna in Lithuania, that of thirty-six brethren slain by the Tartars; in 1340, at Armalech in Tartary, the passion of seven blessed brethren; in 1426, in an island near Cyprus, the passion of twenty-five blessed brethren, slain for the faith by the Sultan of Egypt; these were taken prisoners by his fleet on board a Venetian ship, and slain for refusing to renounce the faith; in Judæa, in 1367, on Mount Sion, the passion of twelve brethren suffered for the same constancy; in England, in 1538, the passion of thirty-two blessed brethren. Thus worthy standard-bearers of the Church were the friars, according to that verse of the Franciscan hymn, for the vespers of the seraphic father:

"Hunc sequantur huic jungantur,
Qui ex Egypto exeunt,
In quo duce, clare luce,
Vexilla Regis prodeunt."

If we open the older records of the Church, victims of the earliest persecutions, we find monks in the deserts of Africa, whither they had fled, and from which they sometimes returned to the cities of men, in order to quench their thirst for martyrdom. Although Gibbon chose to say that the ascetical life of the monks was one cause of propagating Christianity among the Gentiles, it is certain that the pagans regarded the monastic state with a horror which might excite the envy of those who have revived their spirit in modern times.

Hear how Rutilius Numatianus speaks of it. "Passing by the island of Gorgone, I detest these rocks, the scene of a recent shipwreck. There has perished one of my fellow-citizens, gone down alive into the tomb. He was like ourselves once, sprung from noble ancestors, in possession of a noble fortune, happy by an illustrious marriage: but instigated by the furies, he has abandoned men and gods; and now a credulous exile, he takes pleasure in a filthy retreat. Miserable wretch! who hopes to feed himself with celestial food, and who torments himself, more cruel to himself than the offended gods. Is not this sect then, I ask, more fatal than the poison of Circe? Circe used to change bodies; but now it is minds that are changed."*

The heathens spoke of the monks and hermits of the east with a contemptuous

* Itin. 1.

hatred, attaching ridicule even to their persons. Libanius, in his oration "pro templis," compares them to elephants, because some were corpulent men; all which attacks Heeren chronicles as very just and reasonable.*

For, sooth to say, every thing scandalizes the blind world. John the Baptist, says St. Jerome, was a scandal. John! than whom no one born of woman was ever greater, who was called an angel, and who baptized our Lord; he scandalized the world, because he was clothed with camel's hair, and had a leathern girdle round his loins. Thus he adds, "We who are monks are judged; and men stigmatize us as sad."†

Julian detested the monks; he called them cynics, and charged them with every crime. Like all the early enemies of the Christians, he singled them out for especial persecution. In Carthage, during the greatest corruption of manners, the monks were exposed to unceasing persecution. Salvian, the great preacher of the age, says, that if a monk appeared in the city, the holy man was sure to be pursued with impious expressions of scorn and ridicule.

In the fifth century, the heathen philosopher Apollonius is represented inquiring of Zachæus the Christian, from what cause monks generally were held in such peculiar hatred by many. The other replies, that it is a useful inquiry; for "qui oderant justos delinquunt," and "væ his qui dicunt bonum malum!" To the objection that some were evil, he replies, "Persona magis quam ordo displiceat, nec jure despici propter aliquos possit quod magnanimiter servatur a multis."‡

Such was the long continuance of pagan sentiments, that St. Jerome found the monastic state at Rome reputed as vile and dishonorable; but he says that Marcella was the first woman there who had the courage to rise superior to such a general prejudice: for she embraced its rule when St. Athanasius had instructed her on his coming to Rome.§

The rise of the Arian heresy revived the persecution of monks. The Emperor Valens distinguished them as the proper objects of his barbarous rage. Vast numbers of them were massacred, or sent to labor in the mines. Lucius conducted a military expedition against them, as may be read in the history of Sozomen. St. Augustin says, that the Circumcellians used to insult the Catholics for admitting of monks. What do they mean by such distinction of names? they used to ask. But what need have we, he replied, to compare with words the sober with the intemperate, the considerate with the rash, the simple with the furious, the united with the dispersed?‖

Again, the monks were persecuted by Leo the Isaurian for that justice which consisted in refusing to adopt the opinion of the Jews and Arabs respecting images. Fanaticism and ferocity were never more cruelly evinced than when

* Geschichte der Class. Litterat. im Mittelalter, i. 69. † Epist. xi.
‡ Lib. iii. c. 3. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. x. § Epist. ad. Principiam Virg. ‖ In Ps. cxxxii.

directed against the monks in the Iconoclastic war, during which multitudes of religious men perished. Then were they forbidden to take any more novices; then were they held up to the ridicule of the mob, and made to march with women in mock processions. In Constantinople no monks were left, or none had courage to appear."* The persecution extended not alone to the persons, but even to the buildings of the monks. They were destroyed, or applied to secular purposes, and converted into barracks. The destruction of libraries which then ensued induces even Heeren to complain, for once, as if he was not their foe.† Lachanodraco, whose name indicates perversity, prefect of Thrace, conducted all the monks and nuns of that province to Ephesus. All their monasteries, and furniture, and holy things, their books, animals, and all their habits and vestments, he sold, and gave the price to the emperor, and whatever books of the fathers and relics of the saints he could find, he burnt. This is what the old Greek historian says. St. Athanasius relates the saying of St. Anthony, that the devil hated all Christians, but that, above all, he could not endure monks. Accordingly we find that, even all through the middle ages, monks were continually singled out for persecution by that class of men whom the bestial life, and not the human, pleased.

Pierre Michault, in his Doctrinal de Court, which is an allegory, representing the vices and perils of his age, represents one of the personages, Derision, as laughing at everything holy and good, and forbidding men to respect monks and priests.

"Quant Jacobins ou les Frères Mineurs
Pour vous monstrer seront vos sermonneurs,
N'ensuivez point leurs ditz et leurs parolles;
Ains blasmez fort leur vie et leurs meurs,
Disant qu'ils sont plus horribles pêcheurs
Que ceulx qui vont menant à leur escole:
Frère Gaultier, Damp Richard, Damp Nicole,
Ont fait cecy, et l'autre fait cela,
Et l'autre jour ung tel les dessela."

He concludes by recommending them to praise and extol monks who wander and forsake their monastery.‡

We should remark here by the way that the poets and satirists of the middle ages, who railed against the religious orders, invariably condemn the whole feamale sex as being without virtue! I do not remember an instance of one who ever attacked the religious orders, and at the same time respected women. The least objectionable of these satirists, because distinguished by works of another spirit, John Bouchet, in his poem, Les Regnards Traversans, denies that it is possible to find a virtuous woman; and in the next sentence brings a sweeping condemnation against all monks.§

In general, when hooded men are thus held up to scorn and hatred, it is when

* In Gibbon, v. p. 100. † Gesch. der Class. Litterat. im Mittelalte, i. [redacted]
‡ Gouget, Bibliothèque Françoise, tom. ix. 355. § Id. xi. [redacted]

their revilers are about some act that has no relish of salvation in it; when, like the peasant who asked blessed Jordan, of Saxony, why the seasons were worse since the Dominican and Franciscan orders sprung up, they are under the influence of some base popular delusion, or coinage of a vicious brain; to whom the monks would reply, that if such observations were really true, it might be explained by the fact that, having the religious orders for an example, the world had less excuse for its wickedness: and that, as St. Augustin replied to the pagans, who said, "that no rain fell since the Christians arose, they ought rather to pray than to blaspheme.* But in their sickness, or hours of repentance, such men were disposed to treat them very differently.

Hans II., count of Raperschwil, in the fourteenth century, an enterprising noble, was bitterly hostile to the monks, seizing prisoner the Abbot Conrad, of Einsiedelin, and plundering his castle of Pfeffikon, so that he fell, in consequence, under the ban of the Church; yet, when the plague visited St. Gall, he became so altered a man and docile, that he not only fulfilled immediately the conditions on which it was offered to be withdrawn, but also took the abbey of Einsiedelin into the especial protection of his house. This was the plague which destroyed more than a third of the inhabitants all over Europe. In 1348 sixty thousand died in Basil, and ninety thousand in Lubeck. In the Necrology of St. Gall it is thus mentioned: "Anniversarium omnium virorum, mulierum et puerorum nostri monasterii, qui in 1349 in illa magna et inaudita epidemia obierunt; quorum numerus se extendet ad duo millia et circiter."†

Monks suffered persecution, too, in the middle ages, from men of violence and blood, for defending the material interests entrusted to them. Not to speak of their sufferings from kings and national enemies, as when, after the death of St. Boniface, St. Sturmes, the abbot of Fulda, was the object of calumny, accused of being the enemy of the state, and banished by king Pepin to a monastery of France, in the diocese of Rouen, which is supposed to have been Jumièges, from which his innocence being recognized, he returned to Fulda, where his monks received him with joy, and as when the Normans, under William the Conqueror, looked with an evil eye upon the monks of Croyland, it is certain that they were often troubled by profligate neighbors, who unjustly and cruelly afflicted them. Those of Croyland were sometimes exposed to great danger from the ferocity of persons of the fen.‡ The Benedictines, in their hymn, addressed the saints of their order, in these words:

"Vixistis inter aspides,
Sævisque cum draconibus;"

Though dead to all sentiments of avarice, so that they continue:

* In Psalm lxxx.

† Necrolog. Fabar. sec. 14.

‡ Hist. Croylandens. in Rer. Anglic. Script. tom. I.

"Gemmas et auri pondera
Et dignitatum culmina
Calcastis, et fœdissima
Quæ mundus offert gaudia."

yet had they to defend the property of their respective communities against unjust men, whose enterprises involved them often in grievous persecution. Thus Conrad, Baron de Seldenburen, who in 1100 founded that solemn abbey of Engelberg, amidst the snows of Unterwalden, in which he took the habit, being its first abbot, was martyred for maintaining the just cause of his monastery. Two seigneurs seized some property of the abbey of St. Gall. in 758. St. Othmar, the abbot, complained to King Pepin; and this prince commanded the two usurpers to make restitution; but as they invented excuses for not complying, St. Othmar again set out to the court of Pepin. These lords, hearing of his intention, had him waylaid and then thrown into a dungeon; then they persuaded a bad monk to accuse him of a crime, for which he was condemned as if guilty, and confined in a prison, in the island of Stein, for many years; which cruel persecution he endured in silence, till God called him to himself in 758, on the sixteenth of November, when the Church honors his memory.

The holy Gobert, a monk of Villers, of whom we spoke elsewhere, met his death by a fall which he received from his horse, as he was hastening to the duchess of Brabant to intercede for the monks of a monastery in Louvain whom she was unjustly treating. He was lifted up by his companions and entreated to return. "No," said he, "I will not return without fulfilling my business; and for the cause of the Church I am ready not only for labor, but to meet death." Thus he proceeded on his way, and entered the presence-chamber of the duchess, covered with blood; which she seeing, was greatly alarmed, and begged to know who had treated him so barbarously. "My lady duchess," replied the venerable old man, "it is you who have procured these wounds for me and this loss of blood." The duchess answered, "Most holy father, for all the wealth of the world I would not have done this to you." But he answered: "If you had not unjustly oppressed the monks of this convent, these things would not have happened to me; for, having heard a certain rumor as to what injuries you were about to inflict upon the said Church, that I might beseech you for them, I was delayed by making overgreat haste; as the philosopher says, Every impetus has often difficulties: hence it was that I fell suddenly under my horse, and my horse fell upon me, and thus my face became bloody, as you now behold it." The duchess now began to grieve with great sincerity, and to ask if he could think of any medicine that would do him good. "If indeed, most noble lady, you wish me to be healed, the remedy is in your power." To which she replied, "That there was no pain or money that she would not expend to cure him." But Gobert answered: "If you will leave the said church in quiet possession of its rights, you will presently see me cured in body, and with a cheerful and joyous mind." At these words

ess relented, and promised to give perfect satisfaction; and then the pious Gobert returned home, but it was to be helped into the infirmary of the monastery, where he reposed his exhausted frame, and whence he soon after departed to our Lord.*

The troubles of monastic superiors, on such occasions, may be collected from the letter addressed to King Louis VII. by Armanus, abbot of Manlieu, and brother of Peter of Cluny. "We fly as suppliants to our lord the king; for on all sides we are disquieted by men who fear neither God nor men, and exercise a tyranny over us; to whom, when we offer justice, they, as enemies of justice, count it for nothing. At this moment Chatard de Bosot, a robber and violator of the king's highway, confiding in the assistance of some profligate men, and especially of his uncle, Eustache de Monton, seized the goods of some of our people on the public road. We addressed our complaints to the lord bishop, without finding one who would oppose himself as a shield for the house of Israel. Being destitute, therefore, of all defence, as well ecclesiastical as secular, we beseech your majesty to stretch out your right hand to help us."† Monasteries owed their safety often solely to the general impression that divine vengeance was sure to overtake all who injured them. To this we find allusion in the Chronicle of Mount-Cassino: "The invaders of this monastery," says the writer, "have never prospered: witness the sudden death of Count Rodulf the Norman, and that of his hundred and fifty soldiers, in the space of two years."‡ "From the beginning of this rising place to its old age," says an historian of St. Gall, "never were there wanting to our monks persecutions, tribulations, detractions, envyings; and unless the sanctity of Father Gall, or of the brethren who were from time to time present in our afflictions, had borne assistance, Sidonius, bishop of Constance, or Abbot Ruodmann, would have wholly destroyed it and brought it to nothing."§

"Know, O posterity," says the old chronicler of another monastery, "that the devil and his angels, from the beginning of this church, have much envied it; attacking it in various ways, causing often great tribulations, and attemptiug to extinguish it. But the good Lord hath always preserved this vessel from the raging waters; for though sometimes He seems to sleep, yet doth He ever watch the tears and prayers of his little servants, and cause a great calm. Beware, then, O men that are to come after, beware of these cruel enemies, who do not pass with us passing, who do not sleep with us sleeping, who do not die with us dying. But the occasions which they seize are the mutual envyings of abbots and monks; for that is the vulnerable side; and it is by the sword of discord that they can best prevail."‖

That persecution, which we observed before as being common to all just men,

* Hist. Monast. Villariensis, Lib. ii. c. ii. ap. Martene, Thes. Anecdot. tom. iii.

† Epist. Lud. VII. lxxvii. ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. tom. xvi.

‡ Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens. Lib. ii. c. 76. § Burkhard, De Casibus S. Galli, Præloquium

‖ Chronic. Morigniacensis Mon. Lib. i. ap, Duchesne, tom. iv.

in consequence of their admonishing the great, fell upon no class so heavily as upon monks, who, as we remarked on the former occasion, never hesitated to exercise their ministry before the most cruel tyrants, as in the early instance of Iscalicus, related by Sozomen.* St. Stephen, whom the monastery of Sherbourn sent to Citeaux as its third abbot, gave such offence to the duke of Burgundy by not allowing him to hold his court there, that he saw all his supplies at once cut off. Robert, the venerable prior of St. Evroult, having to dread the inflexible rigor of Duke William, resolved not to appear at his summons; so on Saturday, the twenty-seventh of January, after singing at vespers, when they came to the Antiphon, "Peccata mea, Domine," he left the church of the abbey, mounted his horse with two monks, Foulques and Urson, and set out for Italy. Such were the monastic sufferings during the middle ages.

But as yet, whatever woes the monks endured were light, compared with the persecution which was preparing for them in the sixteenth century, when Luther and his peers arose. Hitherto the prominent feature of their history in the west, during the middle ages, has been the amazing extension of their communities, and the favor bestowed on them by the rich and powerful. In general the world itself seemed to admire and pay them reverence. During the wars with the Moors in Spain and other countries, this respect for their character was manifested even by the infidels, who allowed them singular exemptions. Yusef Abul Hagig, the Moorish king of Grenada, enjoined in his warfare mercy and protection to all friars and persons of holy and recluse life. But now, before the ruinous sweep which overwhelmed all beauteous and holy things, approved and sanctified of yore, the monks through many lands must suffer persecution, such as they had never until then experienced. When the tempest, caused by warring minds, commenced, the monks were the first who felt its fury. The spirits whom it impelled with stormy blast of hell, executed with inconceivable rapidity their task of desolation. None could the monks any longer trust amidst that deluge. Some of their chief assailants were men who had shortly before loaded them with favors. Henry VIII., only a few years before his revolt, had sent a thousand gold crowns to the minors at Jerusalem, assuring them that from his youth he had a peculiar affection for their sacred family, on account of its imitation of the evangelic life.†

The persecution of the monks, though carried on amidst the shrieks, and moans, and lamentations of the multitude, was, nevertheless, accomplished chiefly by means of that mockery which we lately remarked as a characteristic of the agents who worked in the interest of the new opinions. "It was laughter," says a French historian, "which destroyed the monasteries of Germany."‡ "All your works take wonderfully," says Froben to Luther; relating, with the effusion of a bookseller's joy, their mutual successes. "I have not ten copies left. Never did any

* Lib. vi. c. 40. † Wadding, tom. vii. 279. ‡ Audin, His[illegible]

books sell so well."* Martinus, Dorpius, complimenting Erasmus on one of his satires, says, "This book will you gain more favor, and friendship, and celebrity; I may add, also, more emolument."† Ridicule and calumny were, in fact, the most effective weapons that could be employed against them in the beginning. "The monks defended themselves but ill; they were not accustomed to use the arms which their adversaries wielded with such skill. They could not laugh. Lucian and Aristophanes were unknown to them: they made use then of indignation, which was sometimes found in their masters—Scot, Durandus, Peter Lombard—minds the least addicted to raillery that ever existed; they were in consequence, sure to be defeated."‡ "Besides," let us observe, "the monks could not nourish rancor. Their rule enjoined the forgetfulness of injuries under penalty of sin:" § and the world was not disposed to listen to discussions in which no personal attacks were made.

We have already alluded to the number of friars who suffered martyrdom by the hands of these implacable men. The Martyrologium Franciscanum contains proof; and one may conceive the spirit with which they suffered, from reading the epitaph on the friars who were martyred by the heretics at Angoulême in 1568:

> "Fælices animæ, quorum per funera Christi
> Crescit Evangelium! vester pro semine sacro
> Est cruor, ille piis inolescit mentibus ultro,
> Ut quanto magis innocui profunditur usquam
> Sanguinis, hoc vernat magis, augescitque premendo,
> Sancta fides viresque novas calcata resumit."‖

Where the persecutions did not amount to imprisonment and death, it was insult, it was the mockery of ruffians on the highway. Thus St. Paschal Baylon, a Spanish Franciscan, being deputed to visit the general of the order then at Paris, for the affairs of his province, experienced on his journey thither cruel outrages from the Huguenots, who were then masters of almost all the towns through which he passed. Walking barefoot, and in his habit, the whole way he was in danger. Pursued with stones and staves, he on one occasion received a blow which maimed him for the rest of his life. A poor nun, sister Jeanne de Jussie, kept a journal of the horrors inflicted on Geneva by the reformers, till the day that she and her sisters were driven out and exiled; and a late historian declares that he knows nothing comparable for pathetic interest to her simple narrative. After the sermons of the preachers, she says, that the hearers "used to leap upon the altars like brute animals, and deride the image of our Redemption, dismount the bells, and raze the monasteries to the ground." "They often came to spy," she says, "round our convent of St. Claire, but our Lord intimidated them. The poor nuns were all night long at vigils, praying God for the holy faith and for the world; and all

* Ap. id. ii. 225. † Philologic, Epist. 160. ‡ Id. ii. 50.
§ Id. ii. 67. ‖ Martyrolog. Franciscan. Septemb. 19.

took the discipline after matins, begging mercy from God; and then, with lighted tapers, they said a part of the fine Benedicatur, bowing down to the very ground at the name of Jesus Christ; and the others hailed the wounds of our Lord, and the tears of the Virgin Mary, and other beautiful prayers. And every day they made the procession through the garden, and often twice in the day, with the holy litany and barefooted, upon the white frost, to obtain mercy for the poor world."*

From the persecution of the Jesuits in somewhat later times heaven also reaped an abundant harvest. In vain they sought to conciliate men who were scandalized at the simple poverty of the blessed Francis and of his holy family, by following such counsels as the ancient moralist administered to his friend: "Asperum cultum et intonsum caput, et negligentiorem barbam evita.†

"Their self-devotion," to use the words of an historian, "their zeal, their calm judgment in promoting the cause of the faith, made them too terrible to its enemies to allow them to be regarded with less than mortal hatred. They might embellish literature, elevate philosophy, destroy paganism, but their motives were not of this world: their efforts were against the spirit of the world; and the world had no sympathy with them, nor would it award to them the tribute of its praise. The prayers of their illustrious founder, pleading that their efficiency might never be thawed away in the sunshine of popularity, was heard in heaven; and from the envy of some, the malice of others, and the hostility of many more, they continued to suffer persecution for the sake of justice."

Among the aphorisms of the reformers we read as follows: "Jesuitæ vero, qui se maxime nobis opponunt, aut necandi, aut si hoc commode fieri non potest, ejiciendi aut certe mendaciis et calumniis opprimendi sunt."‡ Nor was it only the open enemies of truth who thus attacked them; for at different times they were cruelly persecuted on political grounds by men professing obedience to the Church. Though their loyalty, as in the time of the League, was put to the severest test, and proved irreproachable,§ yet were they accused of failing in respect to it by men who could not forgive the constancy and fortitude with which they had resisted their own errors. The pleading of Pasquier against the Jesuits is an astonishing monument of credulity, misrepresentation, and intolerance, though he is so proud of it as to insert it in his great work.‖ Ascribing to them the doctrine of tyrannicide, he says, in allusion to their missions, that "it is a brutal lesson worthy of a Jesuit's mind, nourished amidst the savages of India." To such falls

* Le Levain du Calvinisme, ou Commencement de l' Hérésie de Genève; faict pair Révérende Sœur Jeanne de Jussie, alors Religieuse à Saincte-Claire de Genève, et, après sa sortie, Abbesse du Couvent d' Anyssi à Chambéry, 1611.ap. Audin, Hist. de Calvin, i. 194.

† Senec. Epist. v.

‡ Calvin, apud Becan, t. i. Opusc. xvii. Aphor. 15. De Modo Propagandi Calvinismum.

§ Vide Documents Historiques concernant la Compagnie de Jésus, nos [redacted]

‖ Recherches de la France, iii. 44.

are men of highest worth exposed when sacrificing to the spirit of a party. By their expulsion from France, in the reign of Louis XV., there seemed to be left nothing for the violence and sacrilege of future enemies to accomplish; and the sincerity of their enemies may be estimated from the fact, which excited no attention, that the attorney-general Pelletier de St. Fargeau, who was a Jansenist, after accusing the Jesuits, at this epoch, of professing the doctrine of regicide, subsequently gave his vote for the death of Louis XVI.*

In the monastic persecutions generally there was nothing marvellous in later times; for, on the whole, the new opinions had created a disposition which was at such irreconcileable hostility with the evangelic counsels, that as a necessary consequence, all who sought to follow them, under whatever habit, incurred abhorrence. Those, it is true, who lived nearer to the time of the monks were not so inveterate. It has been remarked that the greatest and most popular dramatists of the Elizabethan age held the religious orders in much reverence. The members whom they introduce are almost always holy and venerable men; and as no one would bring unpopular opinions prominently forward in a play intended for representation, we may be sure that the public in this respect regarded them in the same light. In these plays we find nothing that resembles the coarse ridicule with which the monks were assailed two generations later, by dramatists who wished to please the multitude. Massinger, who shows so great a fondness for all priests, has introduced a Jesuit with praise upon the stage; Ford assigns a highly creditable part to the friar for whom, as we remarked elsewhere, Shakspeare shows so marked a partiality; Sir William Temple condescends to reckon the primitive monks and modern friars in the list of the great, and wise, and good part of mankind.† But as Protestantism was to be progressive, these opinions among the same class became obsolete, and at length the mere sight of a monk was sufficient to influence its votaries with rage and scorn:—

> ——"for no falsehood can endure
> Touch of celestial temper, but returns
> Of force to its own likeness."

"Know you not, master," says the poet, "that to some kinds of men their graces serve them but as enemies." Such were the monks in these later times. "The bare sight of one of that order," says Rubichon, "really embitters the existence of an Englishman. If he catches a glimpse of a monk at Barcelona, Cadiz, or Lisbon, he cannot think of anything else. It is in vain that these good religious men offer and give hospitality; that they have libraries at the disposal of all strangers; that their churches and convents are full of paintings, statues, candelabras, and objects of admirable art, which all persons may enjoy as if their own property. In vain, that they have every day delicious music; and, in addition to

* St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. iv. part ii.

† Essay on Health and Long Life.

all this, that they not only present every thing gratuitously, but with the utmost courtesy and benignity. Nothing can cure this madness of the English; and under their ignoble hands these institutions perish, and I fear for ever.*

Yet the countrymen of this author, under the impulse of infidelity in its three forms of atheism, deism, and rationalism, had long before singled out the monks as the proper objects of persecution wherever they could insinuate their own dragon feet. St. Paul says, "Fructus Spiritus est charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas, mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas, adversus hujusmodi non est lex."† The world, under the influence of the new opinions, declares that these are the fruits of monachism, and that there must be a law to put them down. The cruel ferocity of the revolutionary agents in conducting the persecution against the monks equalled that of the reformers during the Lutheran tempest; and in proof it will be sufficient to cite a narrative related to me by the same beloved friend whose account of the hermits of Montserrat was given in the last book. I shall repeat his words from the beginning, for at the sound methinks I am in his presence, as if still he lived, cherishing me as a child, and not a visitor; and as when journeying, exhausted and oppressed with the monotonous gloom of mournful barren rocks and flakes of snow, slowly falling upon Alpine summits, when the wind is hushed, I have beheld with joy the herdsman descending from his hut to welcome the stranger with an outstretched hand and smile of charity, and lead him to the fire, over which he will prepare his food; so do I hail the recollection of the look and conversation of this benign old man, which, even while recording bitter woes, were ever like his heart, serene.

"I will relate," he said to me on one occasion, "an incident horribly gay. There was a young man of my acquaintance, who espoused the daughter of a certain rich Jew, supposing that his father-in-law would pay his debts; though he was mistaken in the issue. He was sufficiently ungrateful to me afterwards, but that regards not the present purpose. Well, I went by invitation to the marriage banquet. There were about fifty guests. I came late; however, place was found for me at the end of the table. The company was composed of men of those hideous countenances, with which I had become familiar, seeing them often pass before me as I presided in the office of the certain great minister you wot of. As every one present knew me, I was greeted on arriving with the question, 'How does the citizen minister?' 'O well,' I answered with a smile they could interpret, 'the citizen is well:' none of them required to be told what my sentiments really were; for besides my long emigration, when I fled from their persecutions, I always, though indeed in a Socratic way, in order to save my throat, spoke home-truths, and never denied my principles. At the far end sat a man with the most sinister aspect, with the true air of a consummate villain: he grinned constantly at me, and darted side looks, as much as to say, he is not of our party. At last he

* Du Mécanisme de la Société en France et en Angleterre.

broke silence, 'Citizens,' said he, 'let me relate what occurred when I was in Switzerland, being appointed, as you know, to the government of the Vallais. Being at Freybourgh, I heard there was a convent of Carthusians on the heights above the town. I had a report made to me concerning them. It stated that they were brave men, who only thought about their salvation.' Hearing him thus calmly relate the virtues of the monks, I began to think that I had been mistaken in my judgment of the man, but I was soon corrected. 'They were,' he continued, with a tone of scorn ill-suppressed, 'good men, who rose at midnight, eat maigre; they had excellent fish, and performed all the exercises to which they were bound, according' he added, making at the same time a demoniacal grimace, 'to the rules of the holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church. So I sent to them some men of arms in disguise; and one fine night they seized these monks, and threw them all out of the windows, after which flight into the chasm below; no one ever heard them preach or sing again.' Such was his tale, and a loud laugh of fiendish pleasure greeted it."

But to return to the persecution of the sixteenth century, to those

> "Who rose like shadows between man and God:
> Till that eclipse, still hanging over heaven,
> Was worshipp'd by the world o'er which they strode,
> For the true sun it quenched,—whose power was given
> But to destroy, to make a world of ruins."

Conservatives too, perhaps, like their descendants later, they would have styled themselves; but if it were asked, of what? Assuredly amidst piles of mournful ruins scattered every where, including moral as well as material things, the questioner might pause long for a satisfactory reply; though if there were indeed any barbarism, any abuse which had long been denounced for reprobation by the wise and holy of the Middle Ages, that, in consequence of their systematic indifference, may be said to have been preserved by them, and left to spread its roots, and run riot under every form of grotesque degeneracy.

To obliterate from this earth the very type of peace, one might have supposed, from prior reasoning, would be the work of hands whose office was war: but the opinion would have been found erroneous. The men who first destroyed the monasteries were not warriors; for the hardy demons that rushed forth at other's bidding were but blind instruments: the real agents were either scribes whose sword was a pen; or tyrants, who only shed blood upon the scaffold. Let us for a moment mark them at their work. Many affecting piteous accounts are extant of the deplorable scenes of destruction acted within the once peaceful sanctuaries which we visited with such delight in the preceding book. The devastation of the monasteries in Germany by the Lutherans is recorded in great detail. Almost each house has left a record of its fall.*

* Bodonis Chron. Clusin. ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsv. tom. iii.

Some would remove the blame from the promoter; but as a late historian says, after observing that Ossiander and Œcolampadius, and many others, accused Luther of the rebellion of the Thuringian peasants; at this day we have no need to call on his disciples to give evidence on either side. In his own books we find, almost on every page, a brutal appeal against monks, a cry of fury against convents, the sanctification of robbery, the glorification of rape. The texts are plain enough; and it is not we who have invented them.*He, indeed, testifies himself, that the superb Remonstrances of Churches made many conversions to his doctrine.† All could not, like Albert de Brandenbourg, obtain an hereditary princedom as the reward of apostasy and of robbery with a safe conscience, as when that wretched follower seized Prussia from the Teutonic order; but all might hope to come in like the nobles of Germany and England, for a share of the spoil of the nearest monastery.

In the dialogues of Montaud, printed in 1581, in which he shows "the profit that would accrue to Christendom from making an inventory of the relics of holy bodies," in order to dispose of the materials, and the political resources that would be found in seizing on the monasteries, all the theories and sophisms of later governments were developed at length.‡ Then was employed against religious houses, as at the present day in Spain, and Portugal, and Switzerland, an intelligence," to use Lord Bacon's words,"between incendiaries and robbers,the one to fire the house, the other to rifle it."§

In England, "to abuse the poor commons," says an ancient writer, "it was told them that by suppressing of the monasteries, they should never hear of tax or subsidy any more. This indeed was as pleasing a bait for the people as could be divised, and it took accordingly: they bit willingly at it; but the hook sticks in their jaws to this day.‖"

The man at peace mourned the while, and asked,

> "Quis furor iste novas? quo nunc, quo tenditis? inquit;
> Heu miseræ cives! non hostem, inimicaque castra
> Argivum, vestras spes uritis."¶

Against monks the new apostles ran like centaurs with keen arrows armed, as to the chace they on the earth were wont. There is an old history of the false reformation in St. Gall, which is entitled "Sabbatha," written by a saddler of perverted brain, who seems unconscious of the aptitude of the title which he has chosen; for a true Sabbata it was, like that of the children of darkness, and of the mysticism of night. The stormy blast of hell, as if escaped to the upper world, with resistless fury drove innumerable spirits on to destroy the sanctuary of peace.

Every town and hamlet which possessed one in its neighborhood, witnessed then

* Hist de Luther, ii. 245. † Id. ii. 287.
‡ Le Miroir des François, ap. Audin, Hist. de Calvin, ii. 436. § Of Ch[illegible]
‖ Jerusalem and Babal, p. 392. ¶ Æn[illegible]

such scenes as passed in London, in the year 1780, which have been described wit so much force by a great living painter of the manners of that age.

"Formidable multitudes of fierce, mocking, destroying men, swarming on lil insects; noise, smoke, light, darkness, frolic, anger, laughter, groans, plunder, fea and ruin: the holy vestments of priests, and rich fragments of altar vessels, born as trophies by leaders like hideous madmen; after them, a dense throng, some sing ing, some shouting in triumph; some quarrelling among themselves; some menacin the spectators as they passed; some with precious works of saintly art, on whic they spent their rage as if they had been alive, rending them and hurling the scat tered morsels high into the air,—a vision of demon heads and savage eyes, an sticks and iron bars, uplifted in the air and whirled about; a bewildering horro in which so much was seen, and yet so little, which seemed so long and yet s short, in which there were so many phantoms, not to be forgotten all throug life, and yet so many things that could not be observed in that distracting glimpse it flitted onward and was gone."*

Then was swept away in one fell havoc what savages had spared, and many holy generations venerated—the altar and the shrine—what a Charlemagne, a Alfred, a St. Louis, a St. Henry, had offered as a perpetual memorial of their pious gratitude—gifts inestimable, the workmanship of canonized saints, over which, while on earth, they had prayed and wept—so beauteous, so symbolical of faith and love, that all had thought the region of the angels decked with them.

St. Jerome, relating of Neopatianus, that he had always longed to see the monasteries of Egypt, counts his death most happy, because it had saved him from witnessing their destruction; but as years had revolved, and hallowed more by each fresh harvest for the skies the soil that yielded their returns, after so many ages, when the creations of faith had attained to still greater alliances with heaven, the spectacle of ruin produced by these new destroyers in their mad brutishness would have cost him a still keener pang; we know, in fact, from history what was the grief of the just who witnessed it.

Sir William Weston, the last prior of St. John of Jerusalem, at Clerkenwell, died of sorrow on the seventh of May, 1540, the day on which that house was dissolved, the promise of a thousand pounds per annum proving so little effectual to console a heart like his.

"Before the dissolution of the minor religious houses," say Weever, "the plot was laid for the suppression of the rest:" so justly could writers who adopted the new opinions discern the secret springs of this monstrous exhibition. In some places even the visitors petitioned in favor of preserving the monastery. Thus Gifford writes to Cromwell in behalf of the house of Wolstrope, saying, "The governor is well beloved of all the inhabitants adjoining; a right honest man, having right religious persons, being priests of right good conversation, and living relig-

* Dickens.

iously. The house without any slander, and standing in a wet ground, very solitary; keeping such hospitality, that except singular good provision, it could not be maintained with half so much land more as they may spend. Such a number of the poor inhabitants nigh thereunto daily relieved, that we have not seen the like, having no more lands than they have. God be ever my judge, as I do write unto you ever the truth, which very pity alone causeth me to write." From Garandon.*

In others, the zeal of the monks for justice, and their ability in defending it, only accelerated the ruin of the house. This was the event in the Franciscan convent in Cavan, where were many celebrated fathers, as Richard Brackley, who was provincial in Ireland, and Father Eugenius Digby, an eminent preacher, noted for his moving eloquence as he addressed the people with closed eyes. This latter spared not the enemies of religion, even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but preached boldly against them; by which, we read, he occasioned the ruin of his monastery.†

But no where, when the ancient laws of religion were bent to mundane wisdom, could the old proverb, which expressed the fatality of such a measure, "Laissez le moustier où il est," recal men to consider in their heart. All reflection seemed for ever gone: nothing could inspire the destroyers with any pity. Elizabeth would not spare even the Franciscan convent of Greenwich, lately restored by Mary, in which she had been baptized, but applied it to the profane purpose of her palace, to which it joined.‡ It was the wise affirmation of the Swiss heretics, that "in a pig-sty, and under the gallows, one would find as much grace as in Einsiedelin.§

The havoc made of abbeys, and of their precious works of art, at Soissons, by the Protestant soldiers, when they became masters of the city, as described by its historians, may convey an idea of what took place everywhere on these occasions. The destroyers were like greyhounds that have newly slipped the leash, sticking their fangs into the victim, and, having rent him piecemeal, bearing away the tortured limbs. At the abbey of St. Medard, destruction was the work of an instant. Nothing was spared. When they had taken every object that was visible, they sought with pick-ax and hammers for concealed treasures, sounding the wells and piercing the vaults and walls. The whole place resounded with the cries, laughter, and the confused vociferations of this army of demolishers, and with the noise of stones, wood, brass, iron, and the glass falling on the pavement. These creatures, animated by fanaticism and avarice, seemed to have a supernatural force in moving enormous masses, letting down immense bells, tearing up rails, splitting beams, and overthrowing columns.‖

Who could believe it, if we had not history and the events now passing to at-

* Strype, ii. 35. † Monastic Hibern. 266. ‡ Wadding, An. Min. xvi.
§ Von Arx. Gesch. S. Gall. 488. ‖ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 496.

test the fact, amidst this desolation, hypocrisy was able to play a distinguished part? At all times, even in the act of revolt against divine laws, there are men who seek to propitiate Heaven by promises of compensation. The blind bard, by whom nothing human was unseen, has noticed the phenomenon in his fable, where he represents the companions of Ulysses feeding on the oxen of the sun, in despite of the prohibition, and then offering sacrifice to the immortals, and vowing to make ample amends to the sun, when they should arrive in Ithaca.*

In like manner the destroyers of the monasteries pretended to have measures in reserve, by which their acts of spoliation would be made conducive to the interests of religion.

They said by using well what they had seized, it might be consecrated; as if of theft and sacrilege they could do a charitable deed. They would build hospitals, and schools, and alms-houses. Thus the Queen of Navarre, eager to hasten the work of Protestantism in Béarn, resolved to establish a college there to instruct youth in what she termed true religion. The site of the Dominican convent at Orthez appeared favorable to her design. The building was of great extent, since it contained a hundred and thirty friars, and was in a beautiful situation. By her orders they were constrained to abandon it; and professors from England and Scotland were introduced to remodel every thing according to the plans of Calvin. An inscription in Latin verse was placed over the great portal, which in prose may be translated thus. "Formerly the foul waters of Styx, joined with those of Lethe, defiled and buried in oblivion the splendor and purity of the ancient doctrine, and placed in this house the imps of hell, to chase from it the daughters of heaven. But Jupiter, the all-powerful has caused Minerva to arise, in the person of Jane Albret, who has conjured and put to flight the children of darkness, who, victorious over ignorance and error, recalling the banished sciences, the exiled muses, makes minds ascend by a course of study to the source of true knowledge. Thus the celebrated Princess Jane makes to revive in Orthez, the glory of Athens, the virtues of her ancestors, the splendor of her country, and desires to obtain in all hearts an immortal reputation."†

The destruction of the monasteries was the great work accomplished by the advocates of the false reformation. For a moment they exulted in it; but the joy of their triumph soon became clouded over with misgivings and remorse. Even Luther began to regret the success of his own labor. "In the day of judgment who knows," he was heard to say, "whether these monks may not be judges of us all!"‡He felt, as Michelet says, "his interior faith weakened when he saw his work externally accomplished. He wished that what he had written had never

* Odys. xii. 340.

† Poeydavant, Hist. des Troubles en Béarn dans le 16e Siècle, tom i. liv. iv.

Audin, Hist. de Luther, ii. 243.

been written. Doubts began to pursue him, doubts in the most fearful form, involving him towards the close of his life in discouragement and despair: he says, that "the devil appeared to him, and tried to appal him by repeating these few words, 'Thou hast destroyed the monasteries.'" Innumerable complaints arose from amongst the professors of the new creed, who lamented this prodigious ruin.

"There were also in the reign of King Henry VIII.," says Camden, "(if it be not a crime to mention them,) monuments of the piety of our forefathers, built to the honor of God, the propagation of the Christian faith and good learning, and for the support of the poor. About the thirty-sixth year of that king, a torrent, as it were, that has broken down the banks, broke in upon the ecclesiastical state of England, and to the great surprise of the whole world, and oppression of the nation, at once threw down the greatest part of the religious with their curious structures, most of which, in a short time, were every where pulled down, their revenues squandered away, and the riches which had been consecrated to God by the pious munificence of the English from the time they received Christianity, were, as it were, in a moment dispersed, and, if I may use the word without offence, profaned. There are some, I hear, who take it ill that I have mentioned monasteries and their founders; I am sorry to hear it. But (not to give them any just offence), let them be angry if they will. Perhaps they would have it forgotten, that our ancestors were, and we are Christians; since there never were more certain indications and glorious monuments of Christian piety than those."*

"It may seem, peradventure, unpleasing to some," says Weever, in his epistle to the reader, prefixed to his work on funeral monuments, "for that I do speak so much of and extol the ardent piety of our forefathers, in the erection of abbeys, priories, and such like sacred foundations. To the which I answer with Camden, 'that I hold it not fit for us to forget, that our ancestors were, and we are of the Christian profession, and that there are not extant any other more conspicuous and certain monuments of their zealous devotion towards God, than these monasteries with their endowments, for the maintenance of religious persons, neither any other seed-plots besides these, from whence Christian religion and good literature were propagated over this our island."

Marsham also speaks with horror and sorrow of the fall of the monasteries. "Now the fatal day," he says, "arrived for our monasteries, of which nothing but some half-ruined walls remain. Religion has now little influence on the heart, and the old saying is verified:

'Religentem esse oportet, religiosum nefas.'

We see, alas! alas! the most august, stupendous temples dedicated to the eternal God, now, under pretence of abolishing superstition, desecrated and ruined, and

* Camden's Britannia, Pref.

horses stabled at the altars of Christ, and the relics of martyrs dug up and dispersed!"*

Even the raving Burton says, "Methinks our too zealous innovators were not so well advised in that general subversion of abbeys and religious houses, promiscuously, to fling down all: they might have taken away those gross abuses crept in amongst them, rectified such inconveniences, and not so far to have raved and raged against those fair buildings and everlasting monuments of our forefathers' devotion consecrated to pious uses."†

Such were the palinodes sung in times nearer the catastrophe, by those who came in time to spy the mournful havoc; and we, to whom only ruins without any local remembrances are left, can well comprehend their sorrow and their shame. "Not seldom it hath chanced for men to do what they had gladly left undone:" but things past recovery are hardly cured with exclamations. It was not marvellous that many thought a cleaving curse was their inheritance. It was too late then to complain, like Cæsar, wishing to stop the slaughter:—

> ". . . . . et qui jussa per annos
> Tot ducis implessent magni crudelia semper,
> Nunc solum, cum justa dedit mandata, rebellant."‡

The monks are dead; but in the ruins of their ancient dwellings, of which the stones merit veneration, and, as Dante says of Rome, the very soil itself, as having been predicted in the Holy Scriptures, they still speak to us; they still proclaim, that to suffer persecution for justice is a glorious and a blessed thing. How oft in childhood have I thus listened to them:

> "I knew not who had framed these wonders then,
> Nor had I heard the story of their deeds;
> But dwellings of a race of wiser men,
> And monuments of faith not changing creeds,
> Tell their own tale to him who wisely heeds
> The language which they speak; and now to me,
> In ruins overgrown with tangled weeds,
> The sacred lesson few are skilled to see,
> Interpreted those scrolls of mortal mystery."

I found a stranger once in Netley, on the eve of St. John, standing contemplative, who, after some space, accosted me. It was some holy solitary man, who told me he had been singing vespers to himself within the ruins of the church, and a thought had been suggested to him by a verse of the Magnificat, which he was eager to communicate. "The poor persecuted monks," he said, "are now forever blessed in the centre of all felicity, while the proud, who made their dwelling-place a heap of ruins, as we see, have been scattered in the conceit of their heart,

* Monast. Anglic. tom. i. an. 1655.
† Anatomy of Melanch. part i. sec. 2.
‡ Luc. sup. iii.

and dispersed through all the wastes of doubt, distrust, and error." Thus did the ruins assist his meditation.

Let us again visit these abandoned sanctuaries:

"Desertosque videre locos littusque relictum."

As a poet mournfully sings of Scala in the duchy of Amalphi, fallen from its ancient state:

"Quis parcat lacrymis, dum tanti nominus urbem
Cernit in obscurum degenerasse nemus?"*

The elder Pliny says, that the houses which had been once inhabited by heroes of a noble race, lamented when they passed to new and unworthy masters, and that the very walls reproached the cowards who entered such a place consecrated by the monuments of virtue. A modern author, too, says, "It may be more generally remarked, that the more nobly a mansion has been tenanted in the day of its prosperity, the viler are its inhabitants in the time of its decline. Thus boors are the only inhabitants of Croyland; gypsies of Netley, while other religious houses are now possessed by the same class as that which caused their overthrow, 'men who little seek to find the way to heaven by doing deeds of hospitality.'" In France the contrast is more palpable. Malefactors inhabit Clairvaux and Fontevraud; even in Italy, gamesters at St. Pancras hold their lottery in Florence, as theives are said to nestle in the old Alhambra. There is a zeal, indeed, to transfer these ruins to paper, and raise a monument of artistic fame; but, with our Lord's rebuke in memory, Your fathers slew the prophets, and you now build their monuments; such creations convey no solid title. Of what avail is it to portray or visit mouldering remains, to gaze on these vistas of arches and pillars, and listen to the wind within the broken towers? The living mysticism is gone, the spiritual light obscured; for the monk has forsaken the place; no more is seen there the glorious poor of Christ, or the dark and learned brother of St. Benedict, coming forth with soft and gentle step from secret cell, to sing the praises of God, and to console the wanderer in search of peace. "Quare non mœreat vultus meus; quia civitas domus sepulchrorum patris mei deserta et portæ ejus combustæ igni?"†

"Alas!" as St. Gregory the Great says of Rome in his day, after the destruction by barbarians: "postquam defecerunt homines, etiam parietes cadunt."‡

The men who chased away the just from these abodes were cunning persecutors. Cæsar would not detract from any fame of ancient places; he permitted conquered races to retain whatever had made them celebrated throughout the world.§ The Phrygian forbids to trample on the dust of Hector; but the policy of Luther's followers was different. They persecuted beyond what seems to them defeat and death. As poets say,

* Italia Sacra, vii. 327. † Neen. ii, ‡ Greg. in Ezech. Hom. xviii. § Lucan. vii.

"They thought to act a solemn comedy
Upon the painted scene of this old world,
And to attain their own peculiar ends
By some such plot of mingled good and ill
As others weave:
Ignoble arts! for some brief passion
Are centuries of high splendor laid in dust,
And that eternal honor which should live
Sun-like, above the rock of mortal fame,
Changed to a mockery and a by-word."

Men should derive a lesson here, like that which the Great Gerbert pressed on Rainaud, the monk of Bobbio, and say with him: "Let this spectacle teach us the deceit and inconstancy of earthly things. Futuram desolationem non tantum parietum, quantum animarum ingemisce, et de Domini misericordia noli desperare."

The storm of persecution, of which we survey the sad traces, appeared to have spent its fury on the region over which it passed, when again it burst out with violence, and carried desolution over lands which the tempest of heresy had spared. That all Christendom would be persecuted at the end of the eighteenth century, was predicted so early as in the year 1568, as may be witnessed in the dedicatory epistle to Henry II. prefixed to the prophecies of Michel Nostradamus. It is true no great depth of magic lore was necessary to foresee the hurricane. The sky of the moral world gave no unequivocal signs of what was coming on. The storm then returned with more violence, if possible, than before, and with results as deplorable. Monasteries which had escaped the former shock now fell before the stern and terrible blast, which overthrew and withered all things holy. The same phenomena returned; the same signal of vengeance, too, fell upon the persecutors. The bands of Soissons, that partook of bread made from corn which had been stored up in the church of the abbey of St. John-des-Vignes, lately desecrated by them, were poisoned by particles of stained glass from the broken windows which had been accidently mixed up with it.* Then were the noble abbeys of France, Italy, and Germany, either demolished, or converted into magazines or prisons. How many noble ruins, memorials of the Gallic fury, have I met with in places that one might have thought too far sequestered for its force to reach, and now only known to guides and herdsman, some on high mountains just bordering on steeps impassable, others concealed in forests, at a distance from all frequented roads! A modern author, describing his visits to the abbey of Eberbach, relates that this house was seized by the duke of Nassau, who violently ejected its inmates from their cells. "Four of the monks," he says, "are all that now remain alive, and the monastery has ever since been used partly as a government prison, and partly as a public asylum for lunatics." He found it full of un-

* Hist de Soissons, ii. 22.

fortunate prisoners undergoing a sentence of three, four, or five years' imprisonment, for what we should call petty thefts, such as killing the duke's game, stealing his wood or his grass; for the poor people were sure to be imprisoned if found collecting a few dead leaves, or pulling up with their hands the rank wild grass which grows here and there all over the forest. Then it was that St. Gall terminated the long series of its various fortunes, which had been related from its origin by Ratpert.* Its last historian, Ildefons von Arx, speaks in the conclusion of his great work thus: "Justly may I shed a tear over the grave of this foundation, which for nearly twelve hundred years played so great a part in the east of Switzerland, and had been so useful and powerful in meeting every exigency of each particular time: which, when the night of heathenism prevailed, gave preachers of the faith and apostles, who spread around the light of the Gospel; which when the land was wild for want of laborers, sent colonies of husbandmen, who cultivated it to the most secluded corner of the Alpine valleys; which, while facilities of intercourse were few, exercised a patriarchal hospitality, supporting a multitude of vassals, agriculturists, shepherds, and artisans; which, during difficult epochs, cultivated arts and sciences, and extended their discoveries and productions to all Europe; which, when the people required protection and government, was able with shield and spear to serve them, and to prove itself strong and beneficial, as well as under hood and banners; which, in the fifteenth century, when a reform of monasteries became necessary, was able to furnish so many skillful and saintly men, to supply the wants of other similar communities; which, in fine, when the storm of the eighteenth century burst, fell not as a delayed stem, but was found in a whole and sound condition, living, and active, and efficient for all good, of which its noble resistance was a proof. The contemporaries who knew not personally the prince abbot Pancratius Vorster, and who were stunned by the revolutionary cries, may have judged of him disadvantageously; but posterity will pronounce in his favor, and proclaim him to have been no ordinary man, who disdained all personal considerations, when he might have secured a provision for himself, and preferred, through a high sense of duty, to embrace poverty, want, and humiliation, for the remainder of his days."†

In the year in which this work was first commenced these instances might have closed the series of the persecution of the monks. But, alas! the same tempest of destruction, which had then for a second time returned, has overthrown what had escaped before; and now the monasteries of Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland can resist no longer. They too disappear in this unhappy age.

"When all that by a solemn majesty,
And an enduring being once rebuked
And put to shame the sordid thoughts of man,
Must be no more permitted to affront
Him and his littleness."‡

* Ap. Goldart, Rer. Alleman. tom. i. † Gesch. des. S. Gall iii.

Thus rapidly are these delicious abodes of holy peace disappearing from the world. In vain has nature, in her most awful convulsions, been enjoined to spare them; as when at that Benedictine abbey of Catana, a river of burning lava, of the depth of twenty feet, stopped short and turned aside, as if by a miraculous suspension of the ordinary laws. The moral volcano has less discernment.

On the day when the Church celebrated the Assumption of our Lady in the year 1834, Don Pedro, following the steps of Henry VIII., suppressed all the monastic orders in Portugal by a decree, which might be cited as a specimen of incomparable duplicity. "These establishments," he said, "considered with respect to religion, were totally alienated from the primitive spirit of their institution, and almost exclusively governed by the love of the temporal and worldly interests which they professed to despise; and, considered in a political point of view, they were like denationalized bodies, indifferent to the good or bad fortune of their fellow-citizens. To their influence over individuals and families, which was the more dangerous as it was in proportion secret, Portugal owes in a great decree the evils which it has just experienced. There are, indeed, in the individual members honorable, but rare, exceptions." Thus the same policy was persued as in the former persecutions; only the deeds of God were more swift; for on the twenty-fourth of the following September the lips which had uttered this fiat were for ever closed.

The dissolution of the Spanish houses may be said to date from the massacre of the Jesuits and Franciscans in July at Madrid, which is described by an eye-witness. In the seminary, the fathers and scholars were taking their evening repast, when the murderers burst open the doors. The community repaired to the chapel, and awaited death on their knees; the scholars were spared, but the fathers and brothers were cruelly slain. Father Dominic Barrau of Cortes was cut in pieces before the children; Brother Resedas fell under innumerable stabs. Father Sauri, professor of history, was more deliberately put to death; his teeth were broken with hammers, his limbs covered with wounds, and his skull was finally cloven. The whole college resounded with the clashing of swords, the report of guns, the groans of the dying, the horrible voices of the assassins, and the sorrowful moans of the collegians, who were deploring the fate of their masters; and some youths were wounded while embracing them. Father Caledonio Unanué, in the act of forgiving his enemies, was transfixed with a bayonet, the point of which came out at his breast. From the seminary the persecutors passed to the college, where they slew Father John Ortegas, one of the most learned men in Spain, and professor of Arabic. Near him was found dead the laborious and edifying Brother Ortolara. Father Jose Maria Elola had a more painful death; for after having his tonsure beaten in with blows, he remained in his agony till two in the morning, when he was found on his knees, with his forehead on the ground, a few minutes before he expired. Father Petro Demont was slain in the porter's hall. Father José Garnier, professor of humanities, who was said to have never lost his

baptismal grace, was recognized flying in the street, struck on the head with a sword, and then on his hands, as he raised them to it in succession. Father Barba was killed at the street-door as he knelt before the assassins, and so covered with wounds, that it was difficult to recognize his body. Father Martin Beugons was murdered while attempting to fly. Father José Sancho, nephew to the great Father Sebastian Sancho, who died in consequence of his unjust imprisonment, was bound along with a servant, and taken into the street, where he received six deep stabs; one of which in the neck, nearly severing his head, caused him to fall and expire. Father José Fernandez Andaluzian, a most holy and learned man, received a sword in his stomach; then, with his hands on the wound, he was led towards the prison; till in the street of the Barrio Nuevo he was run through the body and shot, so that his brains fell out; some of which were caught up by a woman, fried and eaten, being offered to others as Jesuits' brains.

In general the tonsures of the slain were cut off and paraded about in triumph. Father John Ureta, professor of metaphysics in Valencia, after being slain in the street, was immediately thus disfigured by the swords of his murderers. Brother Munoz, being one of about fifty united in prayer in the chapel, when the murderers came to the door, was summoned by them by name to come forth, that his life might be spared, through consideration for his brother, who was favored by the queen, while the rest were to be slain; but he replied that he preferred remaining to die with his brethren: in consequence of which resolution guards were placed at the door all night, and the lives of all that number preserved; but Father Baovan and Brother Rudas, who led them to the chapel, where murdered. From this college the bands proceeded first to that of St. Thomas, where they slew nine of the friars, and destroyed all the books and crucifixes, and then to the convent of St. Francis, where they committed such crimes that, this eye-witness says, "the cloisters were deluged in blood, and for several days no one durst pass near it alone, the scene being too horrible to behold. In that convent forty-five fathers were slain, without reckoning those who afterwards died from their wounds, which, if enumerated, would raise the number to fifty-two. The murderers committed also unheard-of abominations in the church, destroyed the images, fired at the tabernacle, and reduced the whole house to desolation." Such was the first act in this tragedy; legal and military measures formed its conclusion.

On the twenty-second of March, in 1836, Mendizabal justified the abolition of the Spanish monasteries in words which the queen-regent pronounced at the opening of the Cortes at Madrid. She spoke thus: "Religious institutions had formerly rendered great services to the Church and the state; but being no longer in accordance with the progress of civilization and the necessities of the age, the public voice called for their suppression, and it would have been unjust and improper to have resisted it." Nothing should be substituted for the persecutor's own words. The Madrid Gazette announces the suppression of the convents thus:— "Although by my royal decree of the twenty-fifth of July last, I applied what

seemed to me a remedy to the serious evils arising to religion and to the state from the existence of so many monasteries and convents, in consequence of the absence of the individuals necessary for the observance of religious discipline, the representations which have been addressed to me from different parts of the kingdom have led me to consider a more extensive reform to be necessary. There is, in fact, a shocking disproportion between the numbers of the monasteries and convents and the resources of the nation. The greater part of these institutions are useless for the spiritual wants of the faithful, and it is necessary for the public wealth that their property should be put in circulation, in order to augment the financial prosperity of the country, and create new sources of wealth. I, therefore, have deemed it expedient to decree, in the name of my august daughter Isabella, as follows: —All monasteries and monastic orders are hereby suppressed; those of the regular canons of St. Benedict, of the congregations of Tarragona and Saragossa; those of St. Augustin and the Premontres, whatever be the number of the monks and the religious of which those institutions are composed. The following, if they are still open, are exempt from this measure:—The monasteries of the order of St. Benedict of Montserrat in Catalonia; St. John de la Pena; St. Benedict of Valladolid; St. Icrome; the Escurial and Guadalupe of St. Bernard de Poulet; Cartujos de Paular; St. Basile of Seville; but under the absolute interdiction to admit into monastic orders those who are now under novitiate. The revenue of those monasteries shall be appropriated to the public service, like those of the suppressed monasteries. The ministers shall immediately transmit all orders necessary for the execution of this decree, so that the property of the suppressed convents may be placed at the disposal of the state. The minister of finances will present for my approval the measures that he shall judge to be most suitable for ensuring the subsistence of the monks and religious; in the mean time, each individual shall receive five rials a day from the sinking-fund."

The Gazette also states, that "commissioners from the government went to all the convents of monks in the capital on the night of the seventeenth of January, and put seals upon the registers and documents of the communities. They signified to the brethren the suppression of their orders, and also enjoined them to leave their convents the day following, with the permission to carry off their effects, and to adopt the secular habit."

The document which follows is so characteristic of the spirit in which these proceedings were conducted, that I cannot refrain from inserting it, notwithstanding its odious brutality. It appeared in the Revista, and began thus:—"Yesterday, at the moment of going to press, we were far from thinking of what we have to announce to-day—the mysterious end of the religious brethren of Madrid—an event that has had no tragical consequences. Religious establishments ought to end their days in the calm silence inspired by a good conscience; and accordingly, the convents to-day appeared shut up, as if by enchantment. The servants of the Lord have passed to a better life, by returning to the society of the world.

Their buildings and property have gravitated to their centre, viz. to the property of the nation. This will be an addition to the resources counted on for the payment of the home debt. With regard to the convents, it appears that they are doomed to change their forms at the same time that their inhabitants change their dress. A commission, composed of the civil governor, the corregidor of Madrid, and the patriotic deputy Ferrer, is instructed to change the convents into passages, bazaars, and houses; to give to them other destinations of public utility. Sufficient funds are allotted for this object, and people will soon be able to say, 'Here once stood a convent.' This is a radical reform; this is something like progress. We learn that the ministers will shortly frame a bill upon the regular clergy." The writer then proceeds to anticipate its effects, in a strain too coarse and offensive to admit of his words being repeated here.

Then follows a letter from Madrid, dated the twentieth instant, saying, "The decree for the suppression of monasteries, which has been published in the Gazette, has not produced the moral effect which was expected. Politicians have received it as an indication in part of the secret plans of Mendizabel, and as the natural consequence of the vote of confidence. The measure has elicited from the public but few marks of satisfaction, and the general feelings of the people, though not alarmingly, are evidently disturbed. The tranquillity of the city has not been for a moment interrupted, but the authorities have been upon the alert for the last three days; during which strong patrols have been frequently traversing the streets."

Four years afterwards, the public voice continuing to call for measures in accordance with "the progress of civilization," this unhappy princess abdicated and fled.

But let us hear some details respecting the execution of her decree, which followed hard upon it; and the following account of the destruction of the convent of Aranzazu, as given in a letter from Villa Real, Guipuscoa, may suffice:—

"The night of the seventeenth of August, the general-in-chief sent a party of troops to burn and raze this magnificent convent, situate a league and a half from Onate. This convent has been, from time immemorial, held in reverence as the sanctuary of saints, by the inhabitants of the four rebellious provinces. It contained one hundred Franciscan friars. They collected alms throughout the provinces of Navarre, Biscay, Alava, and Guipuscoa. At their nod, contributions of wine, and meat, and bread, and every necessary, were poured into the cellars of these holy men. The convent was a complete palace; it contained every comfort that could make a retired life agreeable, and every enjoyment that man could desire, a magnificent library and an excellent orchestra. At the commencement of the rebellion its cellars furnished wine, and its stores bread and meat, to the rebels. This convent was situate in the centre of a rocky mountain; a torrent ran beneath its walls; an immense wood of mountain oak extended far on every side; in fact, it presented the most picturesque appearance that the imagination could conceive; so romantic, so isolated, separated as it were from the world, in the centre of the

most beautiful and solitary mountains I ever beheld. The chapel of the convent was most magnificent; the cells of the monks were elegant. At nine o'clock at night, the party destined to set fire to this massy edifice arrived. The friars were ordered out; the guardian received an intimation to take away the chalices and other holy ornaments. The statue of the holy virgin was also carried forth on the shoulders of the monks. In less than a quarter of an hour the altars were broken in pieces, piles of wood were placed in different parts of the edifice, and in a moment the whole convent was in a blaze. Never did I see a more imposing spectacle; the glare of the flames illuminated the mountains and woods for many leagues around; the night was dark, and the procession of monks chanting a solemn hymn could be distinguished on the verge of the mountain close to the convent. The soldiers took possession of the wine, and sat around the immense bonfire, and drank to the health of the queen; while nothing was heard around but now and then the report of a musket fired by the Basques in the mountains, to give intelligence to the Carlists of some extraordinary event having taken place. The monks were marched into Onate, carrying with them the holy virgin, and terror and dismay stamped on their countenances. General Rodil inflicted no other punishment than that of burning their convent, and sending them to different convents in distant provinces. Many stories, doubtless exaggerated, or perhaps altogether destitute of foundation, had been circulated, derogatory to the character of the institution. We advise such of our fellow-citizens as have an hour or two to spare, to visit the ruins of the convent. A more melancholy scene, or one better calculated to awaken the best feelings of our nature, we have never witnessed. What, but a few days ago, was one of the loveliest spots in the country, is now a scene of devastation and ruin. The convent occupied a most commanding situation; the main building was large and elegant, and had been often commended for its architectural neatness. All that remains of it now are the naked walls, and these are in so unsafe a condition as to require the immediate attention of the authorities."

It is consoling to find, that amidst these horrors there were some brave and religious hearts which evinced sympathy with the sufferers. In 1837, in a considerable town of Old Castile, an officer transformed his house to all intents and purposes into a convent, receiving into it some persecuted monks, and enabling them to discharge their usual service as if in their monastery. Italians in this respect, after the French revolution, had set a noble example. Count John Marius Andreani purchased a church and house of the monks of St. Barnabas, and assigned it to the monks of many suppressed houses, who continued to serve the church, living in a regular community; and in a similar manner the great Benedictine monastery near Cesena was preserved. But we must not dwell longer on these recent events, to which might be added those which are now passing in the east of Switzerland, where the magistrates of Argovia have inflicted on Muri and several other monasteries what can only be compared to the feat of the ignoble animal over the weakened

lion. This passing allusion to them however was unavoidable, and it has conducted us by a gradual descent to the considerations which must terminate this book; for it leads us to observe that in general, persecution for justice, with oppression of the Church especially, still continues, as it must continue until the end of time. There is enough written upon this earth to stir a mutiny in the mildest thoughts, and arm the minds of infants to exclaims. Yet every year adds to the sad legend; so true is the remark of Aristotle, Ὅμοια τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς γεγονόσι.* "Tempora mutata video," says St. Augustin, "Creator temporum non mutatur."† "Truth, which changes not, has still the same reception from the world; and the pride of those who hate God ascendeth ever."‡ "In history," says Pazelius, "things are not changed; persons only are changed. The same nature of man remains, and so each affair returns. There are the same causes, the same occasions, the same errors."§ "The present is not intelligible without the past," says Novalis.‖ This age, therefore, has wherewithal to instruct us; "ad quod," as Heinsius says, "nisi referantur vetera, non satis prosunt nova."¶

We must not be careless and indifferent observers of the great events which are passing under our eyes, meriting the reproof which Tacitus ministers to his countrymen, saying, "Dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi."** For now the blood of martyrs flows in torrents as in early days. Who has not heard the traits of heroic fortitude in suffering for Jesus Christ, which are recounted in those admirable annals of the propagation of the faith among the heathen nations? Where is the Christian to whom the name of Cornay is not precious?†† Let Ruinart revive to enlarge his immortal Dypticks. The mother of Jaccard, on hearing of his martyrdom in Tong King, is overjoyed. When the news reached her, she uttered a cry of transport, and then said, "Blessed be God, my sweet son has conquered, and, in spite of my convictions that no sufferings could ever daunt him, I need fear for him no more." But without leaving Europe, the persecutions of the just are before our eyes: for now, as the learned Boyer observes in a late work, the Catholic Church has to be defended against the constitutional heresy which subjects religion to the magistrate, renewing the contests of the middle ages. Now again is the Church persecuted by emperors and kings "deliberately and safely," we are told by English writers, "as in Germany, or by democracies, energetically and more rapidly still," to us their words, "as in Spain," where heaven's stern justice lays chastising hand; which desolation these infatuated wanderers of the Anglican schism consider as the work of God, to establish what they term "a truly Catholic episcopacy in opposition to the Romish corruptions."‡‡

When one compares the letters of St. Thomas of Canterbury and of his contemporaries with the documents relative to the events at the present day in Prus-

* De Rhet. † In Ps. xliii. ‡ Id. lxxiii. § Christoph. Pazelius Orat. de Historia.
‖ Schriften, ii. 321. ¶ Orat. xvii. ** ii.
†† Martyred in Tong King, 20th of Sept. 1837. Annales de la Prop. de la Foi. Mars, 1839.
‡‡ I am unwilling to cite the author.

sia and in Poland, the heart sinks at the evidence of this protracted, monotonous, never-ending struggle. Here are again the same difficulties, discouragements, I had almost said impossibilities, encompassing the just; the same ability, cunning, strength, and success, attending those who persecute them under the world's banners. St. Athanasius and St. Thomas return in these great and admirable figures of Clement Augustus Droste Vischering of Cologne, and of Martin de Dunin of Posen, these glorious confessors of the nineteenth century, canonized as it were in advance by the infallible praises of the successor of St. Peter. The bishop of Podlachia imprisoned by the Emperor Nicholas; Hughes, bishop of Gibraltar, thrown into a felon's gaol by the authorities acting under the British government, for discharging the solemn and strict duty of his office; Ardriani, bishop of Pampeluna, with a crowd of Spanish and Portuguese prelates, banished and outlawed; the clergy of Toledo imprisoned and menaced for proclaiming that they will obey the Holy See rather than the political chief Becerra, nobly replying to the government, "The menaces of death will not intimidate us, for we know that at the present day death is martyrdom;" Michaelis, chaplain to the archbishop of Cologne, Binterim, the curate of Bilk, afflicted with a long and barbarous imprisonment: all persecuted for justice, for truth and honor—such are the examples of our age, verifying the words of Pope Innocent III., that "the sufferings of martyrs convert men to truth. Hoc est enim," he adds, "vetus artificium Jesu Christi, hoc miraculosum ingenium Salvatoris, ut cum in suis victus esse putatur, tunc vincat fortius in eisdem, et ea virtute qua ipse mortem moriendo destruxit, a superatis interdum famulis suis superatores eorum faciat superari."* The political chief raging against the chapter, an old man of Toledo writes to a relation at Madrid, saying, "I hope that your heart is comforted: if you cannot have consolation where you are, come here; come and visit the vicar in his prison, and you will find innocence, firmness, and all virtues capable of encouraging timid and tepid souls, so as to make them wish to share his prison. O how beautiful is innocence! how glorious it is to suffer for justice!" Forty-three priests of this illustrious church of Toledo are now in prison, the chapter of Saragossa sharing the same fate. And in men of station less conspicuous, how many dangers most vassaly† encountered, and sufferings endured for justice! Witness the curate of Requejo, Don Diego Estebanez, thrown into prison for having read from his pulpit the allocution of the pope, and then condemned by the tribunal of Bagneça to perpetual banishment and confiscation. Amidst boasts of toleration many, indeed say, like some of old, "Si fuissemus in diebus patrum nostrorum, non essemus socii eorum in sanguine prophetarum."‡ But with these scenes

* Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xi. 26.

† In the Chronic. of St. Denis the expression is applied to the king of France at the battle of Poitiers, "qui plus vassalment s'y porta que nul autre." Ad. ann. 1356.

‡ Matt. xxiii. 30.

passing before our eyes, such self-congratulations can only be received for their just value. As Palinurus says to the delusive vision that bids him sleep,

> "Mene salis placidi vultum, fluctusque quietos
> Ignorare jubes ? mene huic confidere monstro ?"*

No ! the same lot is reserved for all superiority of merit. Give me back Pythagoras," says Petrarch, "and I shall see you despisers of his genius. Let Plato return to Greece, let Homer and Aristotle live again, let Varro come back to Italy, let Livy rise again, let Cicero again flourish, not only will they find men slow to praise them, but biting and envenomed detractors, as each of them experienced in their days."† So we may add, give us back St. Ambrose, or St. Athanasius, and we shall find it needless to inquire how they will be regarded by the temporal power. What new thing can be expected ? *Τέθνηκε Φιλιππος ; οὐ μὰ Δί'.* The ancient tyrants would soon be found alive, however their titles or their forms might be changed. But why do we speculate, when the world beholds how unceasingly the Catholic Church is persecuted in her members ? As Dante saw the spirits passing to the cursed strand, obedient to the call of Charon, going over through the umbered wave, and ere they on the opposing bank were landed, on this side another throng still gathered ; thus rise the Church's enemies, one still, another following, suffered by the living justice to execute the vengeance of his wrath. "No favor to the just in the fifth race of men," says Hesiod,

> . . . . *μᾶλλον δὲ κακῶν ῥεκτῆρα, καὶ ὑβριν*
> *ἀνέρα τιμήσουσι.*‡

Are these the works and days of the world now ? O wretched race ! "whence doth this wild excess of insolence lodge in you ? Wherefore kick you against that will ne'er frustrate of its end, and which so oft hath laid on you enforcement of your pangs ?" Reader, look well around thee, and such things thou shalt behold as would my speech discredit. What do not Catholic nations still endure for justice ? O blest Ireland, how patiently dost thou abide thy ill-entreating ! The best men who sought the deliverance of thy people and of the Church, which cannot minister to thy wants as she desires,—lovers of their country, who might say, with Cicero, that it was their fate that no one should be an enemy of the republic who did not declare war at the same time against them,§—steeped in contemptuous humiliations for attempting, and for in part achieving it ; martyrs of the press and tribune succeeding those of the gaol and gibbet ; heresy, unable to weary out its workmen at their black smithy, laboring by turns, while it cries aloud for help on all sides, launching out the bolts with all its might, as if to enjoy a sweet revenge : others constrained to seek repose in foreign lands, unable to resist its barbarity at home : elsewhere the cross, knocked down in sheer dis-

* V. 848. † Fam. Epist. Lib. i. ‡ Op. et Dies.

dain of God, and venerable prelates sought out for massacre; force substituted for justice, setting at nought the high omnipotence; insult added to the breach of all law and honor: in another nation, religion attacked by foreign states, urged on by usurers, under pretence of an alliance; in another, where the people seem by nature formed for peace and gentleness, just and holy men, calumniated and persecuted by false brethren; a Milner treated as a visionary; a standard set up by members of clubs, having hosts of followers; such men, to use the comparison of Lucas, as enlisted under Falstaff's banner—namely, Wart, Mouldy, Feeble, and Shadow—singly contemptible, but acting with united cries upon a nation that has been ever distinguished by its rich men making martyrs, contributing to create against the holy and the just a querulous, suspicious, detracting, depreciating persecution, verifying the words of St. John Climachus, that "among the race of men, some are the friends of God, nonnulli vero quamvis imbecilles tamen adversarii."* A glorious war, as Marsilius Ficinus observes, is said to have been waged formerly by giants against Jove, an ignominious one is here by pigmies.† Here even external foes, though bitter, are now dwarfish. "Non eis remansit," as St. Augustin said, "nisi solo imfirmitas animositatis, quæ tanto est languidior, quanto se majores vires habere existimant."‡

"The broad waters of bitterness," as an eloquent voice proclaims, "now no longer hold the ark; it is wafted into safety. But a small, pitiful, muddy stream of persecution penetrates into the comforts of the poorer classes. Heresy still persecutes in work-houses; it tortures in gaols; it gives to the poor widow, and says you shall not pray for your deceased husband; it turns away servants and discharges laborers, and sends adrift tenants to perish by famine on the wayside." The ministers, afraid lest any should be moved to follow the light of faith, and leave those whom they have steeped in error, go by thousands around the foss, in which they seek to retain all, aiming shafts at whatsoever spirit dares emerge. And thus it verifies the divine prediction, that the world should be divided by "the doctrine of the cross;" that each house should have in it believers and unbelievers; that a good war should be sent to break an evil peace; and it enables the children of beatitude to maintain that beautiful order of charity which consists in the subjection of affection to religion, preferring God to fathers, and mothers, and children, and to endure the austerity of the evangelic law through hope of the eternal promises. Not content with local and domestic persecution, it still hungers and thirsts after a national denouncement. It causes complaints to be eternally repeated in the Parliament, in the journals, in the popular writings of the day, reviving those of the proconsul Pliny, denouncing to the state "the progress of the superstition." For, as St. Augustin says, "It is a kind of punishment and judgment when the sinner, and unbeliever, and enemy, sees the extension and propagation of the Church in this world, after so many persecutions

* Scala Paradis. † Mars. Fic. Epist. ‡ In Ps. xxxiii.

in which he thought that it would have utterly perished. Then he is angry, dentibus suis frendet et tabescet.

Who can deny that this is a grievous punishment."* Yes, everywhere, on the entering of its unblessed feet, heresy persecutes the faithful; for every where it takes away or diminishes what gives joy to their youth and a foretaste of heaven to their aged, the external rights of religion, the processions, and the union of earth with heaven in the sanctifying solemnities of faith, all that its laws can still grapple with and suppress. For more than three hundred years it has triumphed; and if it should endure twelve hundred years, like the sect of Mahomet, it will act like a blight upon the moral world still, engendering a joyless, dismal, black, and sorrowful issue. In Switzerland, in Prussia, it is still working at its ancient work, and with the same thirst as of old, with fang impure to gore the bosom of the holy Church. Since Luther and Calvin's day it has not rested, nor ever shall, I ween, till time hath run his course. Whether it advances or recedes I know not. Like those tall water spectres which one sees by night in Alpine valleys, when every other object is concealed by the darkness, and no other sound is heard but the monotonous roar which issues from them, and one cannot determine whether they are nearer or further than at first, so does it appear. True, much of its maternal sustenance has been withdrawn. Here at least are no monasteries for sale now. Judging from its present violence, and remembering how "evils that take leave, on their departure most of all show evil," some are buoyed up with the hope that it recedes; while others, looking round on "the noisy inanity of the world, words with little meaning, actions with little worth, loving to reflect in silence on what passes,—the noble silent men, scattered here and there, not content like Xenocrates with one hour's silence in the day,"† but rather aspiring at monastic habits, "each in his department silently thinking, silenty working, whom no morning newspaper makes mention of it,"‡—these seem, as if thinking it stationary, to be content with repeating the words of Electra,

ὕβριζε νῦν γὰρ εὐτυχοῦσα τυγχανεις·

placing all their hopes in the appeal which they have solemnly sent to that final tribunal, where, as Dante says, reply to innocence is made. In all other courts they have seen their bill thrown out with laughter, and the prospect of redress made as remote as ever. They think it wise, therefore, to wait awhile in silence for the sentence of that above, which will award just judgment, fulfilling what is announced in the first as well as in the last page of the Book of God: for Genesis begins with "Elohim," a Hebrew word which stands not only for Creator but for Judge, and the last words of the Apocalypse are "Venio cito, Amen. Veni, Domine Jesu."§ There seems the only remedy, while the world goes on, to good malignant, to bad men benign; for, that all the dangers may be seen ere we conclude, persecu-

* In Ps. lxxviii. † Diog. Laert. iv. ‡ Carlyle. § Drexelius, Tribunal Christi, L[redacted]

tion now assumes a form more dangerous still than that inflicted by the violent, and is productive of effects more immediately ruinous than can result from all their fury; since, as the Venerable Bede remarks, "There are two kinds of persecution, one by open war, the other by men of a feigned fraudulent spirit of conciliation."*

"There is in the Psalm," says St. Augustin, "a voice of fellow-sufferers, and of martyrs in dangers in their passion, but still presuming in their head, Vox contribulatorum et periclitantium, sed de suo capite præsumentium. Let us hear them, and speak with them with affection of heart, if not with similitude of suffering. Not that such persecutions assail us as assailed them, but perhaps that worse description of them arising from so many kinds of scandals; for our times abound far more in that woe pronounced by our Lord, 'Væ mundo ab scandalis:' and since iniquity abounds, the charity of many has grown cold. For neither did Lot in Sodom suffer any corporal persecution, nor was it said to him, that he should not live there. The wicked manners of the people were his persecution. Now indeed Christ is seated in heaven, glorified; the necks of kings are subjected to his yoke, and his sign is marked upon their foreheads, no one remaining who dares any longer to insult Him publicly; and yet amidst organs and symphonies, we still mourn; still the enemies of the martyrs, because they cannot with their cries and their voices, persecute them with their luxury. And would that we had only the pagans to endure; there would be some consolation in writing for them, who are not yet signed with the cross of Christ, who when they were signed would cease to rage: but we see men bearing his sign on their foreheads, at the same time bearing on them the insolence of luxury, not exulting but insulting on the days of the solemnities of the martyrs. Amidst these we groan, and this is our persecution, if there be in us the charity which saith, Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur, et ego non uror? Thus it is that Satan continues to rage, although fettered, and to instigate the impious who gnash their teeth against the dignity of the Church, and the peace of Christians; and because they cannot rage with deeds of violence, saltando, blasphemando, luxuriando, they do not persecute the bodies, but they lacerate the souls of Christians."†

"A viro injusto erue me; and," adds St. Augustin, "there are many of the unjust who do not seem to be cruel or rough, or to have the wish to persecute, yet they are persecutors; for how can they injure no one who injure themselves? Must they not injure you by injuring themselves? You ask how do they injure me? They do not touch my property or my life? They injure you by their evil example, because they live with you, and tacitly invite you to follow them; for when you see them prospering in their luxury, you are tempted to esteem their actions; they injure you by corrupting what is in your heart: therefore every unjust man is necessarily dangerous, whether he be bland or whether he be ferocious; and whoever is taken in his snares discovers it to his cost; for thorns do

* Hom. iv. in Luc. 52.

† S. Aug. in Ps. lxix.

not wound at their roots: hold them by the roots and you feel no pain; but it is by the extremity that they wound: so it is with these men who please you, as if bland and amiable. This love of pleasure has its points, which will sooner or later lacerate you; for they may be silent, they may hide their hatred, but they cannot love you; and therefore pray to be delivered from them, as from the man malignant and unjust."

These are the persecutors most formidable now: these diffuse far and wide, what Dante found within the seventh circle—dissimulation, flatteries, theft, falsehood, simony,—for these include all who seduce to lust, or set their honesty at pawn with such vile scum as serves the world under learned titles, infecting each profession. "Pray to be delivered from such men. It is not necessary to ask who they are; they are known. You must not ask, but pray."

"Our enemy was at one time a lion, when he raged openly; at another a dragon, when he lay in wait secretly; but He to whom it is said, Conculcabis leonem et draconem, since we are His body and His members, as He trampled on the lion by the feet of our fathers, openly raging and dragging the martyrs to their passion, so will He trample on the dragon, lest he lie in wait and destroy us. Nevertheless, persecution, either from the lion or from the dragon, will never cease to the Church; and more is he to be feared when he deceives, than when he rages. Persecutio tamen sive a leone sive a dracone nunquam cessat Ecclesiæ, et magis metuendus est cum fallit quam cum sævit."*

"Et in umbra alarum tuarum sperabo, donec transeat iniquitas. This also is our voice," continues St. Augustin, "for not as yet hath iniquity passed; still iniquity rages; and he only can persevere and be saved who has learned from Christ the patience of perseverance. You have passed, and lo your temptations have passed, and you depart to another life, to which the saints are departed, if you be holy. But think you, because you have passed hence, will iniquity have passed? Other unjust men will be born as other unjust men have died, and as there will be other just men born; for until the end of the world iniquity will oppress and justice suffer: Usque in finem sæculi nec iniquitas deerit premens, nec justitia patiens."†

"The Psalmist says, "Negavi consolari animam meam. Whence this tædium? Perchance, because the hail has destroyed the vines, or because there is no oil this year, or the rain has spoiled the harvest? Not so. Tædium detinuit me, a peccatoribus relinquentibus legem tuam."‡ Reader, this leads at once unto the end, by a consideration of the reward promised to the children of this beatitude.

"Of all the eight ways of blessed life, indeed," as St. Bernardine of Sienna says, "the end is the kingdom of heaven: for the meek will inherit the earth of the kingdom of heaven; mourners will be comforted but in the kingdom of heaven;

* Id. Ps. cxxxix. † In Ps. xxxix. ‡ Id. lvi. § Id. lxxvi.

those who thirst after justice will be filled but only there; the merciful will obtain mercy, but only when they enter the kingdom of heaven; the clean of heart will see God intuitively in the kingdom of heaven; the peacemakers shall be the children of God chiefly in the kingdom of heaven; but above all, for the poor in spirit, and for those who suffer persecution for the sake of justice, the reward is immediately to be there: since to them is given on earth a part in heaven: for to persecution, as well as to poverty of spirit, is granted not only promissively, but possessively, the keys of the kingdom of heaven; for poverty has nothing in the world, and persecution can take the whole world from man: and as the provident Creator makes no creature without a place, therefore possessively he grants to them a heavenly seat. Besides, persecution for justice, like poverty of spirit, makes man impassible, agile, subtle, and rich; impassible in calamity, agile to follow Christ, subtle to penetrate heaven by the narrow way, and rich to purchase it."*

Nevertheless, even those whose spirits were already thus in Heaven, in common with all that bore the sign of Christ, were while on earth, men who walked with heads bowed down, waiting for those manifestations of the second advent, of which our Saviour says, "His autem fieri incipientibus, respicite, et levate capita vestra."†

All the souls which Dante met in hell, expressed the greatest desire to be recalled to the remembrance of men, and even to draw the attention of those who had not known them. Amidst those revolutions of torment, in those burning sepulchres, under the horrible soil of the rain of fire, and on the waves of that eternal cold, the movements of vanity were required to enhance the everlasting woe of sinners;‡ but the children of beatitude while living here below, had learned to despise the praises or the blame of men. They all knew that they were Christians for this end, as St. Augustin says, "Ut præsentia superent et futura sperent."§ "We are Christians," he says, "only on account of the future world."‖ Therefore, he adds, "let our motto be, Sursum cor, sursum cogitationem, sursum amorem, sursum spem."¶ Yes, he says again, "We are as yet in the land, not of the living, but of the dying; our life is hope; mutandum est cor, levandum est cor, non hic habitandum corde. Hæc mala regio est; sursum corda habeamus."**

"Let us enter, then, on the way of life," says Venerable Bede, in a passage which is read during the octave of All Saints, "let us return to the celestial city, in which we are inscribed and enrolled as citizens. Let us consider, as far as it is possible for us to consider, the great felicity of that city; for to express it no tongue suffices."

"Sometimes," says St. Augustin, "when a man travels far, he lives among bet-

* Sermo xii. et v. † Luc. xxi. ‡ Artaud de Montor, Hist. de Dante.
§ In Ps. xc. ‖ Id. lxi. ¶ Id. xci. ** Id. xl.

ter men than he would have lived with in his own country; but it is not so when our absence is protracted from that celestial Jerusalem. A man leaves his country, and, while he travels, it is well with him; in travelling, he makes faithful friends, whom he could not have found in his own country. At home he had enemies who drove him thence; and, as a stranger and pilgrim, he finds what he could not have had amongst his fellow-countrymen. Such is not that Jerusalem which is our country, where all are good."*

"Yet a little while," writes Fenelon to Madame de Gamaches from Cambrai, a few days after his sentence of banishment, "Yet a little while, and the deceitful dream of this life will be dissipated, and we shall all be reunited forever in the kingdom of truth, where there shall be no more error, nor division, nor scandal. There we shall breathe only the love of God; and His eternal peace will be our peace. Meanwhile, let us suffer, let us keep silence, let us submit to be trampled under foot, carrying the opprobrium of Jesus Christ; too happy if our disgrace should contribute to His glory."

Such was the heart's inmost desire, such the unchanging voice of all just men, during the ages which I have attempted to review in this history; whether in honor or dishonor, in peace or in persecution. Heaven, from which came the Spirit of which they sung "in labore requies, in æstu temperies, in fletu solatium," was the end on which their eyes were ever fixed:

> "E'en as the bird, who midst the leafy bower
> Has in her nest sat darkling through the night,
> With her sweet brood, impatient to descry
> Their wished looks, and to bring home their food,
> In the fond quest unconscious of her toil:
> She, of the time prevenient, on the spray,
> That overhangs their couch, with wakeful gaze
> Expects the sun, nor ever, till the dawn,
> Removeth from the east her eager ken."†

So stood the just, expecting Heaven; through the long night of ages, ever looking wistfully towards the region of that most blessed light where they would see, as St. Augustin says, "not more than they then believed," as one hears some ignorantly pray, but "what they had believed, without seeing it, for that is the reward of faith;‡ where all persecutions, all sorrows would finish, all tears be dried for ever."

* In Ps. cxix † Dante, Par. xxiii. ‡ In Ps. lxxxiv et cix.

CHAPTER XIII.

READER, the eleventh book is concluded, and with it our long journey through the ages of past time. The work then even in regard to its divisions will be left imperfect; for this number signifies something unequal and incomplete; as it would require one more to be added, in order to make up that sacred number, as Albertus Magnus styles it,* which, as St. Augustin observes, implies perfection and totality. If we break off at the eleventh, to every skillful eye our structure will remain unfinished. However, so it must be. The ancients indeed shrunk from such an issue. To perish *ἀτελευτήτῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ* was the climax of misfortunes in Homeric minds.† Their works are never designedly left unfinished; and the very number of their books signifies that they had succeeded in realising their ideal; but in the Christian philosophy nothing while it remains on earth can be consummated. The brightest things must resemble the planet Mercury, that never appears quite full: the illumination can be never perfect; and we may remark too, that between Christian and heathen writers, the same cause leads to a singular difference of style in the composition as well as of arrangement in the division of their works; for that of the heathen authors is never to place the force at the end: their discourse ascends majestically, and then descends gradually to the end; whereas the Christians follow an ascending order to the last, and end abruptly with the part which is most exalted, as if unable to finish or realize their conception. So at the words "quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum," we have no alternative, but must end abruptly with the eleventh book; as if dazzled and unable to look any longer, on seeing the heaven wax more and more resplendent, and hearing a voice like that of Beatrice to Dante,

> —— "Behold the triumphal hosts
> Of Christ, and all the harvest gather'd in
> Made ripe by these revolving spheres." ‡

The twelfth can only be written "in the last sphere;" in that celestial city where every lofty aim will have completion, and by one of those who shall have passage to its clime to be an eye-witness to heaven's mysteries. For, as the wisest of the ancients said, *τὸν δὲ ὑπερουράνιον τόπον οὔ τέ τις ὕμνητέ πω τῶν τῇδε ποιητὴς, οὔ τέ ποθ' ὑμνήσει κατ' ἀξίαν.*

* In Luc. vi. tom. x. † iv. 175. ‡ Par. xxiii.

There alone can be accomplished the mystic number which signifies universality and consummation. There alone can be seen the reality, that sum of blessedness, of which the fairest forms on earth are but a type and shadow. We should therefore separate, gentle reader, here, and close the volume; but, if you desire the epilogue of the rhetoricians, there is no reason why I should not comply with your wishes, after having thus explained the essential difference which will allow us only under certain conditions to pursue their art in this respect; nor need we object to the delay, "since," as Baltasar Gracian says, "The truths which most concern us are never but half-said." Yet, to look back on all that has been seen were difficult, though we might earnestly desire such a retrospect; and I begin as one by over-eagerness perplexed:

Ὦ φίλος ἀργαλέον, μὲν ὃδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοιτο
Πάντα λέγειν; πολλοὶ γὰρ ὁδὸν πρήσσουσιν ὁδῖται.*

As pilgrims, by mistake of some small path, having told many weary steps, at night when their hopes flatter them they are not far from some kind entertainment, find themselves lost in a wilderness, unable to retrace their way, so am I perplexed to find the issue, in one respect alone, like Dædalus, of whom the poet says:

"——— vixque ipse reverti
Ad limen potuit: tanta est fallacia tecti."†

The conclusion of a work which has so long transported us to beauteous and majestic scenes, giving us an occupation like that of the ancient mystagogues, which according to the remark of Cicero, ought to consist in showing "not where things are, but where they were," creates a weighty and a serious brow, which I would put off, as contrary to the joyful tenor of its way from the commencement.

"Now time his dusky pennons o'er the scene
Closes in stedfast darkness, and the past
Fades from our charmed sight. My task is done:
Thy lore is learned. Faith's wonders are thine own,
With all the fear and all the hope they bring.
My spells are past; the present now recurs."

The thought of having done, of having had life prolonged to finish any work by the permission and grace of Him in whom all things live, and of one's view now hovering the brink of dread infinitude, is solemn. 'Tis like the sound of the sea or the murmur of the grove, after the departure of a friend whose presence on the previous day had tuned it to unmixed gladness; it is like the sorrow of one who casts a last lingering look at the beautiful cities of Italy, or at the snow-capped mountains of the bright warm south, which he is leaving never to see them more; or like recalling to mind the journeys that were made along the beautiful shores of Alpine lakes, when one was a boy; the thousand innocent transports to which

* Hom. Hymn. v. 202.

† Met. viii. 168.

the heart yielded with such ardor, as one walked through vineyards, rode through valleys, clomb rocky mountains, and swam in the placid or the rushing waters of those delicious climes; or 'tis like the hour

"When the last sunshine of expiring day
In summer's twilight weeps itself away;"

when nature of itself disposes the mind to reflections deeper than the tongue can utter. "The evening," says Richard of St. Victor, "is a time of sadness; the morning is a time of joy. Wherefore doth every heart grieve, unless because no heart here hath perpetual day, because no heart can always have present to it the light of heaven? For the sun rises, and sets, and returns to its place, because the intelligence of truth one time is given, at another withdrawn, and again a second time restored. How should it be strange then if every heart should grieve so long as it endures in this manner the necessary darkness of these alternate vicissitudes? In heaven there is day without night; in hell night without day; on earth neither night without day, nor day without night; that is to say, neither sorrow without hope, nor joy without fear. Of necessity, therefore, must every heart grieve and lament until it perfectly escapes its darkness, reaches the soil of glory, and its throne becomes as the day of heaven."* The Church herself teaches us thus to moralize on the time; for, at the close of her brightest festival, she invites us to repeat those moving words, "Mane nobiscum, Domine, quoniam advesperascit;" and St. Augustin says that we read of no evening of the sabbath day, because in heaven our rest will have no end.† Therefore, in her evening hymn of "Lucis Creator optime," the Church addresses prayer to God with weeping, "Audi preces cum fletibus," and seems engrossed with a contemplation of the mournful and dangerous side of the human existence, adding,

"Ne mens gravata crimine
Vitæ sit exul munere;
Dum nil perenne cogitat,
Seseque culpis illigat."

We may be sad too, because we are descending from the mountain of the beatitudes, that mount which pilgrims from the Holy Land tell us is so isolated, as if to signify the divine perfection of what is found there alone; we are leaving those with whom we have long conversed, namely, the departed great and holy, who like shadows have come before us and are now departed with the revered bard who sung them; "Oculus meus, memoria mea," says St. Bernard "et cogitare de sanctis quodammodo eos videre est." Besides, imperceptibly men imbibe the spirit of those with whom they live; and we have lived with the generations of the ages of faith, of which the spirit, as we have seen, was an affectionate and tender spirit, such as the apostle recommends: "Do not have a mind without

* De Statu Interioris Hominis, l. i. 27.

† In Ps. xcii.

affection," says St. Augustin, that great monitor, whose thoughts were their thoughts, "for they are reprehended who are without affection."* What affection did the men of these ages manifest for our divine Lord, for His blessed Mother, for His sacred humanity, and even for places sanctified by His presence; so that it was a custom in Italy to have family groups represented amidst the different stages of the Passion in Jerusalem; as in the picture of Cosmo de Medicis, where all the members of his house are thus painted adoring in the Holy Sepulchre, the Garden of Olives, and on Calvary. Geoffrey Fulcher, a knight-templar, writes to King Louis VII. of France, and concludes thus: "Do not suppose that I have neglected your commission: for you told me that I should salute for you the holy places, and in visiting them make a memento of you in each. Mindful of your charge, I send you a ring which I carried with me to all the holy places, and with which I touched each of them in memory of you. For the reverence of which, I pray that you will keep and guard the ring."†

In was the spirit of these ages to make men practically know, that no one could come, unless by love and tenderness, to Him who, for that reason, as St. Augustin says, had ascended above cherubim, and was exalted above the plenitude of science. What affection for all! Tear for tear, and loving kiss for kiss, they were ready to tender on each other's lips: If there had been no other argument to prove the existence of God, they held that He must necessarily exist, if it were only to comprehend the graces which they traced in beings around them. No father or mother, they supposed, could love their children as their childhood and their youth deserved, though they would pay them all the sum of debts that they should pay, for this was countless and infinite. That infantine beauty, that young grace of adolescence, that hoary wisdom of old men in the sun, required an audience more divine than theirs. God must exist, they argued, not alone to bestow such graces, but to love them. Hence the pensive air which characterised their affection. "In whom I placed my melancholy," says an old poet of Jumièges in a dramatic legend, meaning whom I loved. Friendship, love, and piety were all treated with mystery, as if to avoid profanation. As Novalis says, "Shame would not permit mention of them, except at rare intervals. They were understood in silence, as things far too tender to be a theme of talk."‡

The fifteenth century, antichivalrous and irreligious, witnessed a great contrast to this view of the relations of human life; but such was the spirit of ages in which faith predominated. In palaces, as in cottages, the affectionate disposition reigned. What a beautiful instance is that related by Joinville, when describing a certain royal banquet, he says that "the Queen Blanche, hearing that a young German, of eighteen years of age, who served, was the son of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, kissed his forehead through devotion, because she had heard that his mother had often kissed it." What love did Charlemagne evince for his sister Ghisla, abbess of

* In Ps. lv. † Epist. Ludov. vii. ap. Rer. Gallic. Script. xvi. ‡ [redacted]

our Lady at Soissons! She had refused to marry the son of the eastern emperor, and the son of Diderick, king of the Lombards. In 804, Ghisla falling sick in the abbey of Chelles, Charlemagne instantly flew to her from Sossions, where he had just arrived with the Pope Leo III. and did not return to him at St. Medard, "till he had enjoyed some conversation with Ghisla," say the annals of Metz; the cares of politics never being able to extinguish his domestic affections. On the occasion of the Emperor Charles IV. visiting Charles V. king of France at Paris, the chronicles of St. Denis relate an affecting instance of the same kind. On the Sunday, say they, the Duchesse de Bourbon was presented to him in the hotel of St. Pol, "and when they came near each other, the emperor began to weep, and the duchess also, so that it was a piteous thing to behold; and the cause was, his remembering that the sister of the said duchess had been his wife, and also that the said duchess had been the companion, and brought up with the duchess of Normandy, the emperor's sister and the king's mother. In that place they could not converse together, but the emperor prayed that after dinner he might see her and talk with her more secretly; and so it was done."* Such was thier affectionate spirit; and, therefore, having long lived and conversed with persons of this tone, one learns to love and to weep like them, to be sensitive and sad at the thought of seeing them no more on earth; for how should we not love them? as the old orator exclaims: *τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς.* Certainly to leave them thus is a thing that may well teach the eye to flow. Alas! if these were living now, how different would be our lot and that of our children? Had their time been more, much evil that afflicts us still had never chanced. But they are gone! they whose glories far and wide resounded once, are now scarce with whispers named, and what remains to us of all this mightiness but the high lesson:

> "Follow, where all is fled! Rome's azure sky,
> Flowers, ruins, statues, music, words, are weak,
> The brightness they transfused with fitting words to speak."

Moreover, these concluding labors have brought us back to that solemn epoch of the declining year, when, in our new life, juvenile in years, we commenced them, of which festival the poet Pindemonte so mournfully sings:

> "Quando il cader delle autumnali foglie
> Ci avisa ogni anno, che non meno spesse
> Le umane vite cadono, e ci manda
> Sugli estinti a versar lagrime pie."

Again surround us, at the funeral song of "Regem cui omnia vivunt," those hosts of dead, nobler than the ghosts Æneas saw, thick as the fallen leaves that strew the ground of forests in the first cold of autumn.

> "Magnanimum heroum, pueri, innuptæque puellæ,"

* Ad an. 1378.

Reader, you may remember, that it was on the day when souls are kindled, as the flame of embers is enlivened at the breathing of the wind, on the day of All Saints, and as the sun, then entering the eighth degree of Scorpio, was sinking to its bed, that we began this journey back in contemplation through past ages. After leaving the Church, my insatiate eyes had travelled to the spangled firmament, where the stars, in magnitude and lustre, shining forth with more than wonted glory, seemed to declare the beatitude of those whose justice was an effluence of Him whose seat is thus inlaid with thick-studded gems. These planets, to which the sun appears so much more glorious than he does from our earth, globes in which his heat is so intense, which move with such amazing velocity that the Greeks even gave them the name of divine messengers; some so near the sun as to be seldom visible, being lost in the effulgence of its rays; others more remote, alternately rising in the morning and in the evening; but, whether bringing light or love, constantly turned towards the source of their illumination,—these stupendous bodies, moving thus in such obedience, and contributing to the happiness of beings so remote as men, seemed to invite the mind to continue meditating on those living splendors, that see face to face Him who is the light of all intelligence, that glow with flames of love proportionate to their distance from its everlasting fountain, and that, by its sweet influence, are to their ever-constant swiftness winged, impelled by Him that moves the sun in heaven and all the stars.

In Ages of Faith men witnessed order in the Church resembling such as in these orbs is seen, only that, as Dante says, "in the sensible world, there was this difference, that each showed more divinity as each was wider from the centre." That evening, when I first conceived this work, the moon, then in the twenty-sixth degree of Taurus, was nearly half-illumined, as her sixteenth day would indicate, and in the sky all night. I remember it well; for she did me good service in the gloom of the deep wood through which I had to journey. When the monks left the choir, the sun had already touched the forest on the plain beneath, and ere I left the cloister, through its broad archers could be traced some pale splendors. Capella and Cassiopeia lay over the north-east; the Pleiads nearer to the orient, Aquila towards the south by west, and Cygnus nearly over head. Lyra was fainter in the west; while the great Bear paced his circle in the north-west. When I rode forth, some I had watched were sunk, and others risen in their stead. The Twins and Orion towards the north east with undulating glance played along the horizon, the Belt just rising below Aldebaran; the Bear was mounting to the Pole. Before I pulled the rein, it was midnight, and still increase of beauty. Orion fired the south-east nearly half way from the earth to the summit of heaven's concave: the Pleiads moved aloft verging to the south. Sirius and Pegasus had caught my gaze. Associated in memory with that eve of All Saints, and vigil of the dead, when the first thought of this long history darted across my mind, I can thus easily recall their places as they wheeled through the serene

air from fall of night till the twelfth hour, star by side of star; and now, after ten solar circles, the inclination of the axle on which our world spins ever night and day recalls the same great solemnities of the Church; and again she chants her own beatitude, as truly blessed mother. But while our earth has been performing these revolutions through the unimaginable space, while spirits beyond number have been added to that crowd above, and we still journeying through the obscure atmosphere of mortal creatures have been enjoying deeper and deeper insight into the manners and events of past ages, accumulating proofs with every change of position produced by the silent flight of time, the circuit of our vision widening from day to day, causing increase of beauty and of wonder since those first vespers, when we heard sung, "O quam gloriosum est regnum in quo cum Christo gaudent omnes sancti!" while heaven as well as earth has thus participated in the advance of years, it seems as if for us time had been stationary; the one All-hallows lasting without interruption while we were composing the books that were to illustrate it, as when the brief space of another holy season sufficed for that mysterious voyage to the three worlds, which the monarch of celestial poesy describes.

Traces of the same impression are, in fact, discernible in many works. The whole of the Republic of Plato, ten books in length, is put into the mouth of Socrates, and supposed to be repeated at a sitting, as the narrative of a conversation held the preceding day. The reason is obvious. It is that when high and glorious themes have seized the faculties with sensations of delight, time passes, and a man perceives it not. This find I true by proof, for years have rolled on unobserved as the advance of death, who, though we do not hear him tread, yet every minute is approaching. Why do I talk of death? you ask, as if a mist weighed down my eyes already! Oh! if we had profited by our late quest—so as to know clearly and to feel:

> . . . . . ατε οἱ πατέρων
> Ὀρθαὶ φρένες ἐξ ἀγαθῶν
> Ἔχραον.*

what the just minds of our good fathers prophesied; though we indeed saw death, in a long robe of darkness, preparing to seal them up to this earth for ever, we should say, with the Catholic poet who beholds Clariana die:

> "——'Twere no death
> If we could lose our sins as we do breath."

But by me, alas! as Eckerhard of St. Gall said with less truth, one thing is to be dreaded, after relating the glorious actions of the wise and holy, "lest God should say to me a sinner, Quare tu enarras justitias meas, et assumis testamentum meum per os tuum?"†

Alas, and woe is me! I may exclaim, borrowing the words of Guy de Roye in

* Pind. Olymp. vii.

† Eckerhard, Prolog. in Vit. B. Notkeri Balbuli.

his Doctrinal de Sapience, "I am like the mill which grinds the corn, and when it has ground it, remains empty retaining for itself nothing from what it delivers to the people; certes thus it is with me, poor sinner. I have ground the corn and delivered it to you, with which you readers and hearers will be fed. Alas! I retain no profit for myself: for I confess humbly before God and all the saints, that I am not what I admonish you to be. The words I transcribe; but the effects in me, are not like the words. I do not the good that I speak of; too far is it otherwise: but God knows that I am sorry for it, and desire that my deeds might be accordant with my words. But though I am not good, that I wish that all others may by good. I should wish to be the worst of all that are on earth; not that I should become worse, for I have no need to lose aught, but that all others may be better than myself; and this is what consoles me, that I love in others the good which I love for their sakes; for that is to begin well. O! ye who read, or hear read from this book, do not disdain it because it has been written by me; for a bad man often treads out good wine, though he does not make it. An ill-looking mason constructs a beautiful edifice, though he does not make the stones. Certes, thus it is with me. I have done nothing, but draw the words from books and join them together. There is nothing here of mine own but the pains which I had in turning over the leaves of many books." If more be required to explain why one without authority should have offered his services for such a work, requiring a mind so different from his own, I would urge, as in the beginning, the precedent, so far as wanting an express authority only, of others who have done so without blame. Not to recur to such ancient examples as those of a John Fancis Picus of Mirandula,* and a Sir Thomas More, the duc du Maine, in recent times, has left a book of meditations on the divine doctrine of the beatitudes, as if he had assisted at those conferences by night in the Vatican, which Saxius has recorded under the title of Sancti-Caroli Noctes Vaticanæ; whereas I have only shown its historical results, of which men, really good and wise, are often ignorant.

The Vicomte de Marsellus, in his travels in Sicily, relates that one day, as he walked in the public square of Castel-Vetrano, unable to divine the meaning of the words Palmosa Civitas, which he had read over the western gate, he accosted a company of five priests whom he met there, and asked them to explain the enigma. On their replying that they knew not, a certain young man joined the group timidly, as if wanting to be interrogated, and when the question was addressed to him, gave a satisfactory answer, citing a verse of the Æneid to substantiate it, while the others appeared to envince indifference if not contempt for that kind of erudition. On the viscount expressing surprise at his learning, the youth replied, "I am only a poor scholar; the priests whom you interrogated know more than I do, but they do not often read the poets or attend to studies such as these."† The same

* He wrote de Morte Christi

† Vingt J[illegible]

would be my reply, if any one should express pleasure at having derived information from these pages, which he had not found in graver and more solid books.

It chances often, when one sort of good hath satiated, and of another still the appetite remains, that what is best is laid aside, and that which has more novelty accepted. Those who, like myself, only pass the time carelessly, as if reposing on the pale cowslip beds, can pick up flowers which their masters cannot stop to gather.

In the middle ages we find Dante, so far like myself, in being prone to anger, and, through compassion, fainting for the victims of our common nature's sin, writing on the credo, on the seven sacraments, on the decalogue, on the penitential Psalms; and, in the nineteenth century, captains of artillery, in the camp, during short intervals of repose in Africa, treating on the accordance of reason with faith,* while other soldiers of the same army, with an enthusiasm that reminds one of Petrarch's praises, expressed in his letter to Boccaccio, are reading the commentary of St. Augustin on the Psalms. It is true, as the Pythagorean poet says:

Μία δ' ουκ ἅπαντας ἄμμε θρέψει
Μελέτα . . . . . .

but, as Manzoni replied lately to one who complained that he had not published any literary work for a long time, "We must all come to theology at last."†

Tacitus relates, that the Roman soldiers, when encamped on the moor in which Varro and his legions perished, were moved to a sad remembrance of them. In silence, through smouldering fires, they passed amidst their tents that night, sleepless rather than watching. The fearful stillness terrified the general, for he seemed to see and to hear Quinctilius Varro, covered with blood, emerging from the marsh, as if calling him, and yet repelling his outstretched hand.‡ For those who survey the scenes, full of grace, and state, and woe, in which the noble army of the saints and heroes of the Ages of Faith fulfilled its destiny, other images are reserved, and far different recollections. For them too 'tis possible to call the departed back, but it is a divine sound, which issues from such ground; it is a voice, as poets say,

> "Which should our holy churchmen use, might
> Without addition of more exorcism,
> Disenchant marshes, tie up mighty spirits
> Which fright the solitary groves."——

"Hæc sunt enim vestigia, quæ nobis sancti quique revertentes in patriam reliquerunt, ut illorum semitis inhærentes sequeremur et gaudia."§

Shortly before his death, travelling to Nuceria, the holy friar, Thomasuccius, on the feast of All Saints, entered a half-ruined and deserted church, where he began to meditate on the majestic splendor and variety of that festival in heaven.

* De l'Intelligence et de la Foi, par M. Guillemon, Capt. du Génie.

† Fred. von Raumer's Italy. ‡ Lib. i. § Bede.

Then falling into an ecstasy, he was led by an angel in spirit to behold the glory of the blessed, when he saw in mystic ecstasy all the distinct orders of the happy. In this vision of glory he remained immovable from rising till the setting sun, and, on coming to himself, related to his disciples what he had seen. Next day he came to Nuceria, and shortly after died, having predicted his own death.* Our vision ceases where the saint's began; but the end for others may be similar to his; for, from a commemoration of great and holy deeds, they may attain to a participation in their recompense, if they attend to what St. Chrysostom lays down, that "they who admire and praise the merits of the saints should imitate their manners. For either they ought to imitate if they praise, or they ought not to praise if they will not imitate; for we ourselves can be what they were; and we can do what they did. Now, in all these, the virtue was the same, the combat dissimilar, the glory equal. Therefore," adds the holy doctor, "you are a false soldier if you think to conquer without fighting, to triumph without a contest. Consider the covenant and conditions of your engagement, the warfare for which you are enrolled."†

Thus, reader, have we surveyed the ages which were influenced by the belief and manners of that class of men of whom the ancient writers say, that they were in faith and action Catholic, "fide et actu Catholicus,"‡—ages whose philosophy was sung by Dante, whose practices of life by Shakspeare, whose faith produced "a world all sincere, a believing world." Thus have we seen the prayer of our Lord reduced to action, which, as Vincent of Beauvais observes in his mirror of history, has regard in its seven petitions to the seven beatitudes, the eighth not being distinguished from them, as it is but the complement of the others; for, he observes, when we say, "hallowed be thy name," our prayer is, "grant us the spirit of wisdom, by which we may ever firmly adhere to thee, and so attain to perfect peace." In the words, "may thy kingdom come," we petition for the spirit of understanding, by which we may be cleansed so as to see God, and thereby reign; in those, "thy will be done," for the spirit of counsel, to enable us to fulfill his will, which must be done by mercy, according to the verse, "Misericordiam volo;" in those, "grant us this day our daily bread," our prayer is for the spirit of fortitude, lest we should faint on the way, that we may ever more and more thirst after justice: when we say, "forgive us our trespasses," we implore God to grant us the spirit of knowledge, by which we may mourn for our sins, that they may be in consequence remitted: when we add, "lead us not into temptation," we beg that He will grant the spirit of piety, by which we may be made meek, so as never to be irritated, and thus escape the wiles of the old adversary; and, in the last petition, to "deliver us from evil," we implore Him to render us poor in spirit with fear and humility, that we may be freed from sin; for it is the fear of the Lord which expels it from the heart.§

* Wadding, Annal Minorum, tom. ix. † In Octave of All Saints.

‡ Vit. Godehardi, Episc. Hildensheim. op. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns. tom. i.

§ Vincent, Bel. Spec. Historiale, Lib. vii. c. 16.

"Behold then," adds the holy Bernardine, "in how many different ways did saintly men, directed by our Saviour, act a meritorious life! behold what was the diversity of actions, of which the end was heaven!"* To sum them up here in conclusion would be needless. The history of them might be termed the history of love. As St. Augustin says, "Be not anxious to think of the multitude of the branches,—hold the root, and the whole tree will be in you: hold charity, than which nothing more eminent can be found in the Sacred Scripture,—that more excellent way of all who appertain to the kingdom of heaven, that which is above the heavens, above all books, for which all these generations militated: hold the sacraments of the Catholic Church, which were the hidden root of their actions, and then from the hidden root their good works will revive in you, manifest to all; as from the bottom of the cross, which is fixed in the earth, the whole visible cross rises and is seen."†

"The habits of the cardinal virtues," says Albert the Great, and in the book which treats of them by St. Martin, bishop of Braga, we see proof, "principally dispose to action, and those of the gifts to contemplation; but the habits of beatitude disposed to the perfection of both."‡

Such, in fine, were Catholic manners during the long ages which deservedly are distinguished by their quality of faith, that mysterious grace, without which no one will ever be able to understand their history, much less to imitate their manners; that divine gift of which the ancient sages seem to have had some conception, when, as St. Clement of Alexandria remarks, "It was an axiom according to Plato, that the mother of virtues is faith."§

How many just men and prophets of the ancient world wished to see the things which these ages saw, and did not see them, and to hear the things which they heard, and did not hear them? For then was prophecy fulfilled. The Lord reigned. He who stood before the judge, He whowas buffeted, He who was scourged, He who was spit upon, He who was crowned with thorns, He who was smitten on the face, He who was suspended on the tree, He who was mocked while hanging from it, He who died upon the cross, He who was wounded with the spear, He who was buried, He who rose again. Dominus regnavit. The earth exulted, and many isles were glad; for the servants of God were every where, announcing to the nations His glory; His, not as now their own glory; bringing to the Lord the glory due to His name; not to the name of men, not to the name of their age, not to their name, but to His name bringing glory.

When the words were finished, which first unfolded this way of beatific life, we read that the people wondered; when the manifestation of their power over the human heart in their consequences, as they appear in history, is observed, what remains but to exclaim with Thomas, as if we beheld the feet and hands and side of Christ, "Tu es Deus meus, alleluja!"

* Serm. xii.

† In Ps. cii. ciii.

‡ Alb. Mag. Compend. Theolog. Veritatis, v. 55.

§ Stromat. ii. 5.

The ages of which we have reviewed the manners, constituted what St. Augustin terms, "the generation of generations;" which expression he explains thus: "one generation goes, and another comes; for the generations of men on earth are like the leaves on the olive, or the laurel, or other evergreen tree, which is always clothed with them, while some leaves are dying, and others springing into life; so the earth is always full of men though passing thus quickly; but collecting, as we have done, from so many generations all the holy offspring, and thence making one generation, we form that generation of generations to which is promised a share in the eternity of God."*

Reader, in regard to the manner of treating history adopted in this work, there has been need of your co-operation; therefore I will say with Dante,

"Lo! I have set before thee; for thyself feed now."†

Feed, and reserve for the hungry some morsels from so high a table; for those you leave behind have vulgar, often bestial food; and you who know how wretchedly they fare, and who have tasted the sweets of this banquet, composed of such varied and such precious things, should learn pity;‡ but with discretion give what is provided. He will have partaken of it to little purpose, who will have only looked at the preceding examples and sentences in themselves, without attending to the great facts deducible from them; for each contained indirectly a refutation of some error maintained in the most popular histories, in which, as Thierry says, "are united the greatest chronological truth, and the greatest imaginable historical falsehood." By them, if duly weighed, many arguments are void which oft might have perplexed thee. Each contained often an apology for whole generations of men; for each was indicative of the state of society existing at the time, and of the public mind of which it was but the expression. They were all to be examined with a view to something further than the specific purpose avowedly professed in the passage itself. For external facts have importance chiefly from their harmony with interior facts, with the opinions of men; and institutions placed between actions and opinions, are, as it were, the permanent forms of the thought of a people." Aristotle objected to history that it is confined to particulars; and, on that account, as far as regards instruction, he gave the preference to poetry, saying, ἡ μὲν γὰρ ποίησις μᾶλλον τὰ καθόλου, ἡ δ' ἱστορία τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον λέγει: but in the preceding books history has been presented in a Catholic character, affording lessons to philosophers of a universal interest, and supplying undesigned testimony to general truths of the highest importance to mankind.

Nevertheless, I think it has not been my failing to make the truth of history subordinate to its moral use, just as a history is sometimes written for the purpose

* In Ps. ci. † Parad. ‡ Convito.

of inculcating certain political or sectarian tenets, by men who spread a shadow of their own likeness over it, whose minds seem like a many-sided mirror,

> "Which can distort to many a shape of error
> This true fair world of things, a sea reflecting love."

The facts here adduced have not been modelled by the nature of the man who selected them; for then they would have yielded pain. They have not been modified by his own manner of thinking, which is of little worth; the ages he has described are not the multiplex image of any mortal's dream, for the whole is given as it was found in ancient monuments, to which every one may refer to verify them. Nor does the impression of greatness, which every picture of the Ages of Faith must leave on the mind, arise from their being past and distant ages. They required not time to magnify them; for the present enables us to see the past in its reality, and every act of faith now exhibiting before our eyes obtains from just men the admiration which they bestow on these records of the deeds of our fathers. As the chief object was to defend the middle ages from the charges of those who attack religion through them, the main substances was necessarily what Brunetto Latini in his Trésor terms "les anchienneteis des vieilles hytoires:" yet I have occasionally alluded to the present times; for as an ancient writer observes, "in all writings, if there be regard to truth and utility, æque valet novitas et antiquitas."*

And this was necessary too, because as an acute French writer says, "there is more imagination in all modern parties than is generally supposed. They are all greedy of establishing themselves in the past. They remake and arrange history to the profit of their passions; by a phantasy imposing on some illustrious dead the part of representing their opinions."† Sophistry costs them nothing. Indeed, we have Shakspeare's word for it, that "He who stands upon a slippery place, makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up." As Benvenuto di S. Giorgio says in the beginning of his history of the marquises of Monferrato, "Remoto Deo, cœlestique doctrina, erroribus plena sunt omnia."‡

What can be expected from their inductions, when their citations are absolute contradictions to their theories, as when one illustrious writer, while attempting to prove that what he termed philosophy and not Christianity conduced to abolish slavery, cites in proof, the testament of Lemmo di Balduccio, made in Florence in 1389, which begins with declaring that he grants emancipation for the love of God?§

If it be said that I have ascribed to the influence of faith more than duly belonged to it, I would reply, in the words of a modern and most gentle author,

* Adelbold, Episc. Traject. Pralog. in Vit. S. Henrici Imp. † Timon.

‡ Ap. Muratori, Rev. Ital. Script. tom. xxiii.

§ Per l'amore di Dio assolve e libero la chiara di....Hist. des Sciences Math. en Italie, ii. 512.

who has more than once furnished me with weapons against the citadel which he is still attempting to defend, "the question, whether the Church meant such a particular beauty, comes to much the same thing, as the question whether the sun means that his light should enter into such or such a flower."

And here, in answer to an objection advanced against me by this accomplished scholar, who would convict me of being a false spy, I must declare that in no part of these books have I set up noblest stories, culled out of fifteen centuries, as the whole picture of what the Ages of Faith actually were. Their faults and crimes were not concealed or palliated; though their devotion led me to the conclusion at which a French historian* has arrived, that much will be forgiven them on account of their having loved much; a conviction which will not be treated with disdain by those who remember that, as St. Augustin says, "a latrone Apostoli victi sunt, qui tunc credidit quando illi defecerunt."† If their iniquities were great, great also was their reparation, great their struggle to correct themselves, great their repentance. Yet with all their defects, such is the contrast they present to heathen times, that the anticipations of the first apologists seem so far verified as to force the ridicule of Gibbon to recoil upon himself; for what Lactantius expected, and almost ventured to promise, did arrive. Ages of comparative innocence and felicity did return; the worship of the true God did moderate war and dissension among those who mutually considered themselves as the children of a common parent. Impure desires, angry and selfish passions were restrained by the knowledge of the Gospel: and in many places the magistrates might sheath the sword of justice among a people actuated by the sentiments of truth and piety, of equity and moderation, of harmony and universal love.

It is curious to remark how writers of the middle ages, when describing the manners of society around them, reply to charges of the same kind. "But perhaps some one will say," observes an old historian of Pavia, who wrote in 1330, "that it seems from this, that all are perfect, and that there are no reprobate amongst them? To him I answer, that it is for me to recite not the sins of my people, but their good works; for if perchance they should sin, it is to be hoped and piously believed, that all stains are washed away in true penance and confession, making satisfaction and restitution; and giving alms, and so making all things clean to them." Indeed he had previously ascribed the preservation of Pavia during six hundred years, without having king or prince, to the wonderful alms of the citizens. "All the women," saith he, " (to say nothing of all that the men give,) daily distribute alms at their doors, of their substance, or of the produce of their manual labor. Besides this, they give part of every provision they dress, to poor shamefaced neighbors, and this before they partake of it themselves. The brethren of the Holy Spirit who possess only daily alms, give food every day and distribute through the city bread, wine corn, fresh and salt, raw and

* Ozanam. † In Ps. lxviii.

cooked meat; having divided the city into districts to which one member especially destined brings round the provisions, the bread in sacks, the wine in wood, and the rest in covered metal vessels. At All Souls there is no one in the city who does not give provisions to the poor. But who can know, unless God alone, and those who receive them, how much alms are given in secret by nobles and plebeians, who do not wish to sound a trumpet before them, when they give? For there are many who give much secretly to the poor, or for the poor to the brethren of the Holy Spirit, or to those of the common house, or to the priest of the churches, that the givers may not be known by men but by God.

Besides all this, on certain festivals of the Church there are banquets given to the poor, who receive invitations, and they have meat and vegetables. The bishop, besides the casualties and the fines of clergymen, all which he distributes, gives great alms daily of his revenues by ancient institutions. Similarly, the canons of the cathedral and the monks of the different convents, and the priests of the churches. The laity, moreover, always on the seventh day, and anniversary of their dead, give abundant alms. This liberality of alms seems to be inherited by the citizens from ancient times, and from our blessed father Syrus, who, by his intercession with God, always obtains this abundant supply for the poor of Christ, by especial favor; for some relate, though it is not expressed in Scripture, that he was the lad of whom St. Andrew spoke to our Lord, saying, Est puer unus hic qui habet quinque panes. Thus deservedly is our city called Papia, as if to express pauperibus pia." But, he adds, resuming his argument, "If there should be any reprobate amongst them, yet our citizens are not on that account to be less praised, but rather so much the more are they to be admired, because by these they are proved as gold in the fire. Was not this city like the morning star in the midst of the clouds after it had past from the Egypt of dark Gentilism, to the light of faith by mutation, not of place but of manners." Finally, he says, "If any refuse to believe our report, objecting to our youth, having only completed our thirty-fourth year, and demanding, have you seen such things? let them interrogate our fathers, and examine our chronicles, and they will find that I have advanced nothing but what is true."*

Neither is it just to say that I have culled these stories as if rare passages from ancient books; for whoever has pursued studies of this kind must be aware that the difficulty arises from the infinite multiplicity rather than from the deficiency of such evidence. If we continued still to look upon that light which ancient histories supply, the same phenomena, still new miracles of grace, would be described, toiling us with the change and defying any attempt to record all: so that, in fact, the passages which have been here adduced are not gleanings from a gathered harvest but specimens of an inexhaustible supply, that may be said to be still standing untouched by the sickle. My gentle adversary objects also to my witnesses, for

* Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, c. 15. 23. ap. Muratori, tom. xi.

the reason that "they speak the sentiments of the best and worthiest from the Apostles to the sixteenth century:" but with what consistency can he say this? That thrusted home should make him a Catholic. Who thus styles them the best and worthies? It is one who by his profession is bound to consider them as idolaters and enemies of truth; for indubitably they clung to what makes men such, if his theology be admitted. If I have shown then that they were among the best and worthiest, this work is not a monument of delusion or of sophistry; nor is it a small point gained to have obliged those who are ranged with him to admit that they were good, however inconsistent may be such a concession from their lips. By that admission they are, in fact, left without defence, insomuch that we may repeat Spenser's words in reference to them, and say,

> "Now need we no longer labor spend,
> Our foes have slaine themselves, with whom we should contend.

Again, to reply to another charge too hastily advanced, I have not, when alluding to what is erroneous and perverse in modern times, absurdly indulged in the stale complaints of Cicero, saying, "Videte nunc, quam versa et mutata in pejorem partem sint omnia." Nor have I so much as breathed the poet's wish, which in me would be insane;

> —"Hos utinam inter
> Heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!"

I know indeed, to use the words of a Roman who loved his country, that "things more agreeable to many might have been said; but necessity, even if my disposition did not move me, required that I should speak not what is agreeable, but the truth: vellem equidem vobis placere; sed multo malo vos salvos esse, qualicunque erga me animo futuri estis." * Had I really incurred this charge, the wisdom of the ages of faith would have condemned me; for its sentence was, "Ne dicas, quid putas causæ est quod priora tempora meliora fuere quam nunc sunt? Stulta enim est hujuscemodi interrogatio." In every age our poor humanity has always traces of the time when it was good in its Creator's sight; and I know not how any one can love those whom he has never seen but in books, if he has contracted no friendship, no intimate affection for those whom he has seen in life; who however personally strangers to him, yet have countenances familiar to his eyes; for those with whom he grew up and played, and studied, and bore the heat and burden of the day. I love the plants of the Eternal Gardener, each human flower as I pass it by, the youth, though wild and untaught of this generation, the further from discipline, alas! the more like myself. I love the gentleness of the rough-clad and laborious sons of the people, whose errors are not the result of their own seeking, or of their preference of any human consideration to truth; hearts they have that might bear any fruits, hearts not unworthy of beatitude.

* Liv. iii. 69

Truly we need no master of the new learning's remonstrances to teach us to love them as the good dealt by the Eternal Hand that tends them all. But to wish that besides wearing nature's faces, which gladden us with their beauty, they were children of the Catholic Church, instead of being left as sheep without a pastor, or after hearing the farrago of confusions repeated by preachers of the thousand and one false notions of religion, driven to abandon all beliefs, and to repeat the reckless boast that "this world is but a show or appearance, no real thing, a shadow hung out on the bosom of the void infinite, nothing more:" to wish that the influence arising from familiarity with these smiling countenances and engaging manners among the youth of humble and laborious life that throng the public ways, might be exerted in strengthening by the force of example, and not, as at present, in weakening by the same power the salutary bonds of that noble Catholic morality which regulates and sanctifies without destroying nature; and to show that the supernatural light of faith, which would have made them blessed, was more diffused in former times than in our own, argues no want of love for them, no folly, no insensibility. To mourn even over the condition of the majority of the people now is to utter but a just complaint, as even their most admirable guides acknowledge. "Yes, we may truly deplore it," says one of them most conversant with the past and present: "the condition of the majority is not easy, neither happy nor secure. It is impossible to regard, without a profound compassion, so many human beings carrying from the cradle to the grave such a heavy burthen, and carrying it without intermission; and in this continual pre-occupation of their material existence, hardly being able to expend a thought on their moral life."*

As for the guides from whom our tears have had their spring, who still are followed nominally by the erring crowd, they are deciphered. Yes: be you who you may that seek to throw a mysterious halo of glory and sanctity round them, to hide the lashes which justice has inflicted, *οὐδὲ ἄνσὺ διαῤῥάγης ψευδόμενος*, if one may use the old orator's harsh expression, justifiable perhaps when one thinks of the attempt, 'tis even so: they are marked, and with hands that smote unmercifully, for what they were, dress and parade them as you will now. "De quibus," to use Cotta's words, rather than terms that might offend the ear, if you desire to conceal their brand, "habeo ipse, quid sentiam; non habeo autem, quid tibi assentiar."† And as for the fictitious nobles, their earliest and latest friends, who think not that ancient, as Frederic of Suabia said, but that new riches, however scraped, constitute nobility, and who deem god-like those who help them to varnish over the past, and keep the alms of good men to the poor, in order that they may build palaces and arrange banquets with the spoils, thinking, like the robber who invites guests and covers the table with an altar-cloth bearing still the Church's mark, that no one will recognize the stuff, what are these but the converse

* Guizot.

† De Nat. Deor. iii.

of all we have learned to praise and reverence? Our scorn must be as transcendent as our love: for them and their magnificence only laughter, or unappeasable silent reprobation and abomination. Adore the present age, like those who say they bow down to the majesty of those who form it,—I cannot.

——"Let them pass,
I cried; the world and its mysterious doom
Is not so much more glorious than it was,
That I desire to worship those who drew
New figures on its false and fragile glass,
As the old faded—phantoms ever new
Rise on the bubble, paint them as you may;
We have but thrown, as some before us threw,
Our shadows on it as it past away.
But mark how chained to the triumphal cross
Were the great figures of an elder day."*

In respect to essential things more is true than I have now admitted; for it might be shown that the present is for the Church a happy and a glorious age, and even of the peculiar forms of the ancient grace not wholly destitute; for, not again to cite the common people who are always amiable, some retired Catholics among the great are found living, as in the eleventh century, like some noble trees that are left standing here and there in a forest that has been cut down, as it to be a memorial of what once existed, and to edify those who pass. The Spirit of Christ reigns ever. There are besides other lands where still faith is found fruitful. Beneath Ausonian skies all these deeds of love are practised, and Catholic manners as of old: and this I know to be so true, from what I saw and heard, that in this distance of years, long separated, I feel that there is danger of mistaking Italy for heaven. But, to use the phrase of elder men, since I have run so long a career in this matter, methinks, before I give my pen a full stop, it will not be lost time to inquire why England, the mother of excellent minds, should continue so hard a step-mother to Catholics; who, certainly, in all the virtues that she holds most precious, ought to pass all others, since all can only proceed from the living spring at which they drink, to ask why, in all their laws and writings against true faith, this people is so fell; and why the symphony of paradise should here keep silence while pervading with such sounds of rapt devotion so many other states. Sweet religion, that hath anciently had here kings, senators, great captains, learned teachers of every valued science, great philosophers and orators, and piercing wits, not only to favor Catholics, but to be Catholics,—that religion, embraced so long, and still pervading countries from which we are obliged to borrow arts and letters, should continue to find in our time a hard welcome in England, I think the very elements lament it, and therefore are our seasons, from which no meek procession fasting supplicates,

* Shelley.

colder than they were of yore. Is there no touch of mercy in the breasts of those who lead her? What! still angry; still devoted to the thoughts of self; still sitting apart and separate, while the faithful sons of holy Church faint and are oppressed! Then art thou punished, in that this thy pride lives yet unquenched.

Μὴ ἐμὲ γοῦν οὗτός γε λάβοι χόλος, ἐν οὐ φυλάσσεις·

Boast not of your ancestors: heroes and sainted dames are not amongst them.

. . . . γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα,
*πέτραι δ' ἠλίβατοι· ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνὴς**

Were it lawful always to indulge the first emotions of one's breast, there are some whose words might be contemptuous. Unlike the Roman, who, knowing the noble minds that ruled the assembly, interrupted the discussion by inviting his hearers to the capitol to return thanks to heaven, these might rather be tempted to wave all arguments and dismiss their countrymen, bidding them hasten to the broker's, if such should be his title, who can tell them the value of their bonds or shares, the only speculations in which they feel any interest. Of what avail, they might demand, to show you what we prize? Here is nothing that acts of parliament can either make or abolish. Men take pleasure in things in which they excel. Come then, lords and gentlemen, lead on to the exchange, where, like Bacchus, you may drive a bargain with the dead, and evince that courage which did not shrink from the attempt to barter with a spirit disembodied. But charity restrains such lofty scorn, and tries to efface the fierceness even of a just and chivalrous indignation: therefore, recurring to the holy fathers, they will say, "Recognize the master, recognize his property." "Sometimes," continues St. Augustin, "we approach these men and say, 'Let us seek the truth, let us find the truth;' but they reply, 'Keep what you possess, and we will also keep our own. Thank God, my sheep are His sheep.' 'No, they are neither my sheep nor your sheep, but the sheep of Him who has purchased them; of Him who has marked them with His seal. Why should I have mine, and you yours? If Christ be there, let my sheep go their way, for they are not mine; if Christ be here, let yours come, for they are not yours'. 'No,' says the heretic, 'it is not my property.' 'What do I hear? Let us see if it be not your property; let us see if you have not appropriated it to yourself. I work in the name of Jesus Christ, and you in the name of Donatus; you say the Christ is here, and I say He is every where. The Saviour has said, He that gathereth not with me scattereth. You divide unity, you seek a private possession; why should it bear the name of Jesus Christ? Why have you put the titles of Christ upon your own possession, in order to defend them in the same manner as some people write on their house the name of a powerful man, to terrify by this false title those who might wish to invade it. O unhappy house! Let Him possess you whose name you bear: decorated with the titles of Jesus Christ, no

* Il. xvi. 34.

longer belong to Donatus.' "* You say that all might have been well formerly, but that as the state has changed things, it is necessary to yield compliance and follow those who are now the leaders. I cannot consent to you in this; and Socrates has left a sentence which is to justify me,—*παλαιοὶ γὰρ καὶ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρηκότες καὶ γεγραφότες ἐξελέγξουσί με, ἐάν σοι χαριζόμενος συγχωρῶ.*†

Socrates says elsewhere that, next to speaking against God, there is nothing we should beware of with more vigilance than uttering a word against those who resemble Him; that is, he adds, "against divine men:"‡ that while the base part of men have no regard to their fame after death, the good are careful to leave an honest name to their posterity; and he regards this as an evidence that there is a knowledge with the dead of what passes here.§ The Greek poet, too, says that those who protest against the just should fear for themselves, since as the ancients thought,

Το κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἐσθλὸν
Τῷδ' ἔμμεν, ὅτῳ φρένας
Θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἄταν.‖

To judge only from these instincts of the ancient wisdom, what an overwhelming disgrace would be reserved for us on the day when we shall meet, I do not say the learned sages and heroic martyrs, but any generous believers from those multitudes of men, women, and children, that belonged to the generations of the Ages of Faith, if we were to consent to their revilers now! How could we expect them to acknowledge us? How should we sustain a look from any of the great triumphal hosts which in the last day we shall see? If we have any shame, and Plato says that fathers should leave that sentiment to their children rather than mountains of gold,¶ we shall find no room for deliberation, whatever may be the immediate consequences; for, as Joinville said to the French renegade who feared the reproaches of others if he should return to truth, "the reproach will be much greater in the day of judgment." "Propter hos igitur," to use the words of St. Augustin, "in unitate permanendum, propter hos quicquid hæreticorum mali est devitandum."**

We read of two poor villages of the principality of Neuchatel, Landeron and Cressier, that when the Calvinist ministers came to tempt their faith, the inhabitants showed them the cemetery where their fathers slept, and declared that in the day of judgment they wished to rise with them, confessing the same Gospel."†† It is not to one cemetery that we should point; but we refer you to the soil which covers the generations of sixteen centuries, from which the holy and the just, clothed even to their fleshly weeds with the symbols of Catholicism, will rise to life and

* St. August Enarrat. ii. Ps. xxi. † Phædrus. ‡ Plat. Minos. § Plat. Epist. ii.
‖ Antigone. ¶ Leg. Lib. v. ** In. Ps. ci. †† Audin. Hist. de Calvin, i.

glory. But waving this consideration, which Sir Thomas More urged upon his judges after they had condemned him, "What ground of probability is there," says Pelisson, "that our Lord should have hidden Himself from that line of excellent men called saints, who had no other wisdom but what was of heaven; whose grandeur consisted in humility, whose days were spent in meditating on His word day and night, and in following not only His precepts but His counsels, by a life like that of angels, sometimes crowned by a death still more precious in His eyes? And if He concealed himself from these holy men, what likelihood that he should have discovered himself to Luther; a man very angry, very far removed, to say no more, from their moderation, from their mortification, from their charity, from their humility?"*

According to our adversary's view of history, prophecy has failed; for in that case the nations became not God's people; His empire had bounds and an end; His Spirit descended not on all men; and in all places an impure sacrifice was offered in His name.†

You say, for even to this outrage on historic truth our ears are destined, that the system which the law of England recognizes as the state religion, is in reality Catholic as of yore; that it has been persecuted by kings and parliaments, and that it would not otherwise have departed, as in some points you admit it has, from the discipline and doctrine of antiquity; that it is your mother, to be excused and to be forgiven. To all this, one conversant with the dead, and often optimi consultores mortui, will deem silence, and a look like that of Ajax, when Ulysses makes his submission to him, the best answer. "Possunt hæc credere," as St. Leo says, "qui possunt talia patienter audire." An historical study of the events which led to the catastrophe is a bad preparation for assent to the propositions which are generally advanced by those who do not view things from the centre of Catholic unity. Papinian, the Prætorian prefect under Caracalla, being ordered to compose an apology for the murder of Geta, replied, "that it was easier to commit than to justify a parricide;" and thus sacrificed life to honor. Such, if pressed to speak, should be our answer, when we are asked to acquiesce in the excuses of those who severed England from her true mother, and from her long line of saintly ancestors. No; you have condemned rashly; you must purify yourself from this crime: and as Socrates said, there is to those who sin an ancient purification, καθαρμὸς ἀρχαῖος, which Homer did not know, but Stesichorus was aware of it; for he knew the cause of his own blindness, and immediately said, Οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος, and finished the whole ταλινῳδία when he recovered his sight. Like Socrates, then, be still wiser than Stesichorus, and before you suffer the punishment, sing your palinode γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ τότε ὑπ' αἰσχύνης ἐγκεκαλυμμένος: for there was always shame to those who rose against a holy cause.

* Réflexions sur les Différends de la Religion, sect. iv. † Ibid x.

"Not lazy to change what has been ill begun," was the motto of an emperor,* from which you might learn wisdom. "Ne pudeat te," says our great Anselm, "rumpere vincula vanitatis; quia non dedecus, sed honor est transire in libertatem viritatis."†

Be not as Jephthah, once, bent blindly to execute a rash resolve, whom better it had suited to exclaim, "I have done ill," than, to redeem his pledge, by doing worse;‡ and, after all, you may have nothing personal to retract; for it is no more possible to be born a chooser, protesting against the Holy See, than to be born a Berkleian, denying the existence of matter. Talk not of mutual concessions and of compromising. There is nothing left for you but to sing the palinode of Stesichorus, *οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος.*§ The whole sum is easily made out: you admit that there is but one Church; who could number the testimonies to it diffused through the world? as St. Augustin asks, who could number them? You admit that the Church of the middle ages must have been the Church of Christ; for if not, where did it exist? Therefore, since truth and justice require that a man should not be allowed the advantage of two contradictory hypotheses, you, who know what schism is, cannot be at a loss to discover in what category to place those who remain under any denomination, separate from her pale. You have only to take the trouble of drawing the conclusion which leaves you no choice. Cease, then, from arguing, as if time could give sanction to errors, and of apostates constitute a church; cease from repeating the old misrepresentations; cease from calumniating the Holy Bride, who with the lance and nails was won; sing, O from your heart's core, sing the palinode.

If, as the ancients said, Homer was blinded for having vilified Helen, what judgment must not he expect, who persists in vilifying that truth which, as St. Augustin says, is fairer than the type of all corporeal beauty? Alas! for errors of little moment, if connected with things temporal, men are ready, sooner or later, to make amends. Buttmann, having discovered the futility of an insinuation which he had repeated against Sappho, said, among the last words he ever wrote, "to expunge this charge against Sappho, and to atone for my real sin against her, I hold to be one of my most sacred duties before I depart out of the circle of mankind; and thus accordingly I fulfill it." If this be admirable, what ought not to be the retractions of a learned and philosophic man, cui vivere est cogitare, when he is led to see the injustice of the accusations brought against the saints and the Holy Church of God? But the deed of separation has been accomplished. What is there accomplished to a wise man that cannot be restored? Hear what the Roman philosopher says, when he retracted his opinions in full senate: "Cujusvis hominis est errare; nullius, nisi insipientis, in errore perseverare: posteriores enim cogitationes, ut aiunt, sapientiores solent esse. Quodsi

* Savedra, Christian Prince, ii.201.

‡ Dante, Par. v.

† S. Axselm. Ep. ii. 1[illegible]

§ Plat. Phædrus.

est erratum, patres conscripti, spe falsa atque fallaci; redeamus in viam. Optimus est portus pœnitenti, mutatio consilii."* When will such noble words be heard in senates now, where systems are propped up with votes long after detection has laid bare their vanity; where majorities are sought for annual extension of the plant, that, from the vine it once was, has long since grown an unsightly bramble? As when a fog disperseth gradually, our vision traces what the mist involves condensed in air; so, by degrees, some gentle spirits, some noble intelligences, are now learning to see things as they are in truth, and to deplore the madness of their fathers. Their complaints sound like those of Io when she first sees Prometheus:

"Whither, ah whither am I borne!
Say on what shore my wretched footsteps stray!
Distraction drives my hurried steps a length
Of weary wanderings; my ungovern'd tongue
Utters tumultuous ravings that roll high."†

Æschylus, describing elsewhere the happy event of her re-assuming her former shape, seems to pourtray the soul converted from these wide-wasting errors:

———"All her toils at last,
Her wanderings wild, her tortures past,
What gentle hand?—Eternal Lord, 'twas thine;
Thy gentle hand, thy power divine
Soothed, softly soothed her frantic fear,
And from her glowing cheek wiped sorrow's modest tear."‡

To account for the contrast between the spirit and the manners of the Ages of Faith and later times, some have had recourse to notions borrowed from the fatalists, and to the phraseology of that school which ascribes all such changes to an inexorable destiny, ordaining an oscillation and progress of civilization which, it maintains, always follows an invariable and irresistible law. Learned and unlearned, they sit and trace analogies between periods and manners, and all this unconsciously, as St. Augustin says, "to defend sin." They refer the whole character of the Ages of Faith to the necessary consequences of such external causes as were connected with the stage in which society then existed. The men whom we have seen, say they, were the creatures of the time; the time called them forth; the time did every thing. Had they been born in the middle ages, they too would have been devout believers, for they are always most sure where there is the greatest uncertainty; but, since they are living in the nineteenth century, it is the world's tendency which doubts and sins when they doubt and sin, and they must be what they are, urging the excuse of Pothinus:

——"Rapimar, quo cuncta feruntur."

The change is an inevitable thing. We must not blame men for it; we must la-

* Phil. xii. 7. † Æsch. Prom. Vinct. ‡ Suppl.

ment their fate. Thus Neander speaks of the folly of Julian, because the spirit of the age demanded the progress of Christianity; so they would persuade us that the glorious and happy visions which supported our forefathers were in the progress of society, like those amusements of childhood, or those sweeter illusions of youth which man leaves behind him in the voyage of life, and which appear to him no longer worthy of the gravity of mature age. "It was a truth, and is none; The old was true, and it no longer is." This is what they call "not being unjust to the old." But on this point they lack wisdom; for, as Beatrice tells Dante, force and will are blended in such wise as not to make the offence excusable.* The fact of the continued existence of the Catholic Church is sufficient to dissolve all this texture in a moment. The works, and thoughts, and words of men change and perish; every human institution dies; but the Church never. The religions of the ancient world have vanished, the Romans, the Anglo-Saxons, the Normans, have passed away; but, notwithstanding boasts, like what St. Augustin terms "the foolish lie of the pagans, who determined that the Christian religion was to last only three hundred and sixty-five years;"† notwithstanding pompous monuments like those intended to eternalize the triumph of the early persecutors, on which we read, "Nomine Christianorum deleto—superstitione Christiana ubique deleta, et cultu Deorum propagato," there are Catholics in England still. If, then, the present race of her sons err, let them seek in themselves the cause, and find it there; or, as Dante says again, "The cause is not corrupted nature in yourselves, but ill-conducting, that hath turned the world to evil."‡ "For," says St. Augustin, "the participation in Divine wisdom is denied not to nature but to negligence; from men it is required as being made in the Divine image;"§ and they have power to reach it else desire were given to no end.

Let them return to the psalm, as St. Augustin says, and "cry, Ego peccavi tibi; I, not fortune, not the stars, not fate, not society following its law, and obliging me; but I, with free will, have sinned." Nor is the difficulty of a return to the thoughts of the Ages of Faith so great, as those who resist them represent. Cæsar's counsellors, indeed, put in this caveat, "Non ad vetera instituta revocans quæ jam pridem corruptis moribus ludibrio sunt;" but they could not reckon upon the assistance which is ever at our disposal; so that we have more ground for hope than ever had Parmenides.¶ Therefore to the question: What remedy for these evils, O London? We might reply in the poets words:

ἔχεις ὁδόν τιν', ὦ πόλις,
δίκαιον.**

Let her be restored to communion with the Church, and therein she may rest

* Dante, Par. iv. † De Civ. Dei, xviii. 54. ‡ Purg. xvi. § In Ps. cii.
‖ In Ps. cxl. ¶ S. Clem. Alex. says he wrote a poem on hope, Strom. v. 2.
** Eurip. Heraclid. 896.

even as the wild beast in his lair; let her embrace truth, and then she will live truly and obtain true riches; so may her lineage find at last repose, *καὶ οὕτω λήγοι ὠδῖνος, ηρίν δ' οὗ.** No means of recovery (search all methods out as strictly as she may), save to stoop, obeying in humility as low, as high she disobeying thought to soar. Free of her own arbitrement, like each one of her sons, to choose, discreet, judicious; after so much experience and discovery, to distrust her sense, were henceforth worse than error; all are invested then with crown and sceptre, sovereign over themselves.† But as they who have been confined in a dark prison, amidst the imprecations and groans and tears of the miserable, when invited, after many years, to come forth, find no pleasure in freedom, or sweetness in the view of trees and mountains, so these think nothing better than the atmosphere of that Babylon where they had been long in captivity, and from which the transit is to the peace and light of Jerusalem. To such the old poet seems to speak in these words:

> You sad-faced men, people and senators,
> By uproar sever'd, like a flight of fowl
> Scatter'd by winds and high tempestuous gusts,
> O let me teach you how to knit again
> This shatter'd corn into one mutual sheaf,
> These broken limbs again into one body,
> Lest England be a bane to her own heart;
> And she, whom mighty kings courtsy to,
> Like a forlorn and desperate cast-away
> Do shameful execution on herself."

How is it possible, you ask, that we should ever be brought to agree? But Plato even could answer that question. How? *εἰ Θεὸς ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὦ φίλοι, δοίη τις συμφωνίαν· ὡς νῦν γε σχεδὸν ἀπάδομεν ἀπ'ἀλλήλων.*‡

"Indeed, Socrates," says Glaucon, "you seem to me to say all this with great fervor; but yet I am of opinion, that the majority of those who hear you, will oppose themselves to what you advance, with still greater fervor, and that you will not persuade them, beginning from Thrasymachus." "Do not calumniate Thrasymachus," replies Socrates, "who has lately become my friend, and who was not before my enemy, (through all the discussions of the Republic, he had most violently opposed Socrates in every thing,) for we shall not abandom our attempt until we succeed in persuading him, and not him only but the others, or at least until we shall have gained some step in advance preparatory to that future life." "Indeed," says Glaucon, "men in general, have seldom heard any discussion sufficiently noble and free, undertaken for the sake of truth; but they have only been presented with elegant harangues and controversies, never tending to any other end, excepting to glory and disputation, delivered by men, saluting one another from a distance, whether in the tribunals or in private society. Still I

* Plat. de Repub. vi. † Purg. xx ‡ De Legibus, ii.

fear the multitude will never consent to you." "O my good friend," replies Socrates, "do not altogether calumniate the multitude, nor suppose that they will differ so much from you, if you will but show them the real lovers of wisdom, whom you call philosophers, and define, as you have lately done, their nature and occupation; that they may not suppose that you speak of the men whom they have in view; for otherwise how can you expect that they should have an opinion like yours? Do you think that any one, being himself void of envy, and mild, would be irritated against another, who never gave cause for irritation, or would envy one who never envied? I will precede you in making answer that such a perverse nature is only found in some few individuals, and not in the multitude. Therefore agree with me in saying, that the real cause why the love of wisdom is reproached by the multitude, arises from the men who introduce themselves from without, pretending without any qualification to be philosophers, blaming and reproaching, and nourishing hatred, and always making discourses about men and not things, *καὶ ἀεὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς λόγους ποιουμένους*, which least of all agrees with philosophy.

Socrates, indeed, had more hope to convince his friends of truth, than his judges to whom he spoke;* and with us there is great need of lively hope, to wing the prayers sent up to God, and put power into them to bend his will; but why should we not hope? for if the truth and beauty of the Catholic religion be shown, where is the wonder and impossibility that other men, since all can have assistance now, should come to be of the same opinion with ourselves respecting the excellence of this philosophy?† "That others should recover by charity," as St. Augustin says, "the wings which they had lost by cupidity? for all have need of wings to gain the liberty of the children of God."‡

There is indeed scope for calumny in all things, as Socrates adds, *διαβολὴ δ' ἐν πᾶσι πολλή*.§ And it is easy, as St. Augustin says, "to seem to answer for whoever chooses not to be silent; for what is more loquacious than vanity? which, however, can never become truth, though it may be able to cry louder than truth. But let them consider all things diligently, and if, judging impartially, they find such things which can be rather disputed than disproved, let them cease trifling, and choose rather to be corrected bythe prudent, than to be praised by the foolish; or if they regard not the liberty of speaking truth, but the licence of evil speech, let them fear to incur the sentence of Cicero, O miserum cui peccare licebat!"‖

The race indeed is not extinct, of whom the poet says,

οὐ γὰρ πείσῃς, εἰ δ' ἂν πείσῃς.¶

But this error, this darkness in the minds of the unlearned, arises from their not

* Phædo, 63. † De Repub. vi. ‡ In Ps. cxxxviii.
§ Phædo. ‖ De Civ. Dei. v. 26. ¶ Aristoph.

being able to look so far back, as to deliver themselves from the prejudice of early education, which instilled into them a contempt and aversion for the Ages of Faith, and it is not easy for the mind to put off these confused notions it has imbibed from custom, inadvertency, and common conversation: their understanding being its own mirror, they cannot see "what a small pittance of reason and truth, or rather, that none at all is mixed with those huffing opinions they are swelled with; they cannot look beyond popular sounds, and observe what ideas are, or are not, comprehended under those words with which they are so armed at all points, and with which they so confidently lay about them." Of Catholics, one may truly say, in the words of the Roman orator, "Dum hominum genus erit, qui accuset eos non deerit." Thus many will be kept at a distance from that Jerusalem, where they would find peace. "O celestial city," exclaims St. Augustin, "I who am a poor pilgrim in this life, not yet enjoying thy peace, but proclaiming thy peace, not for my own sake proclaiming it, like those who seek their own glory, saying, Peace, and not having the peace which they preach to the people, for if they had peace they would not sever unity: I will proclaim thy peace: but wherefore? Propter fratres meos et proximos meos: not propter honorem meum, not propter pecuniam meam."*

As for the preceding narratives and disputations, against which some teachers of the modern philosophy warn men as dangerous to youth, they have at least the merit of not having been presented for the sake of money, like those which are purposely seasoned to catch purchasers, "ut undique colligatur pecunia, quæ in sumtus impensa est," as Calvin said after printing his first work.†

"From poor scholars, clad carelessly," as Dante says, "in common stuff like others of the people's sons," of whom Odofred complains, that "they are not good payers, wishing to learn but not to pay," it would have been alien to the nature of one who had their habits, to seek any other recompense but gentle interchange of courtesy; and to accept the trash of rich men, who purchase the books of those with whom they are at tacit war, and esteem all things light, if weighed against their gold, would have been to cast discredit upon all that I had written. From other sentiments, therefore, than from charity, for the benefit of the poor alone, this work was sold, of which the cost to the last obol, has been paid by him who wrote it. It may, indeed, prove dangerous in a certain sense to some; for from its pages, reader, thou well mayst mark what reason those men have to plead, by whom the holy banner is withstood; but the cry it raiseth, smites as the wind doth the proudest summits; which is of honor no light argument.

I can truly say with a poet, "that I sought not to seduce the simple and illiterate; my errand was to find out the choicest and the learnedest, who have this high gift of wisdom, to answer solidly, or to be convinced."

* In Ps. cxxii.

† Audin, Hist. de Calvin, 1.

And indeed, to use the words of another ancient writer, since the ever praiseworthy wisdom of the Catholic Church is full of virtue, breeding delightfulness, and void of no gift that ought to be in the noble name of learning; since the blames laid against it are either false or feeble; since the cause why it is not esteemed in England is the fault of calumniators, and, perhaps, of apes of religion, such as made Crito say to Socrates, that when he looked at the sophists he could not think of instructing his son in philosophy, not of the religion itself, not *αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος*, as Socrates would observe to him. since our tongue was long found most fit to honor it, and to be honored by it, why should we despair of England? Have we not reason to hope, that she will not for ever scorn the sacred mysteries of faith and Rome that watches over them; that she will not continue to ridicule the name of priests, as though they were next inheritors to fools; that she will not continue to jest at their reverend and holy ceremonies; but that she will be brought to believe, with the apostles and holy fathers, that these things are full of divine truth; to believe with all learned historians, that these priests having from Rome their mission, were the first bringers-in of all civility; to believe with philosophers, so well represented by Picus of Mirandula, that without them morality is an empty sound; to believe with political economists, of whom they admit Degerando as a leader, that their institutions can alone preserve society from the horrors of pauperism, and servile wars; to believe with those who have found pleasure in the preceding books, that the manners which they taught, were truly those inculcated from the mountain; lastly, to believe the one voice of these past ages themselves, when they tell her that they will make her happy and glorious by their faith.

Yes, let us hope England may be won; that the words of Isaiah may be applicable to her: "Quæ erat arida erit in stagna, et sitiens in fontes aquarum;" for once enlightened, her wishes rest for ever here—won by that she of her own generous nature covets most—won, the country of Cowper by fervent, true, and undefiled devotion; the country of Johnson, by the inestimable riches of good sense, of which Catholicism is full in all its parts, the country of Milton, by the love of heavenly musings, and of embodying the sacred lore in bright poetic forms; the country of Bacon, by whatever tends to the augmentation of solid learnig and to the stability and decorum of the social state; the country of Addison, by the food prepared, as if expressly for its instinct of the correct and orderly, which every unruly passion quells; the country of Shakspeare, by that which makes every flower of genius to germin in eternal peace; the country of Sterne, by pity mild, relenting mercy, deep and tender sentimentality; in fine, the country of so many saints, poets, moralists, and philosophers, by the tears and graces of that Holy Mother, of the everlasting counsel pre-ordained to be to mortal men, of hope, of charity, and love, the living spring, the sole ennobler of their nature. Then will she learn from her own experience, that, in the holy Catholic and Roman faith, is all sustenance for the high intellectual and moral life of a people; that

it alone possesses the great secret for inheriting both earth and heaven, all that can sweeten and compose to order the uncertain wanderings of the human existence, and all that can exalt with innocence as a preparation for everlasting beatitude, the dignity and happiness of man.

"Rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis, ut quemadmodum temporum vices, ita morum vertantur."* Such was the idea of the Roman historian, which, at present, some repeat, in whose looks is marked expectance, as if time were to extend their span beyond their country's chastisement; but, in divine things, we have no reason for assurance, that such recurrence is in the order of Providence ordained. "It is a mysterious indescribable process, that of acquiring faith—indescribable as all vital acts are." If we are to credit some, to dignity thus lost, for nations there is no return, and if we hear the voice of the old philosophy, the prospects for the future are dark indeed.

Hermes Trismegistus predicts the horrible depravity that will reign in the world immediately before the final judgment. "The soul, and all that concerns it," says that mysterious voice, "will be derided as vanity, and it will be deemed a crime worthy of death to apply the mind to religion. New laws will be constituted; nothing holy, nothing religious will be believed; wicked angels only will remain, who will impel wretched men to wars, rapines, frauds, and all things that are contrary to the nature of souls. This will be the old age of the world, irreligious, disordered, and insensible to all good. Lo the signs of an universal judgment!"

On the other hand, in various ages of the Church, some have anticipated an age of untroubled order, in which the Church would reign as if triumphant upon earth. The angel of the school had to combat in his sum the execrable book, entitled the eternal Gospel, which was burnt by order of the Holy See, whose adherents, termed Joachimites, as it was ascribed to Joachim, were again condemned by the Council of Arles, and long after it, by Pope John XXII. The words of St. Thomas are, that we must not expect any future state on earth, in which men will possess more perfectly than hitherto, the grace of the Holy Spirit.† But whether nations once by sin disfranchised will return to the faith which they formally renounced, and from the chief good receiving light cause Catholic manners, in their freshness and simplicity, to revive again; whether men separated from truth will be vouchsafed the justice "to put down their own selfishness at every turn, and the courage to stand by the dangerous true at every turn," whether, when they have power to seek the hallowed place again, the inquirers we hear about will be themselves led to quaff of the clear spring, or, what may Heaven avert, act only as those who, journeying through the darkness, bear a light behind, that profits, not their own feet, but makes their followers wise, are questions which posterity will be more able to answer than ourselves. To

* Tacitus, An. iii.

† L. 2. Q. 106. a. 43.

some historical events we might indeed look back to warrant hopes, such as to the reconciliation of Sargans with the Catholic Church, after its professing Protestantism for a long time, and to the return of the Toggenburgers to faith, after an interval of forty years, during which mass was never said, and to the reconciliation of the Church of Bernardzell, in 1588, "quæ facta fuerat spelunca latronum," as old historians add.* But these precedents it must be allowed are not adequate to the desires of an historian. Still our cry must be, "Benigne fac, Domine, in bona voluntate tua Sion; ut ædificentur muri Jerusalem;" for, as Manfredi says to Dante·

> "Yet, by their curse we are not so destroyed,
> But that th' eternal love may turn, while hope
> Retains her verdant blossom.'†

To the omnipotent Physician, as St. Augustin says, no languor is incurable,‡ and through pious prayers below, to-day's is made to-morrow's destiny.

Englishmen, it is true, at present, are not such as adored at Calvary when they followed Richard to the Holy Land; their manners are not those of the beatitudes; yet

> "This need not be; they might arise, and will that gold should
> Lose its power, war its glory—that love, which none
> May bind, be free to fill the word with light."

As Lucan says, that his country, after so many battles, would not reject peace, even though that peace came with a master·§ so might one suppose that this poor country, unless she absolutely prefers the furies to the angels, would return with joy to the bosom of that tender mother, so dear to Him, from whom is all that soothes the life of man, his high endeavor, and his glad success, his strength to suffer, and his will to serve.

O! England, what monitors hast thou had even from thy wandering fold to reprove thy devious ways! But why are the same complaints from age to age re-echoed? Why are thy Cowper's woes the woes still of all the good that love thee? Alas! for these monitors themselves!

This is the reward of ignorance of good, τῆς ἀπειροκαλίας.‖ Like him they rail at the recluse of France, even in their works on charity denying that he had charity; and yet he only wished what they wished. They rail at Italy; and yet in that fair land of peaceful joy are ever found the fruits they treasured most, domestic peace, contentment, large munificence, and contemplation that always Heaven with love and awe regards? They rail at old England's "priests with bulls and briefs, and shaven crowns," and know not that these were the men who gathered the people together into one Church, and kingdoms that they should serve the Lord, producing thereby the manners that they would see revive and

* Ildefons von Arx. Gesch. des G. Gallen, iii. † Purg. iii.
‡ In Ps. cii. § vii. ‖ St. Clem. Alex. Pædag.

flourish. The holy name is on their lips; "but of what avail is it," asked St. Augustin, "to give no offence to the father who will avenge the injury of the mother? Of what avail, if you confess the Lord and honor God, and preach Him and acknowledge His Son and blaspheme His Church? Let the examples of a human marriage teach you."* Books they send forth beautiful and sad, but what skills this perpetual loquacity? while you, like the philosophers of old, are writing your letters in the minds of the proud, the Church is fixing the cross in the hearts of the humble, many of them kings. So long as you seek only how to talk, St. Augustin says, you can never be directed. "Cognovi, quia faciet Dominus judicium egentis." The needy is full, not of words, but of desires; the talkative abounds. "How much better would it be," says St. Augustin, "if we should all know, and no one should teach another; that there should not be one talking and another hearing, but that all should be hearing that one voice, of which it is said, 'Auditui meo dabis gaudium et lætitiam?' whence that John rejoiced, not because he preached and spoke, but because he heard." This joy of taciturnity, this joy of hearing, is found only in the Catholic Church. If you were truly benevolent, you would not wish to be always remonstrating, always teaching, which necessity must continue where you are, if still relentless; but you would desire that there should be no one who required the teaching of man; and, instead of persevering to teach without, you would invite all to return with you to hear within.

From early times there have been men without the Church, who seemed to think that they were within; that all might be well again without a palinode; that things were still as in days of blessed unity, and as they had ever been from the first, saying, "Peace be with you" to those whom they separated from the peace of the universal Church, and who replied, "And with thy spirit," while embracing dissensions and perpetuating the breach of unity. But, at his own discretion, none may shift the burden from his shoulders, unreleased by either key, the yellow and the white †

"God helpe the men, so wrapt in errour's endlesse traine."

Did they not fear to hear the words of St. Augustin addressed to themselves: "Non hoc indicat superbia vestra, non hoc indicat vanitas vestra. Non sapitis, et foris."‡ There were moments when they seemed to look back on the Catholic unity which their fathers had broken, and on the Church which they had left, like fallen angels turning back their face to paradise. Yet their habitual disposition with regard to it was indifference: for, like the French minister who suffers sublime monuments of history to be demolished, content with having procured copies of them on paper, they were willing that the original should be destroyed if they could but have its portrait; as if a printed page could be a substitute for the living book. So they spoke much about ceremonies and practices

* In. Ps. lxxxix. † Par. v. ‡ In Ps. ci.

of piety, rather as religious antiquarians than simple believers; and observed them, at Timon says of his contemporaries, more through choice than obligation, *καὶ οὗτος οὐ πάνυ ἀναγκαῖα ποιεῖν δοκῶν ἀλλ' εἰς ἔθος τι ἀρχαῖον συντελῶν*. They procured copies of pinnacles and crosses, and even of the iron hinges of the old doors of churches; while the spiritual hinge, on which the whole system of religion turns, they were content to suppress for ever, forgetting that poetic delineations are not necessarily religious faith; that "faith itself must first be there, and then that these will gather round it, as the fit body round its soul." They spoke Catholically often, but they did not try to speak consistently. They said, "There is one remedy for our calamities—the Catholic Church." Admirable! if St. Augustin or St. Anselm, or if St. Thomas of Canterbury had said it, who labored and died in its defence, and whom the truth of God surrounded as with a shield; but these men, naked at all points, separate from her communion, lending all the authority of their station, their learning, and their virtue to her declared enemies; how could these take advantage of the privileges of faith? for there were, alas! despoiled of that treasure; "Atque his capiuntur imperiti," as Cicero says, "et propter hujusmodi sententias, istorum hominum est multitudo."

Thus it was here. Men who, at least upon their verge of life, desired peace, were caught by the smoothness and dignity of a sentence; but their teachers would never have spoken as they did, if they had heard themselves; for what could be less consistent? The sequel of their words choked their beginning; the last they spoke agreeing not with the first. Such men ought to have been met with their own handwriting, containing their oaths, and sealed with their seal, as Cicero says, "Tabellis obsignatis." What a contrast between their borrowed plumes and the colors which essentially belonged to the camp in which they served? Their brethren, whom they describe as most amiable men writing most unamiably, spoke out openly, and disputed against the Church; whether well, we do not ask, but certainly they spoke consistently; and I am not accustomed to reprehend a conclusion when the premises have been admitted by those who draw it. The others denied that any thing could be said by a Christian less like what is primitive and true; but I think nothing could be said more consistently, and, to those who differed from them in language, the words of St. Augustin might have been well applied: "Melius est ut tu vituperares quam dolose laudares." Both alike exemplified what St. Augustin said: "Opinio diversa est, vanitas una est;" for they still viewed, as one who hath an evil sight, plainly objects far remote; but when they approached, or actually existed near them, their intellect then wholly failed: nor of the faithful, except what old annals tell them, knew they naught. Hence their opinion, though nearest to the truth, led to no results. As Shirley says, theirs was the charity of some rich men,

> That, passing by some monument that stoops
> With age, whose ruins plead for a repair,

Pity the fall of such a goodly pile,
But will not spare from their superfluous wealth
To be the benefactor."

Never did Catholics write more eloquently on things pertaining to the true discipline than those illustrious men, when they pleased: but let them pass by a chapel where its holy rites were still observed; and then, as a troop of maskers when they put their vizors off look other than before, the counterfeited semblance thrown aside, so these returned to those habits of vituperation, which others, in every respect besides unlike them, cultivated, muttering against Rome in token of their spite.

"How many ungrateful men," says St. Augustin, "are fed with the honey of the rock, which is the wisdom of Christ; how many are delighted with His word, from a knowledge of His sacraments, and by the solution of His parables; how many express delight, and say, nothing can be conceived sweeter or better. 'et tamen inimici Domini mentiti sunt ei.'"*

Obey the Church, they said. True, obedience is necessary. "But," as Dante asks, "is he to be called obedient who follows perfidious as well as he who credits wise counsels? I answer," he continues, "that, for the first, his act is not to be called obedience, but transgression. If the king should prescribe one road and the servant another, to obey the servant would be to disobey the king. There would be transgression."† Why veil their cause beneath another standard. Ill is this followed of them who sever it and Rome. While some compared these yielding adversaries to naked champions smeared with slippery oil, who watch intent their place of hold and vantage, ere in closer strife they meet; others acquitting them of hostile aim, were wondering why these admirers of antiquity, instead of resting satisfied with a logician's transeat to an out-of-the-way argument, did not pass over at once to join the faithful; but, supposing the latter best informed, their surprise was groundless; for, as the old man observes in the Tables of Cebes, "those who think that they know what they do not know," and, from a necessity arising out of their position, none belong more justly to this category than the men we speak of, "are necessarily immovably fixed in the circle of false discipline, whatever impulse be given them towards the circle of the true discipline, into which men from the ranks of the profligate, who seemed far from approaching it, are daily received. These learned persons," he says, "who seemed to have been all their lives drawing nearer, were thus shut out, because repentance, *μεταμέλεια*, did not visit them and persuade them that they had not the true but the false discipline which had hitherto deceived them, and that while thus disposed *οὐκ ἄν ποτε σωθεῖεν*."

Conformable to this ancient instruction is the advice of St. Augustin relative to such persons: "Auferes spiritum eorum, et in pulverem suum convertentur. man understands something, it skills not what. He wishes it to be his; he has

* In Ps. lxxx. † Convito, 9

still his own spirit. It is good for him that he should lose his spirit, and have the spirit of God. As yet he is proud amongst the princes. It is good for him that he should return to his dust, and say, Memento Domine, quia pulvis sumus."* And again, "ut videant qui oderunt me, et confundantur;" for in the judgment will be confounded, to their destruction, those who now are unwilling to be confounded to their recovery. Let them now be confounded; let them accuse their evil ways; let them keep the good way; for no one lives without confusion, unless he who has been made alive again after having been confused. God will furnish them with the means of a wholesome confusion, if they do not despise the medicine of confession; but if they are unwilling to be confounded now, they will be confounded hereafter, when their errors shall lead them to it against their will.† They saw many churches. "Indeed," said they, like the Bacchic reveller in his infatuation, "it seems to us as if we saw two suns and two Thebeses."‡

Then St. Clement of Alexandria, shaping his language according to that image, would have invited them to the chaste mysteries of the word, to the mountain loved by God, not sung by the tragedians, but consecrated in the drama of truth; a cloud-capt mountain, shaded with a holy grove, where the just are the chorus, virgins the songsters, angels the ministers, prophets the speakers, and the praises of God the music which floats over it. "There," he would add, "not leaning on the thyrsus, casting aside their mitre, and suffering themselves to be led by the hand of truth, the wood of the cross would be given to them for a staff, the face of Christ for a sun, so lustrous that it would illuminate the blind, and to those who could not discern Thebes, the spectacle of Heaven. O mysteries," he exclaims, "truly holy! O pure light that imparts holiness and delivers from night for ever more!"§ They listen, but, alas! enter not as the initiated to be restored by the solemnity to Him who seeks to anoint them with the unction of faith, that they may be able to join in the common hymn, encircling His throne. They will pursue the insane dance, and cling to the dim torch, even while confessing that in their bewildered course it will never be sufficient to enable them to see their way.

It is a prophet's sentence, "Populus iste dicit, Nondum tempus est ædificandi domum Domini. Miserrime, cur opus commendabile in biennium differs?" At present also procrastination has its votaries. Why do you delay, and thus revive disputes for ever? "Are you waiting," as St. Augustin asks, "for some one to rise from the dead, to show you which is the Church? You have the prophets. Hear them while you have ears to hear, while you have a heart that can be moved."‖ "Plausibility," says one of your own guides, "must have an end, empty routine must have an end. Dilettantism, hypothesis, speculation: this kind

* In Ps. lxxv. † In Ps. lxxxv. ‡ Eurip. Bacc. 916.
§ Protepticus, 12. ‖ In Ps. cxlvii.

of amateur search for truth, toying and coquetting with truth, all this must have an end."*

It is not safe to reckon upon the transitory vapor of mortal life, as St. Augustin styles it,

"Labitur occulte fallitque volabilis ætas
Et nihil est annis velocius"

The time when "all shall changed bee," as Spencer says, "and when thenceforth none no more change shall ever see," will come at all events too late for many.

γέροντα δ' ὀρθοῦν φλαῦρον ὃς νέος πέδῃ.†

And as for books of fair promises and tardy concessions, many will have to say, like Gardiner, "Let them, with Latin and Greek, continue as long it shall please God: we are almost past heeding them." "Men are slow to wisdom," says a Platonist, "and quick to death." Not for ourselves we hope, but for their sakes who after us remain.

When Ulysses prepares to escape from the island of Calypso, the wise poet represents him exerting himself, and laboring with his own hands to secure the means, cutting down the timber for the ship and forming it.‡

So man, when he seeks to return to his true country, must not expect to arrive at it waiting, expecting, sleeping, without any personal exertion.

— πάντα τὰ ζητούμενα
δεῖσθαι μερίμνης φασὶν οἱ σοφώτατοι.§

Homer too, observe, makes no mention of Ulysses taking formal leave of the goddess: he only says, "that on the fifth day of his preparations he departed." In all this we have lessons for ourselves, as clear nearly as those of holy men, when they tell us with the great St. Anthony, not to return to a city in which we may have sinned against God.‖

Men take leave of error with too much ceremony; they speak too much about their nation, about the world; seeming to forget that each one of us here, let the nation and the world believe or not believe, "has a life of his own to lead, one life; a little gleam of time between two eternities; no second chance to us for evermore."¶ You should, therefore, look to yourselves; and, having once caught sight of truth, hoist all your sails to follow her, heedless of the nation or the world's remonstrance. If you must wait for all to follow, I fear as Dante says,

"Your choice may haply meet too long delay."

"Eia age, rumpe moras; quo te sperabimus usque?
Dum, quid sis, dubitas, jam potes esse nihil."**

* Carlyle. † Œd. Col. 395. ‡ Od. § Menander. ‖ S. Antonii Sermo. ¶ Carlyle. ** Martial.

Ulysses again, through desire to save them, makes his companions weep. After they had tasted the lotus, none of them wished to return.

ἀλλ' αὐτου βουλοντο μετ' ἀνδράσι λωτοφάγοισιν
λωτὸν ἐρεπτομενοι μενέμεν νόστου τε λαθέσθαι.
τοὺς μὲν ἐγὼν ἐπὶ νῆας ἄγον κλαίοντες ἀνάγκῃ,
νηυσὶ δ' ἐνὶ γλαφυρῇσιν ὑπὸ ξυγὰ δῆσα ἐρύσσας.*

Thus should men act towards brethren, when they find them so infatuated, as to think no more of escaping to their true country. "Vox Domini commoventis solitudinem:" there has been often heard in our land a voice moving to faith those who were without God and hope in this world, where no prophet, no preacher of the truth was heard. The whole Church militant on earth was praying for them, "that to their eyes unveiled might shine at last the light, sole object of their wish, that so might heaven's grace clear whatsoe'er of foam floats turbid on the conscience, that thenceforth the stream of mind should roll limpid from its source."

To those who heard that voice and followed it, the words of the ancient tragic muse might have been without irreverence addressed; For you, O redeemed of men, beheld an image of yourselves in that afflicted wanderer, whose crime and deliverance have been immortalized by poets. O you, the wise might have exclaimed, who by the unsearchable counsels of heaven have been employed to kill your mother, that mother of Christians, that Church which claimed you as her own from the baptismal wave; you who have wandered from shore to shore, driven an exile through all the wastes of human speculation, till instructed at length by the God of love and harmony, you have sought to lay hold of the sacred emblems which belong to faith and primal sanctity,—O seize the happy hour, and fly from that inhospitable port, more fatal than that of Scythian Taurus, where the souls of strangers are daily offered up on the shrine of a cold and barbarous misbelief. Fly from that benighted region, from that horrid servitude, to the assemblies of your native clime, to the sweet groves where the palm-trees with luxuriant foliage, and the laurel with rich boughs, and the branches of green olive, proclaim final victory and endless peace, to the cool waters that will forever quench that ardent thirst, which has so long oppressed you; to that lake which rolls the water frequented by swans, where the swan with his melody will invite you to join with him in the songs of praise that rise to God from all his faithful creatures. But be prepared for danger, when you first throw off these chains of the ministers that thought to attend you to your death. While within their port, your bark seemed to move securely; but it will no sooner pass the mouth, than the waves of the great ocean will rise to oppose your passage, and the dreadful wind which blows upon it will suddenly raise them into mountains, to force you back if possible. O how terrible it would be, were you forced back again upon that shore where all is death, and to lose for ever these

* Ix 95.

bright prospects which were opening to rejoice you. Take courage then, and make proof of heroic piety, and, like that son of Agamemnon, fall to your prayers and cry,—Save me, save me to my country from the barbarous land! and cease not to labor with naked arms for your own deliverance, straining every nerve to ply those oars that are to make head against the billows' force; while the ministers of fate will hasten to their deluded chief, demanding aid and vengeance; for men too, those whom you have left behind will prepare to follow you with all temporal terror, and to take advantage of these elements which seem to oppose themselves to your escape; they will hasten, like Thoas, invoking God, and encouraging each other to pursue impious men, for such are the titles you will hear from them. There will be a spectacle worthy of angels, while your frail bark is buffeted by these furious waves, and driven between horrid rocks; and the furious men that are indignant at your escape will stand on the shore with outstretched arms ready to seize you, being already confident of making you their prey! O then it can only be the descent and intervention of God, that can save you. It is God that will proclaim the everlasting decree that delivers you from wrath; then may the joyful chorus rise to you:

Ἴτ ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ, τῆς σωζομένης
μοίρας, εὐδαίμονες ὄντες,
Ὦ μέγα σεμνὴ, Νίκα, τὸν ἐμὸν
βίοτον κατέχοις,
καὶ μὴ λήγοις στεφανοῦσα.*

Yet, even after having escaped these rocks, there may be dangers still; for, as St. Augustin says, sometimes where there are no rocks ships run foul of each other and perish; so that there is not security even in the true harbor, though it is safer in the harbor, where, if ships are well managed, there will be no collision. Let there be only observed equable rights, the constancy of charity, and, when the wind blows strong from the mouth, a cautious look-out.† What are your dangers in the harbor of truth? First, say our masters, those that are internal within your own breasts, from the impatience of a mind long unused to discipline. "We see a man," says St. Augustin, "who was indifferent and indolent before he was a Christian. You cry to him daily; it is almost impossible to convert him. At length, being converted, he cries to others; he wishes that all were immediately Christians; and he wonders that they are not so as yet."‡ And besides, in truth, it takes a long time to initiate the mind in wisdom, and of the raw material, which is found in the wild forest of the moral world, to make a Catholic. Many years may be be required. If one long undisciplined, soon as his feet are to the Church reclaimed, should instantly suppose that all was done; and begin to pull and push, and haul, and fling away, and modify, and bring back, and re-model, and innovate,

* Eurip. Iphy. in Taur. † In Ps. xcix. ‡ Id. 1

just as his own opinion or his own standard of taste may move him, saying, with Ulysses,

αλλα μαλ' ωδ' ἐρξω, δοκέει δέ μοι εἶναι ἀριστον·*

he may injure both himself and others, before an alarm is given. He must wait, they tell us, and become a child again, put his old habits off, pass as a pilgrim, as an exile to foreign lands, pray in churches where he is a stranger, where only Christ, in sacramental presence, His blessed mother, and the saints, know who he is, join in the loud psalmody of their choirs, and meditate on what he sings; meet with rebuffs, privation, and indifference, till he acquire the patience and self-renouncement which are only formed after long seasoning; for the essence of that material, in its green state, is to be headstrong, passionate, easily provoked, rash, self-opiniated, destructive. Again, within the Church you find rocks of offence; some that have been deplored by others before you from the commencement, and others that may be peculiar to your age and country; for, though you have believed, and obtained the two wings of the twofold charity, the iniquity of the world abounds; and therefore the charity of many will grow cold. In this life amidst so many scandals, so many sins, such a crowd of daily temptations, of daily evil suggestions, you have a great sea to pass, and in the night too, when you may fear that the darkness will prove your ruin:† first, you may be greeted with words from feeble, decrepit brethren, that will seem to have regard to those of Galgacus to the mountaineers of Caledonia: "In the family of slaves, the last comer is the laughing-stock of his companions." Thus each catechumen may be received in some countries through disastrous influence of the place, where, instead of that certain divine influence, which Plato attributed to some lands,‡ custom goads to evil, and where the perfection of charity does not supply the imperfection of knowledge, as Pope Innocent desired.§ Again, you will find chaff amidst the wheat, as was always found. Instead of pitying the dust of Zion, the dust from the ruined Jerusalem, and praying that He who formed Adam from dust may convert this dust into fervent believers, you fall into discouragement, and say with poets:

> "The ample proposition that hope makes
> In all designs begun on earth below,
> Fails in the promised largeness; checks and disasters
> Grow in the veins of action highest rear'd."

You entered the harbor hoping for perfect security, not knowing that the wind could sometimes blow from the mouth, so as to cause a collision between ships within it. You entered an uncautious praiser, suppressing all mention of the evil, not knowing that you should praise the Church as the Scriptures of God praise it, saying, "Sicut lilium in medio spinarum, sic proxima mea in medio filiarum;" not knowing that if the lily pleaseth, you must bear with the

* Od. v. 356. † In Ps. cxxxviii. ‡ De Legibus, iii. § Lib. i. Decret.,

thorns; that if those who condemn ought to say that there are good amongst the evil, those who praise should say that there are evil mixed with the good. "For, let no one deceive you," adds St. Augustin, "if you wish not to be deceived, and if you wish to love your brethren, know that in every profession of the Church there are counterfeits."* You entered, expecting to find Catholic manners wherever men professed to have faith, and justly requiring them; for if they remain not in our land, those glorious architects, who rear once more her churches upon the ashes left by Cromwell and Elizabeth, will labor without profit of their toil; and, instead of the supernatural virtues which belong to faith, you may happen to witness merely those of uninitiated human nature. For, to use the words of a great historian, "Ut corpora lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur; sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris. Subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiæ dulcedo; et invisa primo desidia, postremo amatur."† Thus, while you look for the choral worship and psalmody of the holy hours, or at least the peace of the inviolable sanctuary, you may find every sacred portal, excepting at a few rare intervals, barred; as if, during an interdict like that in the year 1200 within France, when a contemporary exclaimed: "O quam horrificum, imo quam miserabile in singulis civitatibus per id temporis erat spectaculum, valva ecclesiarum obseratas cernere."‡

While you look for the alms of the middle ages, and repeat the words of the philosopher, "tanto laudabilior munificentia, quod ad illam non impetu quodam sed consilio trahimur,"§ you will hear that men are not taken well who have not dined:

> "The veins unfill'd, their blood is cold and then
> They pout upon the morning, are unapt
> To give or to forgive; but when they've stuff'd
> These pipes, and these conveyances of blood
> With wine and feeding, they have suppler souls
> Than in the priestlike fast they deem so mischievous."

And those you meet with, perhaps, will even heartily agree with the old satirist, in affirming that, "En quaresme sont toutes maladies semées, et que c'est la vraye pépiniére, la naifve couche et promoconde de tous maulx." You entered, thinking that no greedy corsair, full of party zeal, could pass the bar that hems the peaceful port; and you find priests whose aim is how to keep off not the wolves, but fellow-laborers from the fold, that their unaided efforts cannot tend. There will be occasions, too, which might demand the laugh of Hannibal, not so unseasonable as the absurd tears that may be shed for the loss of money, when vanity must pay the forfeiture; for the time for tears was, when they first exchanged the bright golden armor of the old Catholic saints for this brass lacquered over by modern hands, giving up usages like that priest-like abstinence of ancient sanctity, and of the old knightly honor well approved; choosing to dwell in the tents of

* In. Ps. xcix. † Tacit. in Vit. Agric. ‡ Rad. Cogesh. § Plin. Epist. viii. i.

sinners, of dull, proud, prosaic sinners, rather than continue abject, according to their silly estimation, in the house of the Lord; conforming, in manners and rules of life, to the base rout that holds the Church, and all the majesty of ancient worth, in scorn, as far as such corruption can have any sense. It was then that they should have wept: but when they complain like children on reaping the fruits which they have sown with their own hands, and weep like women appalled at the events which are merely the natural consequences of the kind of pre-eminence their hearts were bent on, to obtain which they had long been moving heaven and earth with prayers and murmurs, surely there must be some spectators, whatever may be their agony within, more inclined to laughter than to tears. "Amisit nummum, gemit," says St. Augustin; "amisit fidem, non gemit. Gemo et ego, et hoc gemo quia male gemunt."

"Some men," says St. Augustin, "seem to be just; we rejoice; and we must needs rejoice, for charity cannot be without joy. But afterwards, if anything evil be discovered in these men, which often happens, there follows a sadness proportionate to that first joy, so that a man fears again to give the reins to rejoicing; and, struck with abundant scandals, as if with many wounds, he closes human consolation against himself, and refuses to be consoled.* Ego autem in te speravi, Domine. Nothing better, nothing more secure. You wish to imitate I know not whom, and you have found him not to be good. Well, you abandon him and seek another. In him, too, there is what displeases. You seek a third, and neither does he satisfy you. And because this or that man displeases you, are you to perish? Cease to place your hope in man. Recedant humana nomina, humana crimina, humana figmenta. In te, Domine, speravi."†

But to resume our retrospect, since it is time for parting. All is seen; and now, methinks, some who have found in the preceding books answers to their doubts, as Dante says, "look at each other, as men look when truth comes to their ear."‡ There are not wanting from among followers of the opposing banner voices to repeat the praises of the Ages of Faith; But I list not to defend them with the help of these concessions of scornful men, who often aim their darts most keenly when they most concede. "I know thee, for thou art the Holy One of God," said even the malignant one himself; but as a holy writer observes, "far otherwise, and with a different affection is that name sanctified in heaven, where with such unutterable joy is shouted, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth."§ Others may apologise, plead for Catholic ages, for canonized pontiffs, and for holy kings, as for culprits before the world; but after such a course as ours has been, for some at least, the saint's and the world have already changed places, and instead of talking of arraigning them at its bar, and of attempting to excuse them, it is for them to find it shrink and vanish. We have seen that these ages are worthy of all praise, and that what dispraise may be set upon them is either

* In. Ps. lxxvi. † In. Ps. xxx. ‡ Hell. xvi. § Thom. Kemp. Serm. ii.

easily overcome or transformed into just commendation; but since their excellence may be so justly confirmed, let us rather seek to imitate than to praise them; for, though their fame I would with duteous zeal embalm, they need not our praises; therefore, St. Bernard, in a passage which the Church reads during the octave of All Saints, exclaims, "Of what avail is all our praise? to what end our glorification of them? What is the use of this our solemnity itself? Clearly not they, but we, are interested when we venerate their memory."

As the Roman philosopher, on his return to Italy, after Pompey's death, betook himself to his books, saying, "A quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus nunc vero etiam salutem;" so our contemporaries, by means of their writings, should live chiefly with the men of better, wiser, happier ages, whose lively words can still shed new heat and vigor through their souls. As another philosopher said, *πείθεσθαι δὲ ὄντως ἀεὶ χρὴ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τε καὶ ἱεροῖς λόγοις*,* so they should trust their testimony; for they had a practical faith in the great traditions of religion, which later times only profess coldly with the lips. "Youth," says Dante, "on entering the deceitful forest of this life, cannot find the right path, unless those who have more experience point it out."† Let the race of men then now living, as an ancient father says, "study the lives and writings of those who preceded it, who could penetrate to the deep and secret things of moral truth more easily than it can do, now that the charity of many is growing cold, that iniquity is abounding, that the improbity of unbelievers is gaining strength, that the deceits of Antichrist are drawing nearer."

In the middle ages was constituted a state of Christian society which in the days of the apostles had not been completely organized; but as art does not exclude nature, as that is greatly natural in art, which nature admits of being done well, so that is primitive in Christianity, which can be done with charity, humility, and justice. If men lose all trace of those who walked in the path of the beatitudes, they will find themselves indeed bewildered in this life's fretful fever, and driven sooner or later to the bitter avowal made by Cicero: they may then repeat despairing, "Habeo quem fugiam; quem sequar, non habeo." But if they follow patiently the clue thrown out to them by those who went before in these Catholic ages, there need be no fear of not arriving at their wished-for end; for they will then have admirable examples and express rules for each emergency, which even the wisest of the moderns admit to be infallible, as when Grotius, speaking of the scholastic doctors, say, "Ubi in re morum consentiunt, vix est ut errent."‡

In marking well their footsteps, they will have that resource which the wise ancients would have prized,§ as furnishing the most effectual means of making

* Plat. Epist vii.
† Convito, xxiv.
‡ De Jure Bel. ac Pac. Prolog.
§ Xenophon, de Venatione, xii.

progress in high worth; for virtue here assumes a body, so that men cannot be insensible to its presence. Here are no metaphysical abstractions or ideal characters, like the poet of Juvenal,

"Hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantum,"*

but living realities, imputing almost that result of personal experience, which makes Lear in the rough night remember the sufferings of poor naked wretches,

That bide the pelting of the pitiless storm!"

and exclaim,

"O, I have ta'en too little care of this!"

Consorting with these worthies of a believing age, pomp will thus be led to feel as if it had exposed itself to suffer "what wretches feel;" and similarly, all the vices in level opposition with the eight graces of beatific life, like full sails bellying in the wind, which if the mast break suddenly collapse, will shrink down discountenanced. He whom each perverts will return to himself and say, as if a pilgrim visiting some holy place, O! I have taken too little heed to become like these men, poor in spirit, meek, and apt for blessed mourning, too little care to desire justice, to feel and exercise compassion, to cleanse my heart, to be pacific, and to suffer persecution on account of justice. Memory will be hope and faith itself, to chase forever what some now call the delusion of disenchantment; for of the joy to come, it will yield sure expectance, teaching men to lift up their eyes unto the mountain, and rejoin those who are already in the life of glory far advanced; that they may climb stairs which other feet have overcome; that they are not the first along this upward way, that they follow others as St. Bernard says, "Prædecessores sequimur." They not only follow, but they see them, and they know too that they are seen by them: so that having this resource, none can refuse to ascend the steep without a sense of shame, that can of itself invigorate.

Whether they ride through groves and meadows, discoursing like Lorenzo de Medicis with Angelo Politian,† or remain solitary in the secret laboratory of their houses, like Cardan, who says he is addicted to perpetual cogitation, revolving many and great things, and such even as cannot be,‡ they may be said to hear the voice of our fathers, speaking to them out of the depths of ages. And what a voice is that! The philosopher said, that we ought to choose some man of exalted worth, and have him as it were always before our eyes, that so we might be constantly under his inspection, and acting as if he saw us.§ Here they have found not one only, but innumerable observers; each of whom seems to address them in the words of Hecuba,

—— ὡς γραφευς τ' ἀποσταθεις
ἰδοὺ με·

* vii. † Miscellaneorum Centuriæ, Præf. ‡ De Vita Propria, l. 18. § Seneca, Epist. xii.

not beings of another order, from their own nature, at infinite distance eternally removed, stars in the moral world fixed, and without parallax; but men like themselves, who, as St. Ambrose says "we know were not of a better nature, but more observant, nec vitia nesciisse sed emendasse," the memory of whom alone can impart that high spirit, which Dante ascribes to the illustrious race of Conrad Malaspina, the privilege that while the world is twisted from his course, it should walk aright, and have the evil way in scorn; privilege he well might prize, seeing how far the multitude who have that way, not in derision, as they should if honor could be heard, but in very great respect, as worthy of imitation, as far as can be without an open avowal of apostasy. Here in these books they stand like mirrors, from which to men reflected shine the judgments of our God. Let them study these as a painter stands before an original, gazing upon it. Wondering they may gaze, like Dante, on the universe of love, and admiration still be kindled as they gaze.

The noble mansion, we are told, is most distinguished by the beautiful images it retains of beings passed away; and so is the noble mind. It most resembles that divine mind, which, as the great Æschylus says, "sees all things in itself painted as on one leaf comprised:"

δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπᾷ φρενί.*

But since "each lesser nature is but scant receptacle unto that Good, which knows no limit, measured by itself alone,"† let men remember ever that the visage of these saintly lights was to the sun that filled them ever turned, as to the good whose plentiude of bliss sufficeth all,—that these bright trophies of Christ's triumph won with either palm, were but lowly followers in the train of the Omnipotent Sire, who dwelleth sole in himself, and of himself is solely understood, who by His grace to this perceptible has lifted them,—that they ever proclaimed, themselves to be but mere reflected splendors, satellites that wait in faint distance circling upon the sun of angels from whom all drew their radiance. So that when the book is closed, and the long pageantry shall have passed away, the lesson may be that which I once read upon the funeral dark hangings after a mass of requiem, which bore the motto of the dead man's house, in the old language of his province, "Re que Dion."

The solemn train went forth; the dense crowd followed it; the noise of horses and of marshals grew fainter and fainter; some few devout contemplatists, who had remained to pray, by degrees passed out after those who had gone before: at length all sounds died away, and silence reigned alone, while in large characters inscribed upon the walls between the plumes, and scutcheons, and symbols of departed greatness, one still read, "Re que Dion."

* Eumen. 275.

† Par. xix.

So now you have the epilogue, lest you should regard me as neglectful; and I have prosecuted it as the poet took leave of his youth,

"Ter limen tetigi; ter sum revocatus; et ipse
Indulgens animo pes mihi tardus erat."

I only hope that it may have been profitable, as when the philosopher of old disputed in the groves of Tusculum, *Εἴρηται λόγος*. Expect no more mimic signs from me, who must fall into the rear, whence truant fancy, rather than deliberate presumption tempted me to emerge, and henceforth own myself the lowest.

The anthems for the festival of All Saints, which first suggested this course of historical inquiry, may be repeated as the best conclusion; and with the voice of holy choirs let us end. "Admirabile est nomen tuum, Domine, quia gloria et honore coronasti sanctos tuos. Domine, spes sanctorum, et turris fortitudinis eorum, dedisti hæreditatem timentibus nomen tuum, et habitabunt in tabernaculo tuo in sæcula." May the King of Angels lead us to the society of the supernal citizens. May they whose festival we have illustrated intercede for us to the Lord. May that blessed host of heavenly spirits drive from us all evils, past, present and to come.

"Præterita, præsentia,
Futura mala pellite."

With Gervase, concluding his long Chronicle, I add,

"Finito libro reddatur gratia Christo:"

and with Ratherius of Verona, presuming to substitute another name, which here I am compelled to register:

"Qui cœpisse librum dederas finire dedisti,
Cunctipotens, famulo dando rogata tuo
Hunc ego Kenel mus pro te quia ferre laborem
Suscepi, proba dilue Christe mea."

THE END.

GENERAL INDEX.

ABAILARD, St. Bernard's saying of, I. 164; ignorant of nothing but himself, 552; sepulchre of, 836; and the monks of St. Denis, II. 264, 606; to Heloise, 373; and Roscelin, III. 36; love of study, 468; letter from Folko to, 468; distinguished scholars of, 469; character of, 478; and St. Bernard, 479; condemnation of, 480; and Peter the Venerable, 481; reconciled with St. Bernard, 482; absolved by the Pope, 483; epitaph of, 483; disciples of, 483; on reason and faith, 565; on monastic life, IV. 43; removal of his body, 137; the Socrates of the Gauls, 321; disgusted with the society of men, 514.

ABBESS of St. Hilda, II. 384.

ABBEY of Bangor in Ireland, I. 403; St. Denis, how rebuilt, 406; Crowland, 410; St. Urban, 612; Maubuisson, II. 383; liberality, III. 270; of Fulda, IV. 42; Melrose, 43; St. Gall, 43; Ouches, 62; Croyland, 63; L'Isle de Albe, 68; Engelberg, 71; Grissaw, 72; Molesme, 73; Clairvaux, 74; Premontre, 74; St. Gall, 77; Fountains, 78; Netley, 80; St. John au Bois, 86; Fescamp, 88; St. Laurence, 88; St. Germain des Pres, 89; St. Tron, 92; Tagernsee, 94; Reichenbach, 95; Waldsassen, 95; Bonport, 96; Maceirada, 96; Basse Fontaine, 99; Windburg, 99; Vezelay, 103; Corbey, 103; St. Medard, 103; Stavelot, 103; St. Gall, 103; Crowland, 103; Peterborough, 104; Ferrers, 104; Luxeuil, 104; Solignac, 104; St. Gall, 104; Clairvaux, 104; St. Riguler, 104 Froidmont, 106; Clairmarais, 106; St. Ouen, 106; St. Medard, 107; Lindisfarne, 110; Tewkesbury, 110; Thorney, 110; St. Albans, 110; Glastonbury, 111; St. Gall desecrated, 119; Einseidein, 120; St. Denis, 121; Peterborough plundered, 131; Citeaux, 132; St. Stephen, 132; Tavistock, 133; St. Germain des Pres, 133; Stavelo, 133; St. Denis, 136; Corby, 142; St. Medard, 143; Corooy, 151; Einseidein, 151; St. Victor, 160; St. Remy, 167; Einseidein, 168; Mebrose, 168; Hauterive, 169; Tagerusee, 200? St. Gall, intrusion of seculars, 244; Coroy, 254; Cluny, 254; Citeaux, 255; Jumiege, 257; St. Jean des Vignes, 257; St. Tron, 258; Mount Cassino, 259, 266; Thorney, 270; Croyland, 270; St. Bertine, 279; Pontigny, 279; Blandinburg, 279; Clairmarais, 279; Hulne, 296.

ABBEYS, rich and curious treasures of, IV. 130—2; interesting objects preserved in, 133; tombs and epitaphs in, 163; prelates interred in, 165; visited by great numbers, 258—9; visited by popes, 260; saved from the Danes, 270; founded in Ireland by the English, 486-7.

ABBON, a monk, IV. 195.

ABBOT, the title frequently given to venerable priests in the 6th and 7th centuries, I. 171; present of to a king, 559; of Menhart, IV. 94.

ABBOTS, assembly of at Aix la Chapelle, I. 709; sat in ancient parliament, II. 470; active as peacemakers, III. 1105.

ABEL, III. 792.

ABOON, monk and poet, I. 518.

ABRAHAM'S hospitable example, I. 58.

ABSTEMIOUSNESS in youth, I. 51.

ABSTINENCE, advantages of, I. 702; use of, II. 166; among the Greeks and Romans, 167; advantages of, 169; prescribed by Pythagoras, IV. 221.

ABSTRACTIONS substituted for things, II. 661.

ACACIUS, Bishop of Amida melts down the golden vessels of the church to redeem prisoners of war, I. 66.

ACACIUS St., IV. 559.

ACADEMIES, origin of in Europe, I. 612.

ACCIAJOLI, Nicholas, II. 235.

ACCIAJOLI, Angelo, III. 220.

ACCOLTI, Bernardo, I. 596.

ACHILLES' boast, III. 581.

ACOTANTUS, Peter, Venetian Senator, II. 367.

ACTORS, excommunication of, III. 415; St. Antoninus on, 415; St. Thomas on, 416.

ACUSIA, Lopez de, III. 217.

ADELBERO, Archbishop of Nevers, III. 1097; IV. 300.

ADALBERT St., Apostle of Prussia, I. 429; relics of, 462; and Gaudentius, 643; his remarkable life, II. 498; his charity to the poor, III. 257; answer to his barbarian tormentors, 412.

ADALBERT, Archbishop of Salzburg, II. 472.

ADALBERT, Duke of Lorraine, III. 85.

ADALHARD St., abbot, I. 455; 645; II. 701; III. 216; 1102; IV. 217, 295; 333.

ADAM and Eve, comparative sinfulness of, II. 372.

ADAM of St. Victor, epitaph of, IV. 165.

ADDISON, on Anglican Ministers, II. 461.

ADELAIDE, Queen, II. 491.

ADELBOLD, Bishop of Utrecht, III. 1039.

ADELDAC, a priest, III. 900.

ADELLE, countess of Blois, II. 371.

ADELWIN, Archbishop of Cologne, III. 1046.

ADEMAM, chronicles of, III. 619.

ADERAL St., his youthful piety, I. 129; pilgrimages, 727.

ADJUTEUR St., IV. 696.

ADON St., IV. 676.

ADORNES, Peter, III. 862.

ADRIAN, Pope, inculcates peace, III. 927; to St. Hildegarde, IV. 41.

ADRIAN II. Pope, and the emperor Lothaire, IV. 260.

ADRIAN IV. Pope, and John of Salisbury, I. 199; anxieties of, 206.

ADRIAN VI. Pope, I. 362; IV. 756.

ADRIAN, emperor, at Tivoli, I. 499.

ADVENT, first observance of, II. 155, 182; symbolism of, 196.

ADVERSARIES of the Church, their learning, I. 578—81.

ADVERSITY recompensed, I. 674; the school of virtue, 676; uses of, III. 798.

ÆDNOTHUS' charter to the abbey of Ramsey, I. 65.

ÆGIDIUS St., cave of, IV. 96.

ÆLBWALD'S letter to St. Boniface, II. 482.

ÆLRED, I. 649, 681; III. 26; 35; 125; 928; 937.

AEMILIAN, St. Jerome, II. 498.
AENEAS, many monuments of, I. 515.
AENEAS SILVIUS, poems of, I. 515.
AENEAS, a preacher, II. 526.
AERBA, Mary, III. 354.
AESCHYLUS, I. 34; 308; 656; on love of justice, II. 632; on punishment, III. 189; oracular answer of, 876.
AETIUS, and Ferreol, III. 1068.
AFFLICT, the intention to, always a sin, I. 169.
AFFLICTION purifies the good, I. 679.
AFFSCHENBOURG, Lambert von, I. 552.
AFRICANUS, Constantine, IV. 390.
AGAPAE, abolished, II. 484.
AGATHA St., I. 72; III. 46; IV. 88; 576.
AGATHA, council of, II. 464.
AGE enfeebles the mind, I. 656.
AGE, what this provides for, II. 59.
AGES of Faith, contrast between and modern times, I. 77; schools in, 124; purity and beauty of, 132; spirit of, 157; grandeur of, 158; those who revile them, 158; St. Leo on, 158; what they were and were not, 160; power exercised by the people in, 269; what the people were, 271; education of youth in, 275; free from corrupting opinions, 277; great men in, 277; individuality in, 277; men who knew how to expiate the wrongs done by them, 419; literature, 570; friendship in 644, were ages of poetry, II. 219; catholic manners in, 576; liberty in, 641; mercy in, III. 21; inconsistency of their assailants, 199; purity of heart in, 396; life in, 404—5; literature of, 413—15; poetry in, 417; truthfulness of, 419; wisdom cultivated, 452; philosophy of, 515; 614; education in, 589; knowledge in, 590; wars in, 992.
AGES of the world, characteristic passions of, II. 20.
AGESILAUS, II. 278.
AGNES St., IV. 576.
AGNES, Empress, II. 398; IV. 589.
AGOBARD St., urges the abolition of judgment by single combat, III. 911; 1067; on christian unity, 962; on the Jews, IV. 634.
AGRESTIUS, death of, I. 796.
AGRICULTURE encouraged by the feudal nobility, I. 321; made honorable, III. 649; indebted to the monks, IV. 368.
AGRIPPA, Cornelius, regrets of, I. 79; on almsgiving, III. 243; works on occult philosophy, 686; 695; burial place, IV. 170.
AHASUERUS in the fable, II. 422.
AIDEN St, and king Oswald, II. 265; 480.
AILAY, Peter de, III. 506.
AIGULFE St., IV. 676.
AILRED St., III. 1103.
AIX LA CHAPELLE, assembly of abbots at, IV. 213.
AJUTAMICHRISTO, family of, II. 367.
A. KEMPIS, John, I. 20.
A. KEMPIS, Thomas, his father a poor laborer, I. 58; on copying good books, 549; on good and evil, II. 297; on fruits of grace, 574.
ALANUS DE INSULIS, I. 301; II. 673; III. 35; 51; 386; 483, 444; 567; 570; 631; 747; IV. 163.
ALATRE, Cardinal Hugo de, carries the Pope on his shoulders, I. 217.
ALARD, viscount of Flanders, III. 331.
ALARDUS, a knight, IV. 294.
ALARIC respects St. Peter's, I. 483.
ALAYMI, Machalda, story of, II. 335.
ALBAN, of Verulam, IV. 620.
ALBAUR, Francisco, I. 115.
ALBARAC, the Saracen, IV. 96.
ALBERGO DU POVERE, III. 319.
ALBERGATUS, Nicholas, III. 265.
ALBERICO, vision of, I. 769.
ALBERICUS, III. 478.
ALBERT, a monk of Cluny, I. 549.
ALBERT III., Duke of Austria, III. 966.
ALBERT, Duke of Austria, III. 1063.
ALBERT, Duke of Verona, II. 636.
ALBERT, Bishop, III. 195.
ALBERT, patriarch of Jerusalem, IV. 654.
ALBERTUS MAGNUS, on confidence in God, I. 16; on animal instinct, 493; numerous works of, 559, 582; lectures of, 603; III. 375; 439; 633; 651; 682 IV. 576; 690; 876.
ALBIGENSES, III. 141; and Pope Innocent, III. 144; fanaticism and impieties of, 165; heresy of, 167; defeated by Philip Augustus, 168; IV. 637.
ALCALA LA REAL, fortress of, I. 819.
ALCHEMY and alchemists, I. 872; III. 712.
ALCIBIADES, I. 842; versatility of, II. 278, and Socrates, IV. 671.
ALCUIN to Charlemagne, I. 62; 559; II. 223 47? ; III. 474; 751; 821; IV. 412; 645.
ALDHELM St., Bishop and poet, I. 516; 630; III. 417, 758.
ALDOBRANDINI, Bishop of Ovieto, III. 1095.
ALDRIC St., Bishop of Sens, II. 497; IV. 697.
ALDROBANDINO, II. 555.
ALDUIN, Bishop of Limoges, III. 137.
ALEMANNUS, Herman, III. 487.
ALEXANDER III., Pope II. 471; III. 909; 1016; 1081; 1095; IV. 194; 646; 710; 719; 738; 752; 756; 760; 761.
ALEXANDER IV. Pope, III. 468; 1017.
ALEXANDER V Pope, I. 608; II. 441 · III. 263.
ALEXANDER, abbot, to King Roger, II. 573.
ALEXANDER of Hales, III. 486, 497, 498.
ALEXANDER, died of sadness, II. 26; his test of wisdom, III. 594; Dante on, 819.
ALEXANDER, patriarch of Jerusalem, III. 218.
ALFERIUS St., IV. 67.
ALFONSO, King, and the hermit, III. 576; 1018.
ALFONSO I, II. 555.
ALFONSO, the magnanimous, II. 636.
ALFONSO, the wise, III. 657.
ALFONSO XI, pardons an attempt on his life.
ALFRED, King, submits to the laws of the Church, I. 212; devotion of, II. 133; on duty of a knight, III. 409; gifts to monasteries, IV. 486.
ALFRED, son of King Ethelred, IV. 155.
ALGEBRA first introduced in Europe, I. 584.
ALICE, Dutchess of Brittany, II. 392.
ALIGERNUS, Abbot, IV. 367.
ALONZO, King of Portugal, III. 128.
ALONZO III. and Sancho of Navarre, I. 177.
ALONZO V. of Aragon, on the apostolic See, I. 204; noble qualities of, 258.
ALONZO VI., virtues of, I. 256, II. 558.
ALONZO VII., avenges an outrage on a poor laborer, I. 69.
ALONZO IX., I. 175.
ALPHABET, the Christians, III. 588.
ALTAMIRA, Dukes of, I. 303.
ALTAR on which St. Peter celebrated Mass, I. 426; of St. Gall, IV. 142.
ALTAR, the Christians taken to die before, I. 792.
ALTARS AND TABERNACLES, I. 453; several in many churches, II. 56; portable, early in use, 56; removal of, requires reconsecration of the Church, 70.
ALL HALLOW TIDE, II. 162.
ALL SAINTS, feast of, II. 162.
ALL SOULS, feast of, II. 180.
ALLATIUS, Leo, III. 709.
ALLEGORY useful in expressing truth, II. 64.
ALLELUJAH explained, II. 68.
ALLIACENSUS, Petrus, II. 477.
ALMARIC of Bene, III. 485.
ALMS substituted for canonical penance, I. 419; modern notions of, III. 233; modern mode of contributing, 234; another baptism, 243; St. Jerome on, 243; must not be the fruit of injustice, 244; should be kindly given, 249; St. Augustin on, 250; St. John Climacus on, 253; maxims concerning, 253; distributed at the death of Charlemagne, 256; distributed

at funerals, 256; on various occasions, 255, 256, 257; given by St. Gregory, 263; interesting instances of, 282.
ALMS-GIVING, a badge of distinction, III. 279.
ALTENBURG, Herman von, II. 196.
ALTMAN, Bishop of Passau, IV. 390.
ALTRUDA, her noble character, II. 399.
ALVERNIO, I. 735; IV. 96.
AMADEUS, Duke of Savoy, III. 277.
AMALPHI, III. 45, 925.
AMAND St., IV. 649.
AMATUS, hermit, IV. 516.
AMBASSADORS should be truthful, I. 249.
AMBOISE, Cardinal de, IV. 449.
AMBOISE, edict of, IV. 808.
AMBOISE, George de, IV. 561.
AMBROSE St., "the poor the gold of the Church," I. 63; the possessions of the Church, 64; humility of the B. V. M., 73; humility, 74; courtesy, 168; mildness, 170; the headship of Rome, 198; common saying in his time, 200; poverty of speech, 240; cause of revolutions, 245; family honors, 302; the building of churches, 416; mosaic representing him, 467; fasting, 702; love of Country, 731; on death, 756; knew miraculously of the death of St. Martin, 795; his approaching death, 799; address to neophytes, II. 67; on the psalms, 104; Church solemnities, 148; Lent, 158; Easter time, 159; the Sign of the Cross, 251; to the Emperor Valentinian, 273; the one road to heaven, 274; Chrismon of, 333; the wife of Zebedee, 405; the duty of a priest, 462; made no will, 465; on hunters, 482; letter of, 527; reproves his people, 529; and St. Augustine, 541; holy Simeon, 565; Sacrament of Penance, 583; Theodosius, 584; God's mercy, 607; repentance, 610; satisfaction for sins, 616; charity, III. 18; Christian love, 24; slavery, 99; sells the sacred vessels to ransom slaves, 156; on visiting the sick, 349; on temptation, 395; on bad books, 717; the martyrs, IV 641 visits the emperor, 706; to his sister Marcella, 707; vindicates himself, 707; and Theodosius, 764; on heretics, 797.
AMBROSE of Camaldoli, IV. 418.
AMBROSE St., of Sienna, III. 281.
AMEDÉE VIII, III. 964; 1064.
AMMONIA, her gift to the Church, I. 63.
AMMONIUS, Abbot, IV. 353.
AMNESTY, on great festivals, III. 71.
AMULETS, condemned, III. 685.
AMUSEMENTS in St. Gall, IV. 206.
AMYOT'S, bequest, III. 323.
ANACHARSIS on the Greeks, II. 210.
ANARCHY AND DISORDER, Plato on, I. 190; in spiritual things, 837.
ANASTASIA St., III. 68
ANASTASIUS, horrible punishment of, IV. 243.
ANATOMISTS, disputes of, I. 198.
ANCIENTS, had no models of the beauty of sanctity I. 172; custom at the repasts of, 322.
ANDRAEA, John, IV. 215.
ANDREANI, Count John Maricus, IV. 856.
ANDREAS St, II. 455.
ANGELICO of Fiesole, IV. 377.
ANGELICO Fra, III. 423.
ANGELO, Michael, on birthdays, I. 690; house of, II. 258; on woman's love, 418; III. 422, 854, 881, 885; IV. 538.
ANGELO St., IV. 649.
ANGELO of Sienna, IV. 23.
ANGELRANN, joy of, I. 137; and King Robert, II. 497; generosity of, III. 261; humility of, IV. 23.
ANGER, a Spanish saying about, I. 85; who give way to, III. 870; penance imposed on, 887.
ANGLO Saxon clergy, II. 442.
ANGLO Saxons transformed, III. 809.
ANIMALS, kindness to, I. 493; pagan cruelty to, 493; sorrows of, 493; affection of saints for, 494; kindness to, III. 23; sagacity of developed by monks, IV. 424; power of holy men over, 529.
ANNATS, II. 435.
ANNE, wife of Balbaccio, II. 412.
ANNIVERSARIES, of saints, II. 161.
ANNO, I. 268; Archbishop of Cologne. II. 467, 472; III. 268
ANQUETEL, on the Archbishop of Rheims, II. 449; on the clergy of Rheims, I. 268.
ANSBERT St., IV. 264.
ANSCHAR St., apostle of the North, IV. 362.
ANSEGISUS St. IV. 368.
ANSELLUS, IV. 422.
ANSELM St., on pride and humility, I. 77; on laboring for eternal life, 95; prayer of, 102; on the youthful mind, 126; on external signs of goodness, 137; prays that he may not be rude, 168; on self will, 185; man born to labor, 187; liberty, 188; evil the absence of good, 490; God and nature, 491; encourages literary exertion, 563, 585; letter to his nephew, 622; advice to his brother, 726; on burial in hallowed ground, 824; an illustration by, II. 528; dialogue ascribed to, 576; on forgiven sins, 595; on members of the Church, 666; questions to a dying man, 697; liberality of, III. 270; love of the chief good, 398; dialectic skill of, 447; refutes atheism, 534; superiority of, 536; on experimental science, 546; faith, 555, 565; modesty of, 581; reality, 606; on all who love justice, 628; God's will, 671; on seeking God, 771; monastic discipline, IV. 31; visits Hirschaw, 278; rejoices when his old friend becomes a monk, 288; his father's dislike for him, 663; resists King William Rufus, 784, 789.
ANTHON, John d', Epitaph of, IV. 162.
ANTHONY St., and St. Paul, I. 165, III. 43, 141, 383, 778.
ANTHONY St., of Padua, his cell, I. 374; night vigils of, II. 49; and Eccelinus, 489; his preaching, 521; and the fish, III. 638; IV. 694, 651, 655, 657.
ANTIPHONS, origin of, II. 67.
ANTOLINEZ, Fernando, II. 240.
ANTONINUS St., on sensible signs of compunction, II. 56; murderous attack on, III. 63; gifts to pious maidens, 240; charity of, 266; zeal for the sick, 276; forgives and converts one who attempted to assassinate him, IV. 654.
ANTONINUS Pius, III. 522.
ANTONIO of Corsica, IV. 76.
ANTWERP, city of, III. 930.
APOLLINARA St., in classe, church of, I. 446.
APOLLINARIUS St., presented the writings of the evangelists in dialogues, I. 540.
APOSTATES, two ways of becoming, II. 292.
APPARITIONS, III. 725, 727, 728, 730.
APPRENTICE, an, story of, II. 552.
APSES, in Mosaic, of the 6th century, I. 471.
AQUAVIVA, Duke of Adria, III. 471.
ARABIC, figures introduced into Europe, I. 542; writings, first translator of, III. 486; propagated, 486; cultivated by the English, 487.
ARANZAZU, destruction of the convent of, IV. 855.
ARBITRATION commended and practised, III. 907, 908.
ARCADE of Bologna, I. 408.
ARCES, Remou et d' IV. 502.
ARCHBISHOPS, II. 431.
ARCHER, Father Elzear, IV. 220.
ARCHITECTS of the middle ages, I. 408, 404, 418, IV. 102.
ARCHITECTURE in the middle ages, I. 312; in Tuscany in the 10th century, 403, 404; Gothic, 404; modern taste in, 404; that of the middle ages unites grandeur with modesty, 416; debased by the Reformation, 422; in England, 423; adaptation to locality and climate, 443; Gothic, II. 647; interrupted in the 16th century, II. 686.
ARCHITECTURE of abbeys, IV. 110 111, 112.
ARCHIVES, confided to churches, IV. 171.
ARETINS, Benedict, on the morality of the middle ages, II. 298, 300; on glorious deeds left unrecorded, 312; on cardinals, 446.
ARETINUS, Antonio, II. 533.

ARETINUS, Leonardus, III. 916.
ARGEBADUS, Archbishop of Narbonne, III. 49.
ARIAN bishops, II. 448; III. 435, persecutions, IV. 615, 882
ARIANS, St. Jerome on, II. 537.
ARICHES, Duke of Beneventum, IV. 478.
ARIOSTO'S sepulchre, I. 837.
ARISTARCHUS on the few divine men, III. 672.
ARISTOTLE on the young, I. 117; on irony, 140; a remark of De Haller on, 236; men who make revolutions, 286; Natural History, 572; style of the first prose writers of Greece, 586; on sickness, 764, twofold character of his writings, II. 65; on excess and deficiency, 275; on sensual pleasures, 581; on slaves, III. 96; on signs indicating the merciful, 273; philosophy of, 486; influence discarded, 549; on traditions, 735; on contemplative life, IV. 45, 49; pays a high price for a few books, 174; first translation of his morals, 191.
ARLES, council of, II. 496; subterranean church of, IV. 161.
ARMANGOL, blessed Peter, IV. 627.
ARMANUR, abbot, to Louis VII. IV. 836.
ARMED persons not allowed to enter church, II. 114.
ARMS, profession of, III. 409; custom of wearing, 978.
ARMUNDAREZ, Don Lewis de, II. 452.
ARNALDUS, imprisonment of, III. 66.
ARNOLD of Brescia, III. 146.
ARNOLD, a Dominican, III. 1115.
ARNOLD, Archbishop of Treves, III. 1052, 1096.
ARNOLD of Villeneuve, III. 505.
ARNOLD refused to be abbot, III. 918.
ARNOLDUS, I. 99.
ARNOUX St., III. 1076.
ARNULF to St. Thomas, III. 877; IV. 763; 767.
ARNULPH of Flanders, I. 781
ARNULPH, Archbishop of Rheims, IV. 447.
ARNULPH, abbot of Villa Moutiers, II. 268.
ARNULPH, abbot of Villiers, IV. 209.
ARNULPH of Lotharingia, I. 133.
ARROWS, use of forbidden by a council, III. 1003.
ARTAXERXES exempted priests from taxes, II. 438.
ARTESIAN wells, origin of, IV. 106.
ART, historic and decorative in churches, I. 450; has felt the loss of the religious sentiment, 475; of design in the middle ages, 475; dignified by the Church, 477; indebted to Christian festivals, II. 184; in the ages of faith, 669; in monasteries, IV 119. 120, 121.
ARTHUR, Prince, popular admiration of, I. 301.
ARTISTS, Catholic and non-Catholic, I. 172; theological lore of, II. 258.
ASCELIN, prior of Ouches, IV. 429.
ASCELIN, Seigneur of Marly-la-Ville, IV. 500.
ASCENSION, festival of, II. 160, 190, 191.
ASCETIC writers, IV. 619.
ASCETICS, why so called, IV. 31.
ASELLA, description of by St. Jerome, I. 704.
ASHES a symbol of penitence, I. 792.
ASSAROTTI, Octavius, III. 328.
ASSEMBLIES, Plato on, I. 273; Government by, 273.
ASSENT of the good to evil things deplorable, II. 301.
ASSOCIATION, Christian origin of, I. 331.
ASSUMPTION of the B. V. M., festival of, II. 160.
ASTORG, a monk, III. 381.
ASTERUS St., sermons of, I. 200.
ASTI, city of, II. 273.
ASTRIA, romance of, I. 515.
ASTROLOGERS condemned by Pope Innocent, I. III. 685, predictions of, 710.
ASTROLOGY forbidden, III. 683; 719. Picus on, 718.
ASTRONOMY, Plato on the study of, I. 584.
ASYLUM, privileges of, II. 440.
ASYLUMS for the poor unknown to the ancients, III. 306, 307.
ATHANASIUS St., on fasting, I. 705; on the ecclesiastical day, II. 44; humility of, 479; excused Origen, III. 159; on Arian bishops, 435; persecuted by the Arians, IV. 615.
ATHAEMENES of Crete, IV. 512.
ATHEISM refuted by St. Anselm, III. 534.
ATHENIAN students, IV. 334.
ATHENIANS, restlessness ascribed to, III. 796.
ATONEMENT of Jesus Christ, II. 697.
ATTICUS, character of, II. 576.
ATTICUS, Bishop of Constantinople, I. 66.
ATTALA and St. Loup, I. 428.
ATTO, Bishop of Troyes, III. 255.
ATTOLE of Rheims, III. 315.
AUBISSEL, Robert de, III. 22.
AUBRUSSEL, Robert de, IV. 22.
AUDIN on the popes bull against Luther, IV. 761; on the reformers, 820.
AUGUSTINE St., of Canterbury, miracles of, III. 662.
AUGUSTIN St., force of example, I. 18; on poverty, 41; recommends stated offerings to the clergy, 61; willingness to learn, 75; reflections attributed to, 133; "What is it to be happy," 145; effects of conversion, 145; gives the title "holy" to a Donatist, 171; on faith and will, 188; the Church, 197; the See of Rome, 201; praying for kings, 225; happy princes, 247; the chief good of man, 279; the meek and the proud, 347; on evil, 349; house in which he was baptized, 374; relics of, 462; nature and the wants of the soul, 496; fiction, 513; appropriation of pagan learning by Christians, 540; used the writings of a Donatist, 542; study of languages, 542; diffusion of the latin language, 543; warning to studious youth, 579; the latin language, 590; reason for studying in Rome, 632; Christian order, 650; death of Dido, 662; mourning, 671; gift of science, 677; the bonds of this life, 687; temptation of the young, 690; penance, 701; last judgment, 707; names of Cain and Abel, 713; on death, 755; contrast between Adam and Job, 762; the spirits of the dead appearing to the living, 769; on burial, 808; vision of the dead, 809; prayer for the dead, 817; his mother's death, 817; thirst of the soul, II. 20; temporal things cannot satisfy the soul, 22; man's chief good, 28; ceremonies, 37; argument against the pelagians, 39; prayer, 63; music, 102; attitude in prayer, 111; the dust of the dead, 161; refutes the Manicheans, 162; the Blessed Virgin Mary, 199; pretended love of justice, 297; unworthy Christians, 299; remark of, 314; justice, 322; Christ and Peter, 428; letter to Felicia, 457; the priest's house, 465; made no will, 465; whom he would not ordain, 467; simplicity of his life, 478; fine raiment, 478; Catholic preachers, 528; satirical quotation from, 537; reputation in preaching, 544; Roman morals, 573; the flesh and the spirit, 579; remission of sins, 583; appeal to a sinner, 605; our Lord's mercy, 607; Christian charity and ancient heroism, 623; justice, 660; the will, 681; evil choice, 688; fear of eternal punishment, 687, merits of the just, 689; charity, III. 10, 12, 30; the Manicheans, 17; inscription over his table, 32; faith and charity, 34; suspicion, 38; judging charitably, 43; mercy and justice, 51; clemency, 57; punishment for crime, 58; slavery, 99; heretical opposition, 132; on meaning of divine scriptures, 151; on charity of the Church, 153; intercedes for the donatists, 156; remonstrates with St. Jerome, 157, 158; duty of Catholic princes, 188; patience, 208; alms, 250; hospitals, 307; original rectitude, 375; love of God, 399; sin, 430; ignorance, 431; Seneca, 434; seeking truth, 437; prevailing customs, 439; certainty of knowledge, 443; those who exercise not their own will, 449; philosophy, 512; and Faustus, 528; Michelet on, 533; heretics, 534; avoiding certain discussions, 540; Natural philosophy, 547; knowledge of things, 550; individual reason, 552; authority of the Church, 556; the disciples of Socrates, 561; faith and reason, 564; the soul, 567; the will of God, 571; modesty, 580; vir-

tne,585; interpretation of the ten lepers,595; correct use of words, 596; not satisfied with his own words, 607; heresy, 611; God's foreknowledge, 611; mutability and unity, 612; teaching of the holy Fathers, 615; the unconverted, 633; the presence of God, 635; the beauties of nature, 635, love of God, 637; eternal felicity, 638; Natural and spiritual knowledge, 641; testimony regarding miracles, 661, 664, 668; faith, 670; the works of God, 671; evil spirits, 708; Plato, 738; the Scriptures, 746, 750; the Eucharist, 767; humility, 770; seeing God, 776; Cain, 791; peace, 811, 830, 873, 947; war for conquest, 821; toleration, 838; fall of our first parents, 864; justice and peace, 874; opinions which should not be held, 914; on the Roman Pontiffs, 946; influence of christianity, 973; war, 992; contrast between those who love God.and those who love the world, IV. 218; love of the world, 235; leisure and necessity, 361; eremitical life, 520; the Eight Beatitudes, 544; iniquity, 547; the force of charity, 570; tribulation, 573; meritorious suffering, 583; beauty and fortitude, 584; prosperity of the evil and suffering of the good, 606; the misery of the human race, 607; profligate men, 640; necessity, 641; martyrdom, 659; troubles within the Church, 662; division among christians, 663; why the evil perverts the good, 665; scandals, 667; insults to christians, 683; lukewarm christians, 684; evil suspicions, 689; rejecting Christ, 691; warning the worldly, 692; christian truth, 798; how to treat heretics, 800; sensualism, 901; heresy, 804; carnal hostility to spiritual men, 829; on unjust men, 862; on enemies of the Church, 863; the future world, 864; affection, 869; charity, 876; what is Christ's,884; beauty of truth,887; wisdom not denied to nature, 889; on variety, 891, 896; ungrateful men, 898; zeal of converts, 902.

AUGUSTINIANS, I. 553.

AUGUSTUS, Ceasar, his abstinence, I. 702.

AUMONT, John, his treatise on prayer, I. 58.

AURORA of Guido, II. 152.

AURRE, John, IV. 705.

AUSTERITIES, corporal, I. 699.

AUTHORITY respected by the ancients, I. 224; St. Paul on, 225; rejection of, II. 674; renounced, III. 560; to be mildly exercised, IV. 756.

AUTHORS of the middle ages, II. 643.

AUTHOR'S, the, thoughts on the completion of his work, IV. 867; his apology, 873.

AUVERNE, Martial de, epitaph of, II. 343.

AVARICE, St. Bernard on, II. 561.

AVELLIN, St. Andrew, I. 598, IV. 676.

AVERROES, III. 486.

AVENTINE St., his protection of animals, IV. 531.

AVICENNA, III. 456.

AVILA, Father de, advice to an official, I. 231; public and private duty, 310; on thanks to God in adversity, 675.

AVITUS St., poet and prelate, I. 527, 586, II. 195, 240, 522, 543, 664, 694; advises against taking from heretics their places of worship, III. 156; protects Jews, 183; judicial combats,719; the evils of this world, 791; opposes judgment by single combat, 911; the priest's country, 985; IV. 178; and king Gundobadus, 556.

AYLWIN, count, at the abbey of Ramsey, II. 261.

AYSTULPHUS' gift to a monastery, IV. 479.

AZZO IV., II. 555.

AZZO V., II. 555.

AZZO, Marquis of Este, III. 1063.

BAADER'S reflections, I. 491; description of man since the fall, II. 28.

BABOLEIN St., I. 491.

BABYLON, III. 561.

BACON, Lord, on young men, I. 121; on subservient philosophers, 239; on reasons of state, 250; on nature without religion, 497; on perversion of learning, 565; on doubt, 577; fit places for learning, 613; effect of affirmations, III. 147; influence of on philosophy, III. 545; reason in relation to religion, 565; physics, 642.

BACON, Roger, I. 583; III. 487, 498, 546, 650.

BADAM, Didacus, tomb of, IV. 164.

BADORIAN family at Venice, III. 279, 678.

BAIER, Ulrich, death of, I. 787.

BAIGNART Gilles, III. 72.

BALALUD and Duke Robert, III. 72.

BALANCE of power, II. 324.

BALARAN Seigneur de, III. 67.

BALBULUS, Notker, III. 843.

BALDERIC St., IV. 64.

BALDWIN, Count of Flanders, protects the poor, I. 304; II. 245; 262.

BALDWIN, Archbishop of Treves, III. 1047.

BALLIN John, IV. 162.

BALZAC, Charles de, bishop of Noyon, I. 629.

BAMBERG, protected by a silk thread, III. 951.

BANDARED, Bishop of Soissons, IV. 782.

BANGOR despoiled by the Danes, IV. 109.

BANQUETS forbidden to the clergy, II. 484.

BAPTISM, exorcism used in, II. 39.

BAPTIST of Faensa, IV. 298.

BAPTIST, John of Florence, III. 123.

BAPTIST, the Mantuan, III. 726; IV. 47.

BAPTISTRY at Florence, I. 448.

BARBADORUS, Donatus, III. 955.

BARBAROSSA spares the Cathedral of Milan, I. 483; and Rhainaldo Azzo, III. 554.

BARBARUS Hermolaus, II. 461.

BARBETUS St., IV. 656.

BARCELONA, IV. 44.

BARNABY of Terne, established the first mount of Piety, IV. 459.

BARON, a Celtic or Greek word, I. 297.

BARON, Vincent, III. 91.

BARONIAL halls, simple hospitality of, II. 31.

BARRIENTOS, Lopez de, III. 338.

BARTH, Herman, master of the Teutonic order, III. 253.

BARTHA, mother of St. Eberhard, II. 128.

BARTHOLOMEW, the Dominican artist, I. 475.

BARTHOLOMEW de Martyribus, III. 53.

BARTHOLOMEW St., massacre of, III. 186; IV. 807.

BASSENHIEM, Henry Walpot von, III. 343.

BASIL St., poverty of, I. 52, on rudeness, 169; on evil, 348; student life of, 378; Hexameron of, 492; Homer and the Pythagoreans, 540; on death, 756; to a mourning father, 806; on Lent, II. 157; simplicity of his life, 479; his faith, III. 556; denounces fortune tellers, 679; on dying bequests, III. 302; on reading the scriptures, 746; directed that monasteries be near cities, IV. 57; on solitude, 59.

BASILICA, of St. Vitale, I. 447; of Santa Croce, at Florence, 448; of St. Paul, 472; why so called, 482; its significance, II. 603.

BASLE St., and the hunted beast, I. 498.

BASSIO Matthiew de, III. 52, and the usurer, 244, 297; IV. 462.

BASTON, poet of Edward 1st, I. 522.

BATHILDA St., II. 393, 400.

BATHILDE, wife of Clovis, II. III. 102.

BATTLE of Brenneville, III. 127.

BAUDRIBOSC, release of, III. 74.

BAVON St., III. 106.

BAYARD, (Bayart) friendship inspired by, I. 642; illness of, 764; on kingdoms without justice, II. 322; and his host, 346; character of, 353; his generosity, III. 128.

BAYLON, St. Paschal, IV. 838.

BAZADOIS, seige of, I. 383.

BEADS, derivation of the name, II. 112.

BEAN, the forbidden food to the Pythagoreans, I. 678.

BEARN, Gaston de, III. 154.

BEATITUDES in practice, II. 333; philosophy of, III. 516.

BEATON, cardinal, death of, IV. 807.
BEATRIX of Milan, tomb of, III. 1074.
BEATRIX of Nazareth, III. 773.
BEATRIX, duchess of Tuscany, II. 400.
BEAUFORT Ferrand, lady of, II. 392.
BEAULIEU, Geoffry de, III. 54, 419.
BEAUMANOIR, Philip de, III. 944.
BEAUTY, Greek expression of, I. 173; the splendor of truth, II. 80; material opposed to spiritual, 530; external, III. 378; Plato on, 634.
BEC, hospitality of, IV. 117; attractions of, 151; monks of, 192.
BEAUMONT, Roger de, IV. 295.
BECCHI, William, I. 584.
BEDE, ven. the church and the world, I. 225; the Irish schools, 603; St. Hilda's death, 795; on adopting pagan customs, II. 42; the clergy in England, 437; his prodigious learning, III. 473; the moon's influence on the tides, 650; knowledge of scriptures, 750; his youthful studies, IV. 202; never left his abbey, 427; on persecution, 862.
BEERE, Richard, abbot of Glastonbury, IV. 368.
BEES, afford a model of civil government, I. 242.
BEGGAR a, teaches a great theologian, I. 58.
BEGGARS, circle of, III. 248.
BELGIANS, Savedra on, I. 265.
BELIAL, meaning of the name, III. 893.
BELL of the Florentines, III. 126.
BELL-RINGER of Notre Dame, I. 481.
BELLARMINE, what he desired his soul to possess, I. 168; on the people, 270; controversial works of, 555: mourning of Christians, 838; on our fear of the opinion of others, II. 249; property of the clergy, 468: generous to the poor, III. 268.
BELLINI, gentil, III. 423.
BELLS, of Paris, I. 371; their use and significance, 442; removed by heretics from churches, 443; tolled for the dying and the dead, 867; of St. Stephen, II. 118; of the abbey of St. Bartholomew, 119; inscriptions on, 119; varied sounds of, 119; of Strasbourg, 120.
BENASCO, Gandulphus de, II. 528.
BENEDICT XI., III. 1086, 1089.
BENEDICT XIII., III. 70, 89, 281, 331, 349, 721.
BENEDICT XIV., on daily celebration of Mass, II. 56; censures the use of profane music, 101.
BENEDICT, a monk of Cluny, IV. 392.
BENEDICT St., on school discipline, I. 617; a painting of, 693; night vigils of, II. 49; on vespers, 58; prescribes hospitality, 483; gives the last vessel of oil to the poor, III. 270; and Totila, 1102; birth of, IV. 213; rule of, 214; and the youth, 342; foresees evil times, 393; and Totila, 452; slandered, 676.
BENEDICT St., of Aniana, II. 62; enfranchised many serfs, 108.
BENEDICTINE monastery, IV. 52.
BENEDICTINE monk, form of subscribing his engagement, IV. 214; labors in the 7th century, 362; in the forests of Germany, 367.
BENEDICTINE monks resist a reform, IV. 673.
BENEDICTINE order, IV. 193.
BENEDICTINE rule, mild and beneficent, I. 189; schools, 602; schools in Germany, 634.
BENEDICTINES, founders of cities, I. 352; in the 11th century, 545; historical works of, 550 zeal in behalf of slaves, III. 105; promote agriculture, 649.
BENEDICTION cited by Mabillon, II. 244.
BENEDICTIONAL, a, of the 10th century, I. 475.
BENEFACTORS of churches to be remembered in divine service, I. 456.
BENEFICES, plurality of, II. 464.
BENEZET St., III. 333.
BENIGN, a Scottish priest, I. 107.
BENINCASA, Ursula, III. 400.
BENTIVOGLIO John, III. 969.
BEOWOLF, his celebrated poem, I. 528.
BEQUESTS to communities or associated bodies forbidden by Roman pagan law, IV. 468.
BERENGER tolerated, III. 153: character of, 747, 751; and St. Hugo of Lincoln, 762.
BERGAMO in A. D. 707, III. 924.
BERGOMAO, Justinian, II. 695.
BERNAGE abolished, IV. 242.
BERNARD, Bishop of Paderborn, III. 1099.
BERNARD, Brother, III. 33.
BERNARD of Cluni, I. 517.
BERNARD, Margrave of Baden, III. 966.
BERNARD, Peter, rebukes Henry II., IV. 792.
BERNARD St., on riches, I. 41; on fervor, 101; youth of, 128; on the proud, 146; submission to God's will, 152; on Abailard, 164; sweet gracious look of, 172; on self-will, 186; the human will, 187; free will, 188; the Pope's jurisdiction, 202. wrote to Conrad, 211; denounces the circulation of dangerous works, 289; church edifices, 484; holy places, 505; his sermons, 544; Plato and Abailard, 591; letter to Guido de Castella, 648; new novices, 664; sorrow and consolation, 668; resurrection from sin, 669; converts the Duke of Guienne, 728, love of country, 731; worldly attractions, II. 24; and Heloisa, 34; prayer at night, 48; a procession, 88; church music, 97; lenten fast, 158; sermon on the Nativity, 192; on salvation through Mary, 200; on love of God, 277; in Milan, 437; condemned secular vanities in those who held benefices, 481; his preaching, 513; on avarice, 561; the conversion of Arnulphus, 591; the order of charity, III. 15; on mercy, 19; our Lord's compassion, 22; detraction, 29; his wish, 35; rash judgments, 37; his work *De consideratione*, 54; to Pope Eugene, 59, 156; to Pope Innocent, 59, 121; to the Genoese, 70; to Thibaud, 121; sin, 134; Gerard of Angoulemee, 147; letter to Alard, 152; defends and protects Jews, 182; justifies war against the Mahometans, 190; letter to his nephew Robert, 214; to the countess of Blois, 218; virtue in a noble person, 229; on want of affection, 250; letter to the people of Toulouse, 291; to the abbess of Taverney, 310; purity of heart, 370, 376; the carnal and spiritual, 373; Christ in our souls, 386; contemplation, 395; love of God, 400; on neglecting to learn or to know, 431; to Bishop Gilbert, 442; pretenders to truth, 443; and Abailard, 479, 481, 619; papal infallibility, 591; and St Thomas, 620; man's dignity, 628; miracles of, 692; the Real Presence, 761; on visions, 772; denounces warfare, 827; peace, 873; against contention, 912, 913; vast influence of, 1103; IV. 30, 31; monastic life, 36, 37; admonition to monks, 45; establishes a monastery, 96; cell of, 111; grotesque art, 122; writes an apology, 147; forbearance of, 218; on silence, 224; observance of the rule, 227; monastic abuses, 233; monastic exemptions, 235; monastic cookery, 237; worldly abbots, 241; monks, 249; advice to Hugo, 268; pleasures of the world, 285; virtues in noblemen, 296; converts young visitors to Clairvaux, 300; the attractions of his monastery, 409; grief on the death of his brother Gerard, 419; desires to remain in his monastery, 428; letter of, 431; the monks of Cluny, 432; defender of an abbot, 445; on Theobald, 665.
BERNARDINE St., of Monte Feltro, II. 516, 525, 527, 535, 538; III. 1113.
BERNARDINE St., of Sienna, preaching of, II. 514, 532, 535, 543; on compassion, 605; on the *Eight Beatitudes*, 681; on mercy, III. 95, 151; human errors, 430; the teaching of our Lord, 515; cleanness of heart, 630; love of God, 637; on visions, 674; visions of God, 777; peace, 815; as peacemaker, 1111; and St. Vincent Ferrer, IV. 434; the *Eight Beatitudes*, 585; at school, 648; use of an offering, 652; persecuted, 685, 689; voluntary poverty, 829; heaven, 863.

BERNE, ancient law of, III. 892.
BERNWARD St., Bishop of Hildesheim, IV. 268.
BERRY, Duc de, character of, I. 174.
BERTA, wife of Adalbert, II. 399.
BERTHEVIN, Lady of, II. 393.
BERULLE, Cardinal de, assists in building his church with his own hands, I. 417.
BERTA, Thomas de, III. 267.
BERTHALDUS of Ratisbon, II. 521.
BESTHIER on the wonderful, III. 660.
BERTILLA St., Scriptural lectures of, IV. 194.
BERTOLD, a Dominican, III. 420.
BERTRAND, St. Louis, III. 260.
BERTRAND, Bishop, III. 908.
BERTRAND, surnamed Cutsteel, III. 1010.
BESSARION, Cardinal, I. 612.
BETHLEMITE brethren, vow of, III. 343.
BIBLE, Alcuin's III. 751; Charles the Bald's, 751; frequently presente as a valuable gift, 751; studied by laymen, 751.
BIRNSTAN, Bishop of Winchester, I. 798.
BIREL John, IV. 653.
BIRTH, noble, respect for, I. 301.
BIRTHDAYS, I. 689.
BISHOP, a, works in disguise, as a laborer, II. 469.
BISHOPS, exempt from lay supervision, I. 65; superior knowledge of, 232; took precedence of princes, II. 265; jurisdiction of, 431; coadjutors of, 432; external marks of dignity, 432; of the middle ages, 442; of foreign birth, 443; obligations of, 449; of Spain, 452; why dukedoms and baronies were conferred on them, 458 evils incident to temporal honors, 458; of Italy in the 10th century, 460; renounced property on their consecration, 465; who practiced manual labor, 469; sat in ancient parliaments, 470; ministers of kings, 471; chief officers of state in Germany, 472; frugality of, 480; hospitality of, 482—484; liberality of, III. 265—267; Government Missions, 946; of foreign birth, 986; and commoners, 1044; power bestowed on by the last Roman emperors, 1045; who built castles remonstrated with, 1050; of France A. D. 858, 1076; and monks, IV. 444; benefactors of convents, 446; make retreats in monasteries, 448; return to monasteries, 449; usage at funerals, 449; resisted King Sigismond, 773.
BIZZONIO, Marc. Antonio, III. 268.
BLACK PRINCE, generous response of, I. 239.
BLAITHMAIC St., abbot, IV. 781.
BLANCHE, Queen II. 383, 392.
BLASILLO, death of, II. 390.
BLIERS' St., childhood, I. 108.
BLINDNESS, intellectual, chief sources of, III. 442.
BLOIS, Louis de, on humility, I. 74; christian writers, 95; character of, 100; rules for the direction of studies, 103; sensible delights, 150; possessing God, 488; use of the crucifix, 509; God's way of answering prayer, 681; tribulation, 688; grief for sin, 691.
BLONDEL on the false decretals, I. 207.
BLOOD, priests must not be connected with judgments of, IV. 755.
BLOODSHED, abhorred by the Church, III. 832.
BOABDIL'S last view of Granada, II. 139.
BOCCACIO'S Decameron, II. 306.
BODIN, John, III. 510.
BODIES of saints remarkably preserved.
BOEMOND, description of his person, I. 174; vow of, 468; IV. 261.
BOEMOND, Archbishop of Treves, III. 053.
BOETHIUS, III. 473; IV. 593.
BOLESLAS II., King of Poland, IV. 648.
BOLESLAS IV., King of Poland, I. 477.
BOLINGBROKE, on Plato, IV. 684.
BOLOGNA, I. 408; II. 316, 337.
BONA, Cardinal, influence of church ritual, I. 146; reason why people prayed in the church with their face towards the east, 437; office for the dead, 618; the vesper hour, II. 57; ecclesiastical song, 110; external reverence in church, 121; the sacerdotal office, 463; the Mass, 696; dreamy, III. 725.
BONALD, on reasoning and sentiment, I. 29; religion, 195, 223; religion and government, 244; civil and religious laws, 245; the philosophy of a people, 247; paternal and fraternal principles in society, 267; on slavery to public opinion, 277; men of the middle ages, 418; christian laws, II. 172; Rationalists, 270; truth and reason, III. 564; modern philosophy, 588; divine law, 589; the Church, 616; military service, 994; instruction for youth, IV. 201.
BONATUS, Guido, IV. 307.
BONAVENTURA St., on the poverty of Jesus Christ, I. 50; how he received his Cardinal's hat, 53; love of poverty, 60; the life of Jesus, 109; cheerfulness of, 138; advises to avoid contradiction, 144; blessings of the humble, 147; dryness and fervor, 149; offered the Archbishoprick of York, 555; duty of schoolmasters, 617; mourning, 696; the passion of Christ, 656; change of place, 713; instructions to pilgrims, 732; sensible pleasures in church, II. 129; motives for repairing to church, 131; proper mode of life, 150; the ascension, 190; Ave Maria, 201; human passions, 273; those who misrepresent virtues, 276; false prudence, 277; zeal, 279; the death of St. John the Baptist, 290; the priest's functions, 462; preaching of, 514; self-love, 565; adherence to truth, 630; love of your neighbor, 668; teaching of the Apostles, 679; Grace through Christ, 695; charity, III. 11; judging our neighbor, 37, 41; assisting the sick, 353; conversion and penitence, 387; love of God, 399, 427; piety, 451; knowledge, 453; sketch of, 490; profundity of, 535; humility of, 580; the intellect, 585; divine things, 587; his varied powers, 619; Providence, 658; wrote two copies of the Scriptures, 751; love of God, 777; war, 797; peace, 855, 871; temporal things, IV. 33; where he wrote, 80; inscription on his tomb, 162; life of Christ, 202; desire to console, 338; philosophy, 382; Murillo's picture of, 396; honor paid to the rich, 467; patience, 569, 753; Christ's passion, 572.
BONIFACE St., describes the early life of St. Livinus, I. 107; instruction in politeness, 165; obedience, 187; declares the authority of the Roman Church, 202; letter to Pope Stephen, I. 202; place where he was martyred, 429; letter to Baldhard, 646; troubles of his mission, 692; relates a terrible vision, 768; among the Saxons, II. 494; flogged by his mother, III. 276; statutes of, 685; Fulda, IV. 64; martyrdom of, 621.
BONIFACE St., chaplain of the Emperor Otho, IV. 624.
BONIFACE St., Counts of, II. 548.
BONIFACE, Sybilla, III. 313.
BONIFACE, Duke of Tuscany, IV. 140.
BONIFACE VIII. Pope, struck by a Colonna, I. 217; stories of his death, III. 494; condemned the Fratracelli, 700; jubilee granted by, 885; urges King Edward to peace, 1091; Bull of, IV. 693; to Philip le Bel, 760.
BONITUS St., III. 105.
BONNET, Dom, IV. 365.
BONONIUS, IV. 501.
BONVISIA, John, II. 551.
BOOKS, value of, I. 18; of the middle ages, 29; of piety, called joyous books, 138; best for a prince, 249; of hours, contain lessons in agriculture, 494; generally bound by monks in the middle ages, 550; ordered to be cast in the sea, 555; old and modern compared, 562; eulogy on, IV. 173; pleasure in purchasing, 175; care of, 183; a preservative for, 184; writing of at St. Gall, 187; skillful transcribers of, 187.
BOOKSELLERS and printers deemed honorable, I. 339; at the time of the Reformation, III. 449.

BORGIA, Alexander, on French expedition to Naples, I. 30.
BORROMEO, St. Charles, room in which he was born, I. 426; III. 27, 266; murderous attack on, IV. 677.
BOSCO, Bartholomew, III. 319.
BOSON, Abbot of Bec, IV. 464.
BOSSART, John, a peasant, I. 58.
BOSSIO, Duke of Ferrara, II. 555.
BOSSUET, on the dignity of the poor, I. 46; fundamental laws, 294; the Church's "Non Possumus" 246; Kingly power, 270; the Cross, 509; days of creation and redemption, 690; contrasted with preachers of the middle ages, II. 590; men who ove pleasure, 572; the sacrifice of the cross, 616; lives of the worldly, 646; inflexibility of the Church, III. 133; riches, 230; faith, 555; physical sciences, 642.
BOTULPH St., IV. 228.
BOUCHART, Sire de Montmorency, III. 1040.
BOUCHET John, character of his works, I. 49, 534; IV. 833.
BOUCICAUT, III. 196.
BOUGOUINE, famous poem of, I. 49.
BOUHOURS, father, on little things, I. 179.
BOURBON, Cardinal of, III. 331.
BOURBON, Louis, duke of, I. 120.
BOURDALOUE, on death bequests, III. 303.
BOURDEAUX, III. 464.
BOURDOISE, a missionary priest, II. 490; the regular clergy, IV. 441, 464.
BOURGOGNE, Charles, Duke of, last words to his son I. 309; IV. 668.
BOURGOIGN, on the inquisition, III. 171.
BOURK, Mary Ann du, IV. 680.
BOUVINES, battle of, III. 1003.
BOVETINUS, inscription on his sepulchre, III. 37.
BOYLE on human imperfections, IV. 335
BOYS, obedience of, I. 117; how to manage, 118.
BRACCIO Forte, of Sienna, III. 709.
BRADWARDINE, Archbishop of Canterbury, II. 448.
BRAZA, Second council of, I. 424.
BRANDAN, a hermit, IV. 678.
BRANDENBOURG, Albert de, IV. 843.
BRANDY, introduced in Europe, I. 597.
BREAD, marked with a cross, II. 159; in the ancient monasteries, IV. 405.
BREHUS, the pitiless, III. 804.
BREMEN, Gury de, III. 994.
BRENNEVILLE, battle of, III. 127.
BREVIARY, Roman adoption of, II. 33; daily recital of, 463, 464.
BRETEUIL, Roger de, III. 71.
BRETHREN, of charity, III. 344, 345.
BRETON, Abbe, III. 88.
BRIDGES at Lyons and Avignon, III. 333.
BRIDGET, St., her body in Kildare, IV. 138.
BRIE and Champagne, Counts of, I. 309.
BRITAIN, frequent intercourse with Rome, I. 682.
BRITHNOD, Duke of Northumberland and the abbot of Ramsey, IV. 266.
BROICH, Henry A. Abbot, III. 309.
BROTHERHOOD, lay, in Pavia III. 1071
BROTHERHOOD, of St. Mary, III. 124; of the Sacconi, 1072.
BROTHERHOODS, religious, II. 242.
BRUCE, the meeting with his sister described, I. 682.
BRUNES, Bartholomew de, III. 125.
BRUNEHAUT, IV. 472, 648.
BRUNELLESCO, III. 884.
BRUNO, Archbishop of Cologne, I. 545; III. 85, 937, 1047.
BRUNO, an apostle of Prussia, II. 367.
BRUNO St., founder of the Carthusians, II. 460; IV. 215, 216, 224, 672.
BRUNO, Jordano, II. 421, 580; III. 508.
BRUNO, a hermit, IV. 510.
BUCHANAN, the poet, II. 306.
BUFFALMACCO, III. 385.
BUILDERS, confraternity of, III. 1072.
BULL, *Cœni Domini*, I. 242.
BURCHARD, Bishop of Halberstad, I. 797
BURCHARD, Bishop of Worms, III. 686.
BURCHARD, Count of Corbiel, IV. 294.
BURGUNDY, Duke of, IV. 664.
BURIAL of Christians, I. 808; of Charles, VI. 808; among the early Christians, 809; of St. Paul the hermit. 810; of St. Martin, 810; of St. Hugh of Lincoln. 812; customs of the College of Douai, 812; of young persons, 812; in the middle ages, 812; of kings. 813; early Christians, 823; of the poor, 824; of heretics. 824; ancient canons regarding, 825; in monasteries. IV. 153.
BURIAL-PLACE of St. Augustin, I. 825; of Pepin, 825; of Constantine, 825.
BURKHARD, abbot of St. Gall, III. 272.
BURLEIGH, Walter, III. 506.
BURNET, Bishop, II. 652.
BURNS, a remark upon, I. 497.
BURTON'S error about monks, I. 664; his calumny. II. 632; the selfishness of his times, 690; III. 686; IV. 848.
BUSCHETTO, mechanical genius of, I. 404.
BUTLER, Alban, on early christian burial, I. 823.
BUTLER, baron of Cahir, I. 116.
BUTTMAN on Sappho, IV. 887.
BURY, Richard de, IV. 686.
BYRON on Tasso, I. 153; lines on passion, 499; on *the Lay of the Last Minstrel*, 529; smiles and sadness, 661; Don Juan, II. 302; women of Spain, 407.
CABALISTIC learning, III. 508.
CADOCUS of South Wales, II. 442.
CAEDMON, monk and poet, III. 417; IV. 372.
CAEN, annual procession in, II. 86.
CAESAR, I. 101; on Cato, II. 649; after his victories, III. 833.
CAESAR of Heisterbach, IV. 400, 404, 405.
CAESARIUS of Arles, II. 482, 680, 691.
CAIN, I. 348; III. 792.
CAJETAN, Cardinal, III. 647.
CALAIS, famous reply of its governor, I. 242.
CALESANCTIUS, St. Joseph, I. 622; IV. 673.
CALESSIUS, Angelo, III. 112.
CALIXTUS II. Pope, dream of, III. 726.
CALLECLES, I. 87; II. 644.
CALLIPOLIS, descriptions of, II. 330.
CALLISTHENES, IV. 647.
CALUMNY Socrates on, III. 438; IV. 598.
CALVIN, his hatred, II. 655; denies freedom of will, 683; mutilated his own book, III. 560; at college, IV. 813
CALVINIST, massacres in France, III. 190; excesses, IV. 810, 811; ministers, an answer to, 885.
CALVINISTIC spoliation of the dead, I. 836; folly. II. 38.
CALVINISTS, II. 896.
CAMALDOLESE and Capuchins, IV. 434.
CAMALDOLI, I. 167; IV. 62, 69, 74, 77, 214, 501, 515, 527, 537, 538.
CAMBRIDGE, origin of the university of, I. 607.
CAMELIEN St., II. 449.
CAMDEN on the destruction of monasteries, IV. 847.
CAMOENS, III. 335; IV. 606.
CAMPANELLA, Thomas, III. 83, 510.
CAMPBELL Robert., abbot of Tavistock, IV. 458.
CAMPISAMPERIO, William II. 406.
CAMPO SANTO at Pisa, I. 834.
CAMUS, Mary le, III. 347.
CANCELLARI on the Sacristy of St. Peter's, I. 425.
CANDELABRA, of great size, I. 472; of Pope Adrian, I II. 84.
CANIS, the Great, of Verona, III. 836.
CANONICAL penance, relaxation of, 490.
CANONIZATION, origin of, II. 161.
CANONS of Blois, I. 211.
CANONS, should not be absent, II. 464.

CANOVA, at the fair of Venice, I. 309 ; erects a church at his own expense, 413.
CANTERBURY, past and present of, I. 356 ; church of, IV. 711 , prelates of persecuted, 783.
CANTILEN, a monk, death of, IV. 395.
CANUS, Melchior, I. 95,188, 585; III. 36, 151; on the opinions of schools, 615.
CANUTE, his crown preserved at Winchester, I. 455; pilgrimage to Rome, 721; remarkable letter, 730; to the Emperor Conrad, III. 928 · visits the abbey of Ely, IV. 262.
CANUTE St., IV. 590.
CAP of St. Martin, II. 134.
CAPASTRINO, John de, preaching of, II. 516.
CAPITAL punishment.
CAPITALS, influence of, I. 54.
CAPTIVES, Moslim, II. 107; edemption of, IV. 864.
CAPU HINS Convent at Altorf, IV. 43.
CAPUCHINS in the plague of Milan II.. 298; a cacemakers, 1116; IV. 77, 112, 434, 490, 678, 679.
CARACCI, Augustin, I. 475.
CARBONEL, Thomas, saves his brother-in-law, III. 111.
CARBONEL, Bishop of Siguenca, III. 54.
CARDAN, I 1, 117, 118, 594; on friendship, 637; choice of riends, 640; on Government without religion, II. 282; freedom of will, 684 ; true philosophy III. 517; Pedagogues, 527; Providence, 58; human misery, 54; IV. 49, 225, 342, 345, 01.
CARDAN, Jerome III. 508, 717.
CARDINAL, creating a new, I. 168.
CARDINALS, I. 430; of great merit, 446; college of, 446.
CARDONNA, Catherine, II. 195.
CARILA, Archbishop of Toledo, III. 40.
CARINTHIA, Duke of, I. 24
CARLOMAN St., V. 92.
CARMELITES, V. 8, 7, 112, 215, 366.
CARMINIOLA, Francis, III. 1012.
CARNAZET, Anthony Seigneur de, I. 557.
CAROLINA, the herb so-called, IV. .
CAROLOMAN, ecree of, I. 247.
CARPENSARI Francis n wars, III. 824.
CARPENTERS, skill of in the middle ages, I. 472.
CARRANZA, Bartholomew de III. 270.
CARRANZA, Archbishop of Toledo, III. 89, 172.
CARRIARE, Matthew, his neroism, III. 110.
CARTHAGE, 4th Council of, II. 478.
CARTHUSIAN monastery near Xeres, IV. 51.
CARTHUSIAN order, IV. 30, 48, 215, 250, 321, 431, 433, 453, 473.
CASANUS, Nicholas, III. 506
CASIMIR St., II. 138, 472; IV. 590.
CASSIEN, saying of, III. 42.
CASSIODORUS, I. 559; IV. 172.
CASTELLI, Bartholomew, II. 121.
CASTELNAU, Peter de, assassinated, III. 168 ; IV. 564.
CASTIGLIONE, Balthasar, II. 412.
CASTLE Ayrard, Viscount of. III. 79.
CASTLE of Glammis, I. 312; of King Robert at Naples, 314; Kenilworth, 315; Harzburg, 316.
CASTLES of the middle ages, I. 44; 314, 317, 313; III. 1026, 1027, 1029, 1031, 1032, 1044, 1053, 1056, 1060.
CASTLES, transformed into monasteries, IV. 86.
CATACOMBS, I. 401; contain symbols of peace only, III. 868; inscriptions in, IV. 611; Chateaubriand on, 612.
CATALDO, from Ireland, IV. 486.
CATANA, destruction of, II. 83.
CATECHUMENS, IV. 381.
CATHARI, III. 143.
CATHEDRAL of Sallsbury, I. 434; Florence, 435 ; Bari, II. 120; Fribourg, 670.
CATHEDRALS, means for their erection, I. 405 ; great historical facts, II. 30; Christmas and Easter service in, 81; what they prove, 128 : Cardan's observation on, 218; title, 433; served by monks, IV. 43.
CATHERINE St., of Bologna, body of at Bologna, I. 461; III. 421.
CATHERINE St., of Genoa, body of, I. 462.
CATHERINE of Lorraine, IV. 128.
CATHERINE St., of Sienna, her cell, I. 374; house, 426 ; II. 376, 693; III. 17, 19, 262, 1074; IV. 685.
CATHOLIC and ANGLICAN churches contrasted, I. 472.
CATHOLIC art, . 50.
CATHOLIC churches, ll are equal in, .. 451 · places for the Lame, 451.
CATHOLICITY and PROTESTANTISM compared, I. 269; promotes dignity among the people, 306; its monuments, 422.
CATHOLIC Countries, attractions of, I. 10
CATHOLIC life, beauty of, I. 350.
CATHOLIC religion, effect of, I. 254; suppresses passion, 281 ; advantage of to the State, 288 ; creative spirit of, 290 ; promotes dignity among the people, 306; enobles what otherwise appears common 342; II. 123: not a section Philosophy 43 : effect of on man, III. 603.
CATHOLIC States, composure of, . 286 care of public mora s in, 289; free states, I. 329; and non-Catholic states contrasted, 647, 648.
CATHOLIC teachers contrasted with pagan philosophers, II. 406
CATHOLIC teaching fits society or freedom, I. 263 ; enabling influence of, III. 626.
CATHOLIC temples, versus agan Sanctuaries, II. 64.
CATHOLIC tradition, influence of, I. 264.
CATHOLIC view. grandeur of, III. 624.
CATHOLIC wisdom and discipline, III. 573, 621, 622.
CATHOLICS, difficulties hey encounter, II. 657 ; under persecution, IV 567; legal isabilities of, 816.
CATO, advises to sell old slaves, I. 306 ; on a good Senator, 939.
CAUTINUS, vision of, I. 72.
CAVELLUS, Iugo. archbishop of Armagh, III. 492.
CAVILS of moderns, II. 284.
CAXTON, first patrons of, . 554; his apology for supplying omissions in a book, II. 414.
CEBES, IV. 31, 661.
CELESTINE Pope, I. 306; II. 460.
CELESTINE V. St., Pope, IV. 689.
CELIBACY of the clergy, I. 424; IV. 36.
CELLENSIS, Petrus. I. 97, 98, 716; III. 159, 189, 750.
CEMETERIES. I. 834, 835.
CEMETERY of St. Calixtus, 823
CENOBITES, IV. 58.
CENSURE, tendency to, II. 314.
CENTURIO, Adam, II. 552.
CENTURY, 10th vindicated, I. 17; darkness of, 354; not so bad as represented, II. 320.
CENTURY, twelfth, many books published in, I. 545.
CEREMONIES, derivation of, II. 36 St. Augustine on. 37; use f, 37; council of Trent on, 39; Sacraments of devotion, 39 addressed to the affections, 41; expressions used in them objected to, 42; of the heathens, 42; influence of, 41: what love of ndicates, 146.
CERINTHUS, III. 42.
CERTAINTY grounds of, III. 550 St. Augustin on, 550; resulting from aith, 553
CESARIUS St., of Arles, on charity III. 20; relieved the wants of prisoners, 68; interesting incident, 69; on the last udgment, 251.
CESLAS St., III. 198
CHAISE, Pere la, I. 218.
CHALICE of St. Henry, IV. 129.
CHALICES and vestments of saints, IV. 134.
CHALONS, Council of, I 231.
CHALONS, Count de, the church destroyer, III. 807
CHAMPAGNE, Guillaume de, II. 453.
CHAMPAUX, William de, III. 478.
CHAMPIER, Symphorien de, I. 597.
CHAMPIONS of the Church, IV. 614.

CHANTAL, Madam de, I. 51, 138, 323, 682, 786; III. 288, 289, 1074 ; IV. 688.
CHAPEL, an appendage to the Castle, I. 316.
CHAPELS and oratories in mountainous places, I. 400 ; erected on battle fields, 819.
CHARACTER created and molded by Christian faith, I. 71; esteemed more than talent, 233.
CHARITY, St. Augustin on, III. 10, 20 ; St. Thomas on, 11; Vincent of Beauvais on, 11; St. Bonaventure on, 11 ; St. Ambrose on, 18 ; St. Catherine of Sienna on, 19; its necessity, 20 ; Raban Maur on, 20 ; characteristic of Catholic manners, 34; cultivated, 43; an art, 44; adorned with variety, 47 ; Judicial sentences must conform to, 152 ; guides the Church, 153 ; not to be estimated by external acts, 228; preference in, 240 ; buys God's mercy, 243 ; benefits from, 251, 254 ; notable instance of, 286; saves rich and poor, 303; St. Francis on, IV. 387 ; power of, 570.
CHARLEMAGNE, dislike of ornamental apparel, I. 53; establishes tithes, 61; a capitulary of, 228; justice to the poor, 241 ; Fenelon on, 255; remarkable capitulary of, 269; his praises sung in public places, 301 ; reading at repasts, 322 ; church building, 421 ; looked after his poultry, 495 ; love of poetry, 524 ; zeal for learning, 559, 605 ; provides swimming baths near schools, 634 ; faith of, 703; favors a universal liturgy, II. 34 ; piety of, 134 ; pilgrimage to Tours, 215 ; aiding the clergy, 248 ; epistle of, 257 ; discouraged drinking at banquets, 340; grants immunities to the clergy, 439 ; forbids priests to bear arms, 459; decree concerning intestate priests, 466; Wedekinde, 569 ; and the Saxons, III. 198 ; alms distributed at his death, 206 ; forbids sorcery, 699 ; why he promoted classical learning, 738 ; prays for peace, 844, 926 ; expeditions of, 1025 ; claimed relationship to the founder of a monastery, IV. 127 ; chessboard of, 132; a clock presented to, 226 ; reasons for establishing monasteries, 487; reliance on prayer, 489 ; and Hildebold, 695 ; love for his sister, 869.
CHARLES, King, and the learned clerk, I. 573.
CHARLES, King, counselled by his Queen, III. 1073; rebukes a friar, 652.
CHARLES II., King of Naples, III. 71.
CHARLES IV., Emperor, IV. 870.
CHARLES IV., visits the Abbey of St. Denis, IV. 136.
CHARLES V. publishes the interim, I. 218 ; his minister refused to sign what he thought an unjust treaty, 239 ; ordered prayers for the delivery of the pontiff whom his own troops kept prisoner, 271 ; tears up a privilege he had granted, 300 ; collar of Golden fleece worn by, 476 ; petition of his lutheran subjects, II. 582 ; III. 129, 257 ; Sermon before, IV. 339.
CHARLES V. of France, I. 560, 784, II. 237, 334, 358; III. 61, 276; IV. 130.
CHARLES VI. of France, graces of, I. 175.
CHARLES VIII., virtues of, II. 332.
CHARLES abbot of Villers, IV 19, 316, 463.
CHARLES of Anjou, III. 71.
CHARLES the Bald, I. 238; III. 49, 59 ; collects editions of the Scriptures, 751 ; gift to St. Denis, IV. 129, 150, 261.
CHARLES le Chauve, III. 1065.
CHARLES, the good, II. 263 ; IV. 590.
CHARLES, the simple, III. 801.
CHARLES, Count of Blois, II. 239, 360.
CHARLES, Count of Flanders, II. 262.
CHARLES, Duke of Calabria, tomb of, II. 326.
CHARLES Borromeo, St., II. 467, 485 ; III. 685.
CHARLETAN, origin of the word, I. 301.
CHARMS condemned, III. 685.
CHARTER of a gift of land to a monastery, IV. 477.
CHARTERS to monasteries, IV. 488.
CHARTRES, Guillaume de, III. 419.
CHASE, the passion for, II. 362.
CHASTIN, Alain, I. 669.
CHASTITY, Greek praise of, II. 579.
CHATEAUBRIAND on Alphonso the wise, I. 254; on St. Louis, 255 ; Protestantism, 269 ; the grandeur of the ancient Church, 401; Catholicity and Protestantism, 422 ; traditions respecting our Lord and the Blessed Virgin, 507 ; truthfulness of Fleury, 571; the Martyrs, 595; visit to Sparta, 715; on death, 734; death of the humblest christian, 783; at early Mass, II. 139; christian women, 368 ; the saints, 550 ; prevalence of moral law, II. 635.
CHAUCER, his licentiousness, II. 306 ; on superstition, III. 678.
CHAUMOND, bishop of Lyons, IV. 650.
CHAUVRY, ancient Lords of, IV. 470.
CHERUBIM, III. 628.
CHERUBIM of Spoleto, II. 531.
CHEVALLIER'S, narrative Mont Serrat, IV. 507.
CHILDEBERT, constitution of, I. 275 ; IV. 265.
CHILPERIC and Fredegonde, IV. 453.
CHILPERIC exclaims against bishops, IV. 717.
CHIO, siege of, II. 326.
CHIVALRY two ideas of, I. 80 ; versus passion, 84 ; extravagance of, 87; what it resulted from, 174; made an instrument of religion, II. 242 ; emblems of, 243; orders of, 321 ; influence of the clergy on, 501; supported justice, 554 ; III. 409, 1008, 1009.
CHOISEUL, an enemy of the Holy See, I. 219.
CHONAN, John, I. 56
CHRIST, imitation of the perfection of religion, I. 696; hope in, II. 126; moderns read about, Catholics live with Him, 212; salvation through, 692–697, temptation of, III. 873.
CHRISTENDOM, what constitutes it, I. 219.
CHRISTIAN legislators, work of, I. 265, 266 ; poets, 515 ; religion, what it is, III. 132 ; Versus pagan heroes, 221 ; unity, 982.
CHRISTIANITY, commenced with the poor, I. 269 ; and human learning, I. 540 ; produced a new order of men, 687 ; renewed the face of the earth, II. 151.
CHRISTIANS, early devotion of, II. 30.
CHRISTIERN II. King of Denmark, infamous action of, IV. 269
CHRISTINE, Queen of Sweden, I. 467.
CHRISTMAS, observance of, II. 155, 175 ; gifts, origin of 175; observance of, 182, 184.
CHRODEGANG St., IV. 43.
CHROMATIUS frees his slaves, III. 100.
CHRONICLE of St. Gall, IV. 423.
CHRONICLE of Sens, IV. 243.
CHRONICLES of St. Denis, IV. 644.
CHRYSIPPUS, I. 29.
CHRYSOLOGUS, St. Peter, on serving the world, I. 187.
CHRYSOSTOM St., on humility, I. 41 ; riches, 43 ; danger of fine apparel, 53; presumption of the rich, 57 ; the dissatisfied rich, 57; hospitality to the poor, 65; St. Peter, 200 ; Rome, 359 ; sadness, 665 ; the present life, 687 ; letter to Olimpias, 705 ; sickness, 762 ; suffering, 844 ; repose, II. 45 ; music, 90 ; the sanctity of our altars, 115 ; the Church, 125 ; attendance at church, 148 ; frugal life of, 479 ; complains of Theophilus, 484 ; venerating the saints, 677 ; liberty of choice, 683 ; works of mercy, III. 20; compassion, 59 ; slavery, 97 ; alms, 243 ; relieving the poor, 245 ; pleasures, 403 ; Christian love and simplicity, 574 ; Providence, 657 ; finds a book of magic, 698 ; the real Presence, 762 ; monks, IV. 58 ; punished for his zeal, 356.
CHURCH, the wealth of consistent with spiritual poverty, I. 60 ; possessed property before the reign of Constantine, 60 ; received many offerings in the 10th century, 61 ; takes care of the poor, 34, 651 ; authority, 192 ; only one true, 192 ; definition and character of, 195 ; St. Cyril on, 196 ; Catholicity of, 196 ; the defender of freedom, 214 ; preserves independence and authority, 223.

teacher of kings and people, 225 ; her care for the people, 271, 272 ; despised for the same reason that Christ was, 279 ; spirit of, eminently social, 331 ; influence on the commercial prosperity of Christian Nations, 379 ; its unity and variety, 424 ; prays to be delivered from sadness, 660 ; protected strangers and pilgrims, 739 ; decree in behalf of shipwrecked persons, 739 ; vindicates the rights of dying criminals, 804 ; the infancy of, II. 30 ; wondrous skill in her offices, 78 ; associations of, 142 ; imparts dignity, 142 ; her ritual, 142 ; symbolizes nature, 144 ; her teaching, 660, 661 ; guided by charity, III. 153 ; her mercy and forbearance, 155, 156 ; how she judges men, 161; more tolerant than the State, 162 ; her spirit toward the erring, 163 ; tolerant spirit, 201 ; bounty to the poor, 263 ; her property the inheritance of the poor, 269 ; her adversaries, 447; her authority, 554 ; defined, 691 ; hostility to, 692 ; maintains liberty, 692. 693 ; internal freedom under pagan governments, 694 ; her imperial persecutors, 696 ; and the temporal power, 700 ; persecuted because of her independence, 796; opposition to, 797 ; her most bitter assailants, 806 ; of the middle ages, Church of Christ, 887 ; never dies, 889.

CHURCH building, contribution towards, I. 406 ; a substitute for canonical penance, 418 ; capitulary of Charlemagne regarding. 421 ; treaty regarding, 445.

CHURCH of clay built by St. Patrick, I. 402 ; of St. Riguier restored, 409 ; St. Tron, how built, 409 ; the Holy Sepulchre at Parma, 413 ; St. George at Rome, 420 ; St. Owen, 439 ; interior of a, 444 ; reverence inspired in, 445, 446, 447 ; san Apollinare in classe, 446 ; St. John Lateran, 44; St. Richerius, 451. 470 ; St. Michael in Gorganum, II. 50 ; of the abbey of St. Denis, IV. 141.

CHURCH ornaments, II. 71.

CHURCH pavements, I. 450.

CHURCH Sanctuaries contain the most precious Gems, I. 454 ; decoration and symbolism of, 465, 468.

CHURCH service, foundations for, II. 131; 132.

CHURCH sites, why and how chosen, I. 425, 426 ; picturesque situations of, 432, 433.

CHURCH Tower converted into a shot factory, I. 409.

CHURCHES not clubhouses built in the middle ages, I. 279 ; number of in France, Spain, England, 399 ; early erection of, 401; of Spain, their splendor, 402; of the tenth century, 402 ; in England and Scotland, 402 ; built by religious orders of knighthood, 412 ; by munificent families, 413, 414 ; on hallowed sites, 425, 426, 427; of the Cistercian order, 436; built so that those praying in them should face the east, 437 ; in Rome beauty of, 443; places in for the lame, 451; hermit cells in the towers of, 452; gifts to, 469 ; of the west neglected in the tenth century, 469 ; magnificence of the decoration of, 470 ; meetings for temporal purposes forbidden to be held in, 482 ; venerated by primitive christians, 484 ; asylums, 485 ; beauty, solemnity and peace of, 486 ; blessings received therein, 486; privilege of sanctuary, 487 ; safe asylums, II. 115; separation of men and women in, 116 ; respect paid to them by barbarians, 117 ; feeling inspired by worship in, 117 ; common to all, 125 ; beauty of, 126 ; Christ's sacramental presence in, 126; zeal for building, 128; sensible pleasure in, 129 ; conversions frequently occur in, 129 ; motives for going to, 131 ; monuments of the middle ages, 131.

CIANTES, Joseph, III. 184.

CIARDI, crime and forgiveness of, III. 63.

CIBOA, Catherine. III. 228; IV. 679.

CICERO, on avaricious men, I. 46 ; gifts from the gods, 102 ; portrait of a youth, 122 ; remark on Antony, 145 : divine law. 246 ; stoics and peripatetics, 249 ; the vulgar, 271 ; public speaking, 274 ; rural life of Roscius, 495 ; religion, 564; friendship, 644 ; order of duties, II. 230 ; medicine of the soul, 600 ; mind and body, III. 371 ; on chrysippus, 437 ; proverbs of the people, 561 ; immortality of the soul, 736; ruling men, 951.

CIRCUMCISION established as a rite, II. 42; feast of, 155.

CISTERCIANS, II. 32 ; character of, IV. 250..

CITEAUX, origin of, IV. 64; ancient abbey, church of, 112 ; its tombs, 167 ; tribute to, 255 ; originated the military orders, 467.

CITIES, privileges of many of them, I. 298 ; many of them founded by bishops and monks, 352, 353 ; celebrated for their great men, 357 ; interesting history of, 357 ; associated with apostolic men of the first century, 358; how much they owe to religion, 360 ; of Italy, 366 ; comparison between mediæval and modern, 367; notable for historical events, 374; ancients and mediæval compared, 376; Florence, Genoa, and Venice, 380; free from the modern spirit of avarice, 382; comparatively debased conditions of modern, 396; of Greece, life in, 496, devotion of to the Church, II. 273 ; of Italy make war on the Lords' of castles, III. 1037.

CIVIL power, harshness of, III. 60.

CIVILIZATION, modern, II. 329 ; ancient, 656; Johnson's criterion of, III. 304.

CLAIRVAUX, a description of, IV. 76 ; sanctity of its monks, 255.

CLARE St., her dead body, I. 611 ; IV. 726.

CLASSICAL authors, I. 544.

CLASSICAL studies, I. 27 ; III. 739.

CLEAN of heart, III. 375, 630, 631, 639.

CLEMANGIS, Nicholas de, III. 507.

CLEMENCY, the best security for kings, I. 241.

CLEMENS, Alexandrinus, St., I. 540; symbolic language, II. 64; luxury, 354 ; heathen philosophers, 622; trust in the Lord, 646 ; III. 383, 441, 448, 529, 550, 572, 574, 598, 613, 642, 644, 703, 737 ; IV. 39.

CLEMENT IV. reproves St. Louis for the passage of too severe a law, III. 1086 ; on the Franciscans and Dominicans, IV. 434; his love for the mendicant orders, 448.

CLEMENT V. Pope, I. 609, 796 ; II. 614 ; death of IV. 396.

CLEMENT VI. Pope, and Casimir, king of Poland, III. 489.

CLEMENT VIII. Pope, bull of, II. 84 ; humility of, 445 ; III. 281.

CLERGY, civil power of, I. 206 ; influence of, not rightly understood, 253 ; their influence, II. 424 ; celibacy of, 425, 426 ; distinction of dress, 426; condition of in the middle ages, 435 should be independent of the powerful, 435 ; venerated in Spain, 437 ; exemption from tribute, 439 ; should not bear arms, 450; of France, 461 ; zeal of, 462 ; community life, 468 ; manual labor among, 468 ; forbidden to engage in trade, 469 ; their practice of law and medicine forbidden, 470 ; called to the council of kings, 470 ; frugality of, 477 ; forbidden military trappings, 480 ; forbidden to keep hunting dogs, 482; games of dice forbidden, 482 ; banquets forbidden, 484 ; influence on chivalry, 501; clemency of, III. 54, 55; privileges of, 55 ; mercy to prisoners, 68 ; certain privileges abolished, 77 ; their influence, 401 ; secret of their moral power—of Gaul reformed by the popes, 1076; secular, IV. 148 ; regular and secular, 441, 442.

CLERGYMEN who were obsequious to princes, IV. 730.

CLERICAL frugality, II. 481 ; heroism, 491.

CLERMONT, council of, III. 1016.

CLIMACHUS, St. John, III. 36, 406.

CLISSON, Oliver, II. 558 ; III. 67.

CLOCK of the cathedral of Cambria, III. 653 ; of Glastonbury, IV. 122 ; presented to Charlemagne, 226.

CLOCKS invented in the 10th century, I. 14.

CLOISTER, advantage of, IV. 203; and court contrasted, 212.
CLOTHAIR, king, II. 118.
CLOTHAIR II, III. 959.
CLOTHAIRE III. IV. 472.
CLOUD St., IV. 304.
CLOVIS, place where he was instructed for baptism, I. 427 ; converts his palace into a church, II. 132; and St. Remy, III. 1092 ; diploma to the abbey of St. Denis, IV. 133 ; gifts to abbots, 469.
CLUNY, monastery of, I. 64, IV. 50, 75, 102, 103, 116, 214, 223, 229, 238, 254, 409, 467, 484.
COADJUTORS of Bishops, II. 432.
CODE, of Charondas, I. 170.
COCLES, Bartholomew, III.40.
CODRUS, I. 81.
COLETTE St., IV. 676.
COLIGNY and Poltrot, II. 649.
COLLATION, origin of, IV. 229.
COLLEGES, I. 53; in the 14th century, 608, 612 ; moral advantage of Catholic, 614; founded for the poor, 630; established by monastic institutions, 631; monastic rules of, 632 ; sciences, 632 ; in Louvain, III. 465 ; Douai, 465.
COLUAN St., IV. 486.
COLOGNE, III. 1001 ; its Archbishop and people, 1055.
COLOMBAN St., apostle of the Picts, IV. 648.
COLONNA, Giles, II. 355.
COLONNA, Vittoria, III. 899.
COLUMBA St., IV. 138, 630.
COLUMBAN St., on self conquest, I. 349 ; a poet, 517 ; Corporal austerities, 699 ; in Gaul, II. 486, at Besançon, III. 69 ; IV. 86, 133, 272, 532, 655, 687, 707.
COLUMBKILLE defends the Irish Bards, IV. 374 ; visions, prophecies, and death of, 394.
COLUMBUS, religious zeal of, II. 246 : IV. 466, 469.
COMBATS, Judicial condemned, III. 719, 1067 ; averted, 1068.
COMEDIES, ancient Spanish, II. 319.
COMEDY, Sacred, III. 205.
COMESTER, Petrus, III. 485.
COMMERCE in the middle ages, I. 241 ; forbidden to the clergy, II. 469.
COMMONS, House of, I. 241.
COMMUNION in the early ages, II. 251 ; frequency of, III. 770; IV. 381.
COMMUNITIES, bequests to, IV. 468.
COMMUNITY life, advantage of, IV. 38, 39 ; pagan appreciation of, 40.
COMPANY, good or evil effects of, IV. 40.
COMPLIN, II. 58.
CONCEPTION (immaculate) of the B. V. M., III. 977.
CONCEPTIONALISTS, III. 542.
CONCORDATS, none in the middle ages, I. 209.
CONDE, his castle of Ecouen, I. 314 ; gift to the church, etc., 468 ; IV. 670.
CONDILLAC, III. 607.
CONDORCET on feudalism, I. 297.
CONFESSION of sin, Plato on, II. 582; Origen on, 583; decrees concerning, 584 ; advantages, of 586 ; St. John Climachus on, 596 ; benefits of, 597 Pascal on, 601; Pride revolts against, 601; ancient, 602 ; philosophy of, 603 ; St. Bernardine of Sienna on, 605 ; modern objections to, 606.
CONFESSIONAL, influences of, II. 322, 582.
CONFLICTS, interior, II. 578.
CONFRATERNITIES for youth, II. 321 ; lay, IV. 462.
CONFRATERNITY of the white, III. 87 ; of St. Mary, 87 ; to aid the poor, 291 ; of the Miseracordia, 292 ; of St. Ursula, 293 ; of painters, 424 ; of peace, 1035 ; of builders, 1072.
CONFRERIE, de Notre Dame, I. 332.
CONGREGATIONAL singing in the early church, II. 105, 107.
CONJUGAL love, III. 898, 899.
CONRAD, Count, slain in a tournament, III. 1061.
CONRAD of Placentia, IV. 306.
CONRAD, Marquis, IV. 155, 296.
CONRAD, king, II. 135 ; IV. 263.
CONRAD II., emperor, III. 1687.
CONRAD and Eberhard, II. 328.
CONRAD, Archbishop of Salzburg, I. 216.
CONRAD, abbot of Fulda, IV. 464.
CONRAD, abbot of Engelberg, IV. 835
CONRAD, the legate at the Synod of Cologne, IV. 440.
CONRAD St., IV. 688.
CONRADIN of Brescia, III. 296.
CONSCIENCE, Hugo of St. Victor on, III. 589; purity of, 680 ; liberty of, III. 135.
CONSENTIUS on faith, III. 553.
CONSTANCE, treaty of, III. 956.
CONSTANCE, lines from Dante on, II. 374.
CONSTANCY, II. 139, 620.
CONSTANTINE, desired to exempt the clergy from taxes, I. 64 ; a decree in favor of the poor revoked by Julian, 66 ; humility of, 204; doctrine, 207 ; statues of, 363 ; privileges to schools, 610; exempted priests from tribute, II. 439, 479; and St. Antony, IV. 62.
CONSTANTINE, a monk, first translator of Arabic writings, III. 486.
CONSTANTINOPLE, mourning of Europe at the fall of, I. 695 ; works of art taken from, IV. 132.
CONSTANTIUS, emperor, I. 209.
CONTARINO, Andrew, II. 548, 638 ; III. 970.
CONTI, Prince de, III. 836.
CONTRACTUS, Hermann, III. 650 ; filial devotion of, 892; III. 486.
CONTROVERSIES, useless, III. 525.
CONTROVERSY, oral, not encouraged by the Church, III. 160 ; spirit of, 437 ; growing aversion for, 507 ; discouraged, 913.
CONVENT of the Franciscans at Rheims, I. 410 : of Frauenalb, IV. 89 ; of Dominicans at Sienna, 260 ; of St. Evroul plundered, 262 ; of Avanzazu, 855.
CONVENTS, influence of, II. 374; liberality of, III. 270; observations on, IV. 513 reform in, 238; of strict observance popular, 239 ; happy retreats for the melancholy, 284.
CONVERSATION of the author with a monk, I. 695.
CONVERSATIONS of monks, IV. 379.
CONVERSION of a Judge by a poet, II. 592 ; difficulties of, IV. 286.
CONVERT, a, experiences of, I. 694.
CONVERTITES, IV. 231.
CONVIVIALITY defined and commended, II. 354.
COPERNICAN system, III. 548.
COPERNICUS, III. 548.
CORADINO, Jerome Urabosco, III. 274.
CORAL, an emblem of beauty and force, I. 52.
CORBALS, symbolism of, I. 440 ; Hammer on, 441 ; ridiculous notions concerning, 441
CORBIERE, Peter de anti pope, III. 219.
CORBINIAN St., IV. 502.
CORBY, charitable regulations in, III. 271; annal of, IV. 244, 254,262, 424
CORDOVA, cathedral of, II. 871 ; III. 194.
CORNARO, Helena Piscopia, II. 397.
CORK, convent at, IV. 104.
CORNEILLE, melancholy of, I. 672.
CORNELIUS the painter, I. 476.
CORNELIUS St. Pope, II. 114.
CORONATION of an Emperor, III. 929.
CORONATION oath of Norman Princes, I. 242 ; ceremonial, 247.
CORONETS, cast away for the cross, 310.
CORPUS CHRISTI, festival of, II. 160.
CORSAIR yields to the generous monk, III. 111.
CORVINO, John de Monte, II. 495.
CORVINUS John, on his death bed, I. 787.
COSMA, the scholastic, IV. 191.
COSSA Belthasar, III. 219.

COTERELLI in France, III. 707.
COUCY, Sin de, IV. 1020.
COUCY, Thomas de, IV. 1031; family of, 1032.
COUNCIL of Chrodogong, I. 606; Epaone, II. 437; Macon, 437; Rheims, 447; Narbonne, 468; Agatha, 464; Orleans, 467; Rome, 468; Chalcedon, 469; Avignon, 469; Milan, 469; Carthage, 469; Arles, 474; Carthage, 478; Trent, 481; Agatha, 482; Maçon, 482; Toledo, 482; Arles, 496; Mayence, 497; Aix la Chapelle, 497; Clermont, III. 68; Gangra, 97; Adge, 108, 140; Epaone, 108, 140; Constance, 154; Sens, 480; Lateran, 509; Orange, 680; Arles, 632; Narbonne, 687; Milan, 687; Valence, 719; Lateran, 720; Mayence, 952; Nice, 981; Rheims, 1000; Lateran, 1003; Clermont, 1008; Placentia, 1015; Clermont, 1016; Milan, 1075; Trent, IV. 57; Arles, 781.
COUNSELS and precepts, IV. 450.
COUNSELLORS of the French parliament receive insignificant pay, I. 229.
COUNTENANCE of the moderns, I. 173: expression of, III. 377.
COUNTS, parties of, I. 228; professors of learning raised to the dignity of, 610; origin of the title, 610.
COUNTRY life favorable to integrity, I. 495.
COUR, Didin de la, IV. 227.
COURTESY promoted by Sanctity, I. 164; St. Ambrose on, 168; teaching of St. Francis, 169; of christian writers, 170; inspired by true christian spirit, 180.
COURTOIS, Gyron le, I. 88, 175, 177.
COWPER, on absence of war, III. 794; on value of prayer, IV. 48.
CRAMOËL, Matilda de, gift to an Abbey, I. 62.
CRATINUS, maxim of, I. 517.
CRENITUS, Petrus, on the Greek and Latin Fathers, I. 541.
CREO, Amorricus de, III. 869.
CREPI, count de, III. 835.
CRESCENTI James, III. 835.
CRIMES, national, indifference to, II. 21; brought into strong relief, 314; pecuniary conception for, III. 57.
CRIMINALS set free by the Cathedral chapter of Rouen, III. 223.
CRIQUE, Peter de la, IV. 242.
CRISPUS, an enterprising bishop, II. 453.
CRITICISM and censure, III. 31.
CRITICS, sectarian, I. 578; modern, contradictory charges of, III. 522.
CRITOLAUS' balance, I. 45.
CRODEGANGE, bishop of Metz, rules of, I. 74.
CROMWELL, III. 1060.
CROSS, the first person among christians who opposed its worship, I. 509; Paulicians oppose devotion to, 509; its use forbidden by the Turks, 510; sign of in early ages, II. 250, 251; the sacrifice of, 616; what it expresses in Egyptian hieroglyphics, 701; St. Thomas on, III. 523; by the wayside, 921; a miraculous appearance of, IV. 426.
CROSSES of wood and stone, I. 508.
CROWLAND, massacre of the Monks, IV. 109; burning of the abbey, 148.
CROYLAND, its ruins, I. 22; exemption from tax, IV. 275; abbot of, 367.
CROY-PORCIEN, Antoine de, IV. 808.
CRUCIFIX, best answer to modern objections, III. 444.
CRUCIFIXES of Charlemagne's time, I. 313; of gold weighing 900 lbs., 470; Suger places one of great value in the Church of St. Denis, 470.
CRUSADES, the movement of the people, 49; reflections on, 822; justification of, III. 190; why undertaken, 1015, 1017; fruits of, 1021.
CUNEGUND, Empress, IV. 482.
CUNEGUND, III. 940.
CUNO, a Monk, IV. 395.
CUOPHAU, Hadmar de, IV. 495.
CUPERTINO, St. Joseph de, IV. 685.
CUSTOMS, if false should be corrected, III. 441.
CUTHBERT St., IV. 517.
CUVIER Baron, mental cultivation in the middle ages, I. 354; cultivation of science, III. 644.
CYBREMONT, castle of, III, 1056.
CYPRIAN St., summary of Christians behavior, I. 190; the See of Rome, 201; on death, 806; Mass and holy Communion, II. 55; abandoned his wealth, 467; confession, 483; patience, III. 206; abundant alms, 252; patience, IV. 517; faith, 597.
CYRIL St., the Catholic Church, I. 196; the Supremacy of St. Peter, 200; Satan's offer to our Lord, 348; III. 51.
DACHERIUS, III. 760.
DAGOBERT'S gift to the Church, II. 113; tomb, II. 146.
DAGOBERT II. educated in Ireland, IV. 207.
DAMIAN, St. Peter, incident of his boyhood, I. 108: letter of, II. 344 · to Guilla, 390 to Empress Agnes, 398; on simony, 443; prescribes penance to a bishop, 483.
DANDOLA, II. 548.
DANES ravage Ireland and England, III. 801; in Ireland, IV. 106; destroyed monasteries, 109; persecutions by, 619.
DANIEL, monk of Villars, I. 121.
DANIEL, abbot of Sconavis, IV. 248.
DANIEL, Pere, on Paschal, II. 584.
DANTE, quotation from, I. 34; doom of the rich; simplicity in dress, 52; blessed spirits in paradise, 77; punishment of the proud, 78; misdirection of noble qualities, 91; delights succeeds the purging from sin, 91; youthful graces of St. Dominic, 108; hope of bliss, 186; sensible delights, 151; modesty of, 179; earthly desires, 191; heretics, 191; lines from, 239; man's duty, 281; quotation from, 330; the face of our Lord, 481; charms of his poetry, 497; Divine Comedy, popularity of, 526; esteem for his master, Brunetta, 626; at the university of Paris, 635; on age and grief, 656; in adversity, 676; on unholy desires, II. 25; the matin bell, 53, 58; vision of Paradise, 81; the B. V. Mary, 199, 201; selfish neutrality, 276; vision of the death of Beatrice, 419; love, 422, 423; conceives the idea of his power, 522; truth, 630; Christian life, 689; who shall enter paradise, 691; Salvation through Christ, 700; III. 16, 538, 540; on will of God, 571; felicity of heaven, 634; magicians in hell, 716; only evil to be dreaded, 730; church and scriptures, 754; Alexander, 819; IV. 33; influence of, 123; his burial place, 170; visit to the abbey of Corvo, 233; what is sought in the world, 299; gives an example of duty, 587; man's will, 663; the Decalogue, 874; obedience, 898; youth, 906.
DARK Ages, III. 591.
DAVID'S submission to the will of God, I. 152; punished for breach of faith, 250.
DAVID of Dinanto, III. 485.
DAVY, Sir Humphry, obedience to christian precepts, 1148; Pope Pius, VII. 205; chemical philosophers and alchemists, 573; *dialogues*, III. 150; the sentient principle, 375.
DEACONNESSES, II. 374.
DEAD the, how disposed of by the Parthians, I. 809; prayers for, 817; memory of on special days, 818; suffrages for, 820.
DEATH, reflections on, I. 753, 766, 767; an agent of mercy, 755; of the young, 759; Frederick Schlegel on, 760; Plato and Socrates on, 771; of the impenitent, 772; of Charles II., 772; of the Blessed, 774; many edifying instances of, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788; of blessed youths, 788; of St. Rusticule, 789; of the Ven. Paula, 789; christians

and pagans, 791; of monks, 791; of persons cited within a given time before the judgment seat of God, 795; of the martyrs of the Teutonic order, 797; of an Irish viceroy, 797; sudden, 798; of the good, 799; remarkable instances of spiritual assistance before, 805; St. Cyprian on, 806; St. Basil on, 806.
DEATH, Taper, I. 792.
DEBTOR stones in Italian cities, II. 665.
DEBTORS, among the visigoths, II. 661.
DECALOGUE, the first page of civil and criminal codes, I. 244.
DECEITFUL praise, I. 164.
DECIUS, Emperor, and St. Acacius, IV. 559.
DECORATION of Medieval Castles, I. 313.
DECRETALS, papal, I. 207; false, 207.
DEDATUS St., IV. 85.
DECORATION of churches, I. 436; office of, 483.
DEGREES of universities, I. 611.
DELPHONIUS, Petrus, IV. 49.
DEMOCRACIES, not inclined to mercy, III. 48, 50.
DEMOCRATIC spirit, rise of traced to the religious orders, IV. 457.
DEMON, the idea of, II. 646, 647.
DEMONISM, III. 688.
DEMONOLOGY, Monks on, IV. 399.
DEMOSTHENES on Plato, IV. 349.
DENIS, the Carthusian on hate, I. 643; III. 601.
DEPRAVITY clouds the intelligence, III. 430,
DERMBACH Balthasar, IV. 433.
DERRY, Radigois de, an Irishman, III.1031.
DESIDERIUS, III. 276; IV. 141, 266, 417, 519, 766.
DESIDERIUS King, reply to Charlemagne, III. 918; IV. 247.
DESIRE, Arthur, I. 534.
DESMARETS, John, noble character of, I. 230.
DETRACTORS, III. 29.
D'URFE, the first to elevate romance from barbarism, I. 530.
DEVIL the, his power on earth, I. 348.
DEVILS' Bridge, IV. 368.
DEVOTION, sensible delight in, I. 131.
DEZA, Diego, charity of, III. 240; assisted Columbus, IV. 466.
DIACONUS, Petrus, III. 419.
DICÆOPOLIS, exclamation of, I. 658.
DIDIER St., IV. 656, 689.
DIÉ St., Bishop of Nevers, IV. 515.
DIEGO de stella, I. 492.
DIES IRAE, authorship of, II. 33, 96.
DIGBY, Father Eugenius, IV. 845.
DILIGENCE of certain princes, I. 258.
DINA, Hugo de, prediction of, III. 724.
DIOGENES, exclamation, II. 474.
DIOGENES, the Sinopian, IV. 287.
DIONYSIUS, the Arcopagite, III. 476.
DIONYSIUS, advice to writers, I. 92; on Romulus, 245, 357; IV. 65; on Roman abstemiousness, III. 581, 659.
DIONYSIUS St., of Alexandria, III. 158; IV. 614.
DIONYSIUS, the Carthusian, I. 585; III. 925, 926.
DIOTESAL VI. erected the baptistery at Florence, I. 448.
DIPLOMA to the church of St. Saviour, II. 145.
DIPLOMAS, ancient, IV. 133; carefully examined and forged ones destroyed, 133.
DISCIPLINE want of, I. 616.
DISCORD, breeders of, III. 1066.
DISOBEDIENCE is sin, I. 182; Eve's, 184; tendency to, 186.
DISORDER and insurrections, III. 807.
DISPUTES of the schoolmen, III. 915.
DITHMAR, III. 382.
DIVINATION forbidden, III. 683; laws and decrees against, 685.
DOCTORS of divinity, monastic and secular, IV. 440.
DOCTRINAL, of wisdom, III. 20.
DOG, wonderful action of a, III. 126.
DOGES of Venice, III. 769, 770; became Monks, IV. 293.
DOGS of Britain, excellence of, I. 327; belonging to the castle of Rhodes, 747.
DOGS for hunting forbidden to Monks, IV. 238.
DOLLINGER on freedom of the Church, IV. 694; on Pope Gregory, VII. 759.
DOLORES and her brothers, II. 371.
DOMENICHINOS painting of the Conversion of St. Jerome, I. 172.
DOMESTIC economy and simplicity, III. 884.
DOMESTIC life, II. 408.
DOMINIC St., his childhood, I. 108; and St. Francis, II. 311; Third order of, II. 241; charity of, III. 110; and the Albigenses, 167, 169; sells his books for the benefit of the poor, 284; miracles of, 662; IV. 250; his respect for other religious orders, 434; his humility, 570; reviled, 664.
DOMINICAN preachers, II. 530; zeal in writing and collecting books, IV. 172; convent at Sienna, 260; Convent saved from pillage, 271.
DOMINICANS in the 13th century, I. 553; defend the Indians, III. 117; as peacemakers, 1116; who became cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, IV. 43; interments in their churches, 159. 434; friendliness to the Jesuits, 434; protect the Indians, 406, martyrs, 631; sermons of, 655; Third order, 697.
DOMINICUS, surnamed Loricatus, II. 444.
DOMNOLUS St., hospitality of, II. 482,
DONATI, II. 253.
DONATUS, Francis, II. 548.
DON JUAN Byron's and Moliere's, II. 302.
DORIA Andrus, II. 639; III. 31, 115, 260.
DORIA family, munificence of, I. 413.
DORIA Lucian, III. 1012.
DORIA Obertus, III. 1012.
DORIAN'S love of obedience among, I. 266; prohibited traveling, 722.
DORIC architecture, Muller's observation on, I. 474.
DORIC race inclined to merriment, I. 539.
DOROTHEA St., pilgrimage, II. 29, 380; prediction of, 383.
DOWER to young maidens, III. 265.
DOWRIES in the middle ages, II. 409.
DRAGUTHES the Corsair, III. 115.
DRAMA, the christian, I. 537.
DRAMATIC literature, III. 415.
DRAMATIC representation, first in England, I. 538.
DRAMATISTS of the Elizabethan era, IV. 840.
DREAMS, III. 725, 726.
DRESS, simplicity in, I. 52.
DREXELIUS, his book on conformity to the will of God, I. 152; on self-will, 185; on fasting, 702; mercy, III. 95; tolerance, 205; patience, 207.
DRINKING and swearing in England after the reformation, I. 632.
DRITHELIN St., vision of, I. 769.
DROCTULFUS, the Longobard, III. 880.
DROGO, Bishop of Metz, IV. 244.
DROSIUS Charles, cruelty and pride subdued, III. 123.
DUBLIN, generosity of its mayor, IV. 471.
DUELLING in the middle ages, III. 1066.
DUKE a, becomes a monk, IV. 314.
DUGUESCLIN Regnaud, I. 309.
DUGUESCLIN, on his death bed, I. 177; deliverance of, 240; chant on the death of, 305.
DUNGALL, an Irish hermit, I. 452; IV. 504.
DUNIN, Martin de, IV. 858.
DUNS SCOTUS, on justice, II. 23; III. 492; defended the Immaculate Conception, 493; death of, 494; sepulchre of, 496; his profundity, 497; Tennemann on, 497; on science, 546; faith, 555; exclusion of doubt, 562; knowledge, 621; the scriptures, 754; union with God, 774; tomb of, IV. 163, 193.
DURANDUS on church mysticism, II. 66; epitaph of, 229.

DURANDUS a carpenter, III. 1070.
DURANDUS Wilham, III. 471, 505.
DUNSTAN St., Poet and musician, I. 516; orders a punishment, III. 58; remarkable incident, 674; IV. 647.
DURER Albert, his representations of melancholy, I. 677.
DURHAM, origin of, I. 352; book of benefactors, 455.
DURVELLE, St. Theresa's old and new convent at, IV. 114.
DUSBURG, Peter, I. 587.
DUTY, pursuit of, II. 279 ; versus inclination, 578; knowledge of, III. 567; an illustration of, IV. 587.
DYING bequests, III. 302, 303.
DYING, prayers of notable persons, II. 698.
EADBALD, King of Kent, II. 487.
EARLY rising, II. 151.
EARNESTNESS in the middle ages, II. 652.
EARTHLY triumphs do not satisfy, II. 26.
EARTHQUAKE at Catana, II. 138.
EAST, why we face it in praying, I. 437, 438.
EASTER, time for its celebration, II. 159 ; observance of, 175 ; gifts to the poor, 176 ; celebration of, 177, 178; in Rome, 180 ; joy of, 222, 225, 226, 227, 228.
EBERHART, Archbishop of Salzburg, II. 451.
EBON, Bishop of Rheims, I. 414.
EBRARD, Count of Breteuil, IV. 319.
ECCELINO, reproved by St. Anthony, II. 489 ; 555 ; cruelty of, III. 66, 90 ; advised by astrologers, 677 ; beastly character of described, 807, 1007.
ECCELINO, II. III. 1063.
ECCLESIASTICAL and Civil power distinct, I. 208.
ECCLESIASTICAL courts, III. 55 ; reject extorted confessions, 60.
ECCLESIASTICAL exemptions, II. 438 ; promotions, 440.
ECCLESIASTICAL year, order of, II. 163.
ECCLESIASTICS condemned for imposing capital punishment, III. 137 ; talent of for political government, 937.
ECDICIUS, III. 1010.
ECKEHARD, III. 254 ; IV. 197.
ECKEHARD III., death of, IV. 414.
ECSTASY, instances of, III. 781.
EDBURGER St., IV. 579.
EDICT of Nantes, revocation of, I. 218.
EDICT of, 1512, III. 162.
EDMUND St., I. 620; his school life, 623 ; II. 450, 510.
EDUCATION, evil effects of, if bad, I. 90; ancient views of, 104; modern practices, 104; Plato's view of, 105; Socrates comparison, 105 ; Fichte on, 126 ; objects of, 127 ; Plato on, 127 ; importance of, 245 ; object of in the middle ages, 612; in foreign countries, 613 ; wholly free at Rome, 629 ; and example, force of, III. 430 ; in ages of faith, 589 ; modern, 590; gratuitous, IV. 204.
EDWARD King, slain at Corpgate, I. 257.
EDWARD the Confessor, his death warning, I. 794 ; clemency of, III. 61; grants land in England to an abbey in France, IV. 486.
EDWARD I. King, I. 254.
EDWARD III. in a dreadful storm, I. 400 ; death of, 809 ; time of, III. 812 ; and Philip of Valois, 832, 969.
EDWARD IV., King, II. 663.
EDWIN St., IV. 585.
EGEBRICUS, a monk of Durham, IV. 368.
EGINHARD'S letter to his son at school, I. 621.
EGIQUEZ King, at Council of Toledo, I. 204.
EGWIN St., IV. 656.
EIGIL, abbot of Fulda, II. 333.
EILBERT, Count, II. 252; IV. 92.
EINSEIDELN, abbey of, I. 427, 448, 718; III. 271; IV. 102, 142, 275, 423.
ELEANORE Queen, to Pope Celestine, IV. 645 ; to the Archbishop of Mayence, 660.
ELECTIONS, ecclesiastical freedom of, IV. 467.
ELEVATED places chosen for residence, I. 311.
ELFRIC, Abbot, to Wulstan, II. 676 ; III. 418.
ELIE, general of the Franciscans, IV. 677.
ELIGIUS St., sketch of, I. 340 ; sermons of, II. 502 ; death of, 509 ; purchased slaves to set them free, III. 105 ; miracles of, 663 ; and Dagobert, IV. 476 ; preaches to the Flemmings, 622.
ELIZABETH, Queen, II. 649.
ELIZABETH St., her visits to the poor, III. 248 ; her glove, 289 ; care for lepers, 353 ; and her husband, 894 ; IV. 664.
ELIZABETH St., of Portugal, III. 1074.
ELLIS William, IV. 580.
ELMO St., III. 305.
ELPIDEUS, a hermit, I. 438.
ELPHEGE St., III. 104, 277.
ELY, statement in ancient chronicles of, I. 15; dedication of the church of, I. 435.
EMBLEMS mistaken for realities, III. 673.
EMBRIACO, Guilelmo, III. 1012.
EMMANUAL, King of Portugal, III. 49.
EMMERIAN St., IV. 649.
EMPEDOCLES on incredulity, III. 672.
EMPEROR, and deacon, II. 137; coronation of an, III. 929.
EMPERORS and Kings devoted to the Church, II. 948 ; of Constantinople, III. 945.
EMPLOYMENTS, National, I. 339.
ENDURANCE, value of, 578.
ENGELBERT, Abbot of St. Gall, III. 1048.
ENGELBERT, Archbishop of Cologne, III. 1049, 1097.
ENGIPIUS, Abbot, III. 11.
ENGLAND, her glory in the middle ages, I. 10 ; memorial of Catholicity, 21 ; too fair to be forever lost, 24 ; Catholic customs still preserved in, 25 ; church architecture, 423 ; oratories destroyed during the reformation, 502; conquest of by William, II. 290 ; intolerance in, III. 200, 203; wars with France, 984; first monks of, IV. 214; bishops who suffered there for the faith, 809; priesthood treason, 844.
ENGLISH bishops, letter of to the Pope, IV. 733.
ENGLISH, Franciscans, IV. 193.
ENGLISHMEN of to-day, IV. 895.
ENGLISH poetry, Frederick Schlegl on, I. 25 ; poets of the middle ages, 528.
ENGRAVING dates from the 14th century, I. 14.
ENGUERRAND, III. 807.
ENRIQUE, IV., generosity of, I. 258.
EPAMINONDAS, II. 278.
EPHREM St., I. 702, 707 ; II. 115, 217; IV. 287.
EPICTETUS, I. 144, 224; II. 259; III. 14, 875 ; IV. 31, 667.
EPINOY, Princess of, II. 394.
EPISCOPAL burial in the 13th century, I. 811 ; munificence, II. 477.
EPIPHANIUS, I. 63.
EPITAPH, on Sir Philip Sidney, I. 827 ; on the black prince, 827 ; on Edward the Confessor, 827; on the Earl of Eu, 828 ; in the abbey of St. Alban, 828; on Tasso, 828; of Adam of St. Victor, IV. 165.
EPITAPHS, variety of modern, I. 827 ; III. 971, 972, 973.
ERASMUS on St. Jerome, I. 27 ; regrets of, 79 ; and Luther, II. 682; III. 435, 447.
ERDICII, of Burgundy, III. 277.
ERIC, King of Sweden, III. 711; IV. 619.
ERIGENA, John Scotus, III. 159, 475, 477, 515, 534, 578, 617 ; on the Eucharist, 761.
ERLUIN and Guibert, IV. 414, 464.
ERLUPH St., IV. 622.
ERMINOLD Abbot, IV. 765.
ERNEST Archbishop of Cologne, III. 1055.
ERROR, sources of, III. 431.
ERUDITION, disingenuous use of, III. 437.
ESCURIAL, origin of, I. 483 ; convent of, IV. 108.
ESKILL, a bishop in Sweden, IV. 622.
ESSAI, Abbot, III. 384
ESSARTS, Gilbert des, captivity of, III. 114.

ESTE, family of, II. 554; heroes of the house of, 560; Marquis of, IV. 170.
ESTEBANEZ, Diego, IV. 858.
ETHELDITA St., II.366.
ETHICS, a good system of, II. 658.
ETRUSCANS offered honey to Aurora, II. 32.
EU, Countess of, II. 370.
EUCHARIST, the holy, III. 759; effect of, 768, 769; purgation by, 910.
EUCHER'S letter to Valerian, I. 489.
EUCHERIUS St., warning of, 285; IV. 647.
EUDES, Count of Corbeil, III. 807.
EUDOCIA, IV. 491.
EUDOXIA, I. 461.
EUGENE, Bishop of Carthage, I. 65; IV. 694.
EULOGIUS, Archbishop of Toledo, IV. 630.
EUNOE, stream of, II. 331.
EURIPIDES ideal of a pious youth, I. 130; represents kings as miserable men, 308; on the tomb of Alcestis, 822; portrait of Hippolytus, III. 581.
EUROPE, now covered with military institutions, III. 818.
EUSICE St., IV. 519.
EUSTACHE Count, IV. 87.
EVE, her guilt, II. 372.
EVERHARD becomes a monk, III. 835.
EVENING, IV. 868.
EVIL for evil we must not return, I. 87; nature of, 349; the absence of good, 490; insensibility of men to, 691; voluntary, II. 682; seat of in the heart, III. 439.
EVODA, a pious and beautiful youth, I. 128.
EVRAULD, IV. 92.
EXAMPLE, value of instruction by, I. 18.
EXCOMMUNICATION, II. 318; III. 137, 138, 140.
EXILES of the reformation, II. 139; received at monasteries, IV. 278.
EXPERIMENTAL science, III. 546.
EXTREME UNCTION, I. 801.
EXUPERUS St., sells church vessels to redeem slaves, III. 104, 977.
EZELINUS, pious children of, II. 366.
FABA, Jerome, III.653.
FABIAN Pope, and the emperor, Philip, II. 584.
FABIOLA, foundress of the first hospital, III. 306.
FABLIAUX, reflections suggested by, II. 304.
FAIRS associated with religious festivals, I. 387; in England, 388; of St. Denis, 388.
FAITH molds the character of nations and of men, I. 71; resources of, 153; sanctifies sorrow, 154; of the poor, 270; its basis, 590; conserves stability and social order, 651; its advantages, II. 144; the fruit of zeal, 281; and materialism, 574; lost by sensuality, III. 430; and reason, 549, 556, 564; human, 554; Richard of St. Victor on, 553, 555; St. Anselm on, 555; St. Thomas on, 555; precedes knowledge, 555; Dcun Scotus on, 555; divine principle of, 555; Bossuet on, 555; of a simple believer, 564; life of, 575; effect of its loss on the public mind, 602; the Catholics distinction, 617; opposed to superstition, 676; absence of, IV. 551; St. Cyprian on, 597; mother of virtues, 876.
FALCANDO, Hugo, letter of, III. 829.
FALCONRY practiced early in Asia, I.327.
FALE St., III. 69, 106.
FALKENSTEYN of Treves, III. 1054.
FALL of man, II. 232.
FALSE prophets condemned, III. 725.
FALSEHOOD in modern life, II. 631.
FAME, heathen estimate of, I. 93.
FAMILY, antiquity prized by the Romans, I. 303; extinction dreaded by the Greeks, 329; purity and holiness, II. 365; catholic life, III. 890, 891.
FAMILIES, remarkable for holiness, II. 366.
FAMINE in Lyons, III. 293.
FANNIA, a Roman matron, II. 387.
FANO, John of, IV. 331.
FARICEO, Monk of Arezzo, I. 506.
FAST DAYS, institution of, II. 167.
FASTING, St. Jerome and St. Columban on, I. 69; fruits of, 702; of the saints, 703; in the middle ages, II. 167; a discipline moral and medicinal, 168; St. Augustine on, 169; and abstinence expedient, IV. 221.
FATALISM, evil of, II. 682; opposed to Catholic morality, 683.
FATHER, effects of a wicked, II. 290.
FATHERS, Greek, of the Church, imitate Homer and Demosthenes, I. 540; merits of, III. 533; erudition of, 557; individual teaching of, 615.
FAUSSART, Guillemette, IV. 506.
FAUSTUS, Abbot of Lerins, II. 478.
FAVENTINUS, Baptist, III. 223
FAXARDO, Diego Savedra, I. 52; his travels, 723.
FEAR, human, deliverance from, II. 249; of Eternal punishment, 687; of God, III. 380.
FEAST, days of Saints, II. 121; days of mercy, 164.
FEAST, of all Souls, where first celebrated, IV. 154.
FELICITA St., painting of, I. 476.
FELIX Minucius on future rewards and punishments, I. 590.
FELIX, a bishop of great enterprise, II. 453.
FELIX, Priest and martyr, II. 468.
FELIX, de Valois III. 199; IV 627.
FELTRO, Guido da Monti, IV. 307.
FEMALE character, graces of, II. 368.
FEMALE devotion, II. 123.
FENELON, on church authority, I. 199; the Gallican church, 221; letter to the duke de Chevreuse, 258; on Charlemagne, 255; on the people, 270; on veneration of relics, 465; Telemachus, 515; on Pelisson, 686; letters to the Marquis de Seignelai, II. 29; exclamation of, 442; tribute to, 451; warning against certain reasoners, III. 526; IV. 650, 665, 667, 690, 819, 865.
FERDINAND, King, gift of shoes to the clergy, II. 435; edifying death of, III. 409; at the monastery of St. Facundus, IV. 265.
FERDINAND II. Emperor, I. 258; II. 246.
FERDINAND III. Emperor, a great linguist, I. 561.
FERDINAND III. of Spain, II. 334.
FERDINAND IV. of Spain, death of, I. 796; educated without luxury, II. 360.
FERNANDEZ of Toledo, bold frankness of, I. 229.
FERNANDO, the Catholic king, punishes an oppressor, I. 49, 52; diligence of, 258.
FERNANDO, the great, dying words of, I. 245; piety of, 258.
FERNANDO, King of Leon, III. 128.
FERNANDO, the Saint, at the Siege of Seville, I. 252.
FERRARIS Hieronymus de, III. 498.
FERREOL and Aetius, III. 1068.
FERRIER William, III. 258.
FERNES, Henry de, I. 418.
FERRACIUS, I. 404.
FERRAND, dom, Paul, I. 777.
FERRARA, Princes of, I. 256; memories of, 397.
FESTIVAL plays, II. 185; adornments, 186.
FESTIVALS, Christian origin of, II. 154; great, 182; abuses of, 188; spirit of, 189; by whom objected to, 209; blessings of to the poor, 210; their suppression, 210; conduces to faith, 212; celebrated in the spirit of the Church, 213; advantages of, 216.
FESTIVALS of the Saints, II. 160; how honored, 165.
FESTIVITIES, modern, II. 187.
FEUDAL Castles, I. 311; social life in, 318; hospitality of, 321; pious duty of the porters, 328.
FEUDAL life, II. 351.
FEUDAL nobility compared with modern men of rank, I. 304; different views regarding, 307; moral elevation of, 329; hospitality of, 329.
FEUDAL oath refused by the clergy, IV. 698.

FEUDAL system, derivation of the term, I. 297 ; relations between sovereign and vassal, 297.
FICHTE on heroism, I. 82 ; on philosophy and painting, 480 ; on self-denial, 699 ; on the reward of the heroic, II. 567.
FICINIUS Marsilius, on the virtues of his age, II. 317 ; on conviviality, 354 ; to Cardinal Riario, 446 ; defended freedom of will, 684 ; on lovers of pleasure, III. 14 ; beauty of the world, 43 ; to Lorenzo de Medici, 243 ; on charity to the poor, 260 ; philosophic views of, 508 ; on philosophy, 517 ; love of eternal things, 587 ; what the Catholic is, 617 ; epistles of, 627 ; to Lorenzo de Medici, 637 ; miracles, 669 ; devotion to Plato, 741 ; on our Lord, 742 ; on obedience to princes, 954 ; IV. 54.
FIDELIS St , death of, IV. 810.
FIEFS, origin of, I. 297.
FILIAL devotion, II. 344.
FILIAL love, III. 892.
FILIAL obedience in Greece and Rome, II. 342 ; in the middle ages, 343.
FILIBERT St., abbot of Jumieges, III. 107.
FINGAR, son of an Irish King, IV. 623.
FINGEN, an Irish abbot, IV. 487.
FIRES lighted on the eve of St. John, II. 186.
FISHER to Henry VIII, IV. 650.
FITZJAMES, Francis de, bishop of Soissons, IV. 654.
FLAMEL, Nicholas, I. 408, 454, 520 ; III. 316.
FLAMMINIO, Mark Antonio, poet, I. 534.
FLATTERERS, Plutarch's saying of, I. 88.
FLAVIAN persecuted, IV. 694.
FLESH diet, use of abused, II. 169.
FLEURY on the use of churches, I. 445 ; magnificence of christian churches, 456 ; on Plato, 591 ; censured, III. 36 ; on conventual relaxation, IV. 239.
FLISCA, Jerome, and Sinibald, II. 551.
FLORENCE, numerous trade societies in, I, 332 ; memorial of notable events, 375 ; wealth of, 380 ; munificence of its citizens, 380 ; its memories and treasures, 397 ; divine service in, II. 71, 81 ; stamp of religion on every thing in, 272 ; society for boys, 321 ; men of renown in, 321 ; its great men, 547 ; hospitality in, III. 259 ; in time of famine, 285 ; and Pisa, 1004.
FLORENCE, Dominique de, Archbishop of Toulouse, III. 136.
FLORENTINUS, jealousy of, IV. 439.
FLORUS, the deacon, II. 684.
FLUE Nicholas, von der, IV. 271.
FOIX, count de, I. 321 ; IV. 130.
FONTAINES, IV. 86.
FONTEVRAULD, IV. 91 ; 154.
FOOD of religious, IV. 223.
FORANNAN, Archbishop, IV. 94.
FOREIGN countries, advantage of studying in, III. 470.
FORESTS given up to outlaws, IV. 83.
FORM and matter, III. 543.
FORMOSUS and Pope Stephen VII., I. 204.
FORRESTER John, buried at Southfield, IV. 813.
FORTESCUE, Sir John, on the happy condition of the people of England, I. 304.
FORTUNATUS St., Author of the Vexilla Regis, I. 515.
FORTUNATUS, Brother, III. 1118.
FORTUNE, instability of, I. 681.
FOSCARA, Francis, II. 638.
FOSCHERARI, Gilles, III. 268.
FOSCO. Bernardino de, I. 89.
FOULQUES, preaching of, II. 510.
FOUNDLING hospitals, III. 321, 322.
FOUNDLINGS invested with rights of free citizens, III. 321 ; increasing numbers of, 323.
FOURVIÈRES, view of, I. 503.
FOWL, as food among religious, IV. 223.
FRACASTOR, physician and astronomer, I. 598.
FRANCE, civility of its people in the 14th century, I. piness of its poor, 304 ; early poets of, 523, 524 ; kings of, encourage learning, 560 ; literature of from the 5th to the 10th century, 568 ; title of its kings, II. 249 ; science in, III. 473 ; sanctity of her religious houses, IV. 254 ; opposition to the Church in, 725.
FRANCES St., II 392.
FRANCIS St., of Assisium recommends cheerfulness, I. 138 ; a poet, 517 ; oldest Italian poet, 518 ; forbade excessive severity, 705 ; death of, 81 ; his dead body, 8120 ; on proper avity, II. 348 ; converts three robbers, 490 ; directs brevity in preaching, 511 ; effects of his preaching, 520 ; respect for priests, 523 ; sermon at Spoleto, 527 ; success of his preaching, 532 ; sermon of Rufinus, 535 ; tenderness to animals, III. 24 ; on conversing with the poor, 230 ; the bread of beggars, 248 ; sorrow for refusing an alms when a youth, 254 ; how he dined with a Roman Gentleman, 280 ; humility of, 379 ; painting of receiving the stigmata, 422 ; and the birds, 38 ; persuasive power of, 1110 ; IV. 19 ; rule of, 250 ; portrait of, 358 ; and Bernard Quintavalle, 414 ; to his friars, 439 ; gives his mantle to satisfy another's debt, 456 ; gift from Orlando, 475 ; sermons, 475. 573 ; receives reports from his friars, 656 ; in the camp of the crusaders, 683 ; reviled, 685 ; tells what is the perfect joy, 830.
FRANCIS St., third order of, II. 241.
FRANCIS St., Borgia, youth of, II. 346 ; IV. 690.
FRANCIS St., Girolamo, IV. 657.
FRANCIS I., I. 218 ; IV. 157.
FRANCIS St., of Paul, IV. 653.
FRANCIS St., Regis, II. 245, 522, 532 ; miracles at his tomb, III. 663 ; IV. 657, 689.
FRANCIS St., of Sales, pulpit from which he preached, I. 448 ; humility of, II. 454 ; on love, III. 14.
FRANCIS St., of Soriano, IV. 461.
FRANCIS St. Xavier, II. 116 ; conversions by, 490 ; confession to, 496 ; miracles of, III. 662 ; IV. 625, 797.
FRANCISCANS in the 13th century, I. 553 ; generally chaplains of regiments, III. 1003 ; churches in London, IV. 106 ; the first in England, 113 ; convent at Mafra, 114 ; interments in the church of, 159 ; zeal in collecting and writing books, 172 ; tributes of Pope Urban IV. to, 250 ; Tuscan noblemen join, 296 ; befended by a Dominican, 434 ; and the kings of Castile, 467 ; own no property, 472 ; can't accept certain bequests, 473 ; convent in Cork, 494, 497 ; martyrs, 631 ; James and Philip, 651 ; sermons of, 655 ; Third order, 697 : martyrs, 881 ; convent in Cavan, 845 ; in Greenwich, 845 ; murdered in Madrid, 852.
FRANGIPANNI, family of, III. 279.
FRANKS, wars of, III. 800 ; claim to be pacific, 809.
FRANZ, abbot of St. Gall, IV. 244.
FRASCADE, wife of Tancred de Hauteville, II. 405.
FRATERNITIES, early christian institution of, I. 332 ; of the Holy Trinity, 333 ; of various trades, 334 ; hospitals aided by, 334 ; rules of, 335 ; patrons of, 335 ; in 1335, II. 241.
FRATRACELLI, III. 700.
FRATRES, Conscripti, I. 333.
FRAUD, more hateful than force, II. 639.
FRAUENALB, convent of, IV. 89.
FREDEGARD, monk of Corby, III. 476.
FREDEGONDE, IV. 648.
FREDERICK, Barbarossa, grants special privileges to students, I. 610 ; on fountains and hospitals, III. 331 ; and the camaldolese, IV. 520 ; interesting proposal of, 726.
FREDERICK II. and Catana, III. 46 ; cruelty of, 128 ; took counsel of astrologers, 677 ; death of, 709 ; IV. 726, 727.
FREDERICK III. emperor, III. 963 ; sepul[illegible] 158.

FREDERICK St., Bishop of Utrecht, IV. 649.
FREE CITIES, rise of, III. 807.
FREE LABOR, IV. 230.
FREE WILL, doctrine of confirmed by Pope Nicholas I., I. 684; Richard of St. Victor on, 685.
FREEDOM, defended by the Church, I. 214; society fitted for by Catholic teaching, 263; in Catholic monarchies, 263; what it is, 293; noble ideas of, inspired by the christian religion, II. 640; of will denied by Calvin, 683; guarded by the Church, III. 591.
FRENCH, the, familiar with the scriptures, III. 752.
FRENCH sophists of the 18th century, I. 57.
FRESBORN Ralph, first carmelite in England, IV. 294.
FRESCO, in the church of Assisi, IV. 829.
FREYBURG, piety in, II. 138.
FRIARS, a story of, II. 364; pacific labors of, III. 1111.
FRIENDS, thieves of time, I. 347
FRIENDSHIP, apostrophe to, I. 637; between the good, 637; truth and simplicity essential to, 638; promoted by religion, 638; meekness conduces to, 639; christian and pagan, 640; examples of in literature, 642; of Saints, 643; natural and spiritual, 649; pleasure of enjoyed by the meek, 650; IV. 642.
FRISINGEN, OTHO VON, 213.
FRUCTUOSA, Bishop of Tarregona, II. 663.
FRUGALITY of the clergy, II. 477.
FRUNDSBERG, George de, III. 130.
FULBERT, Bishop of Chartres, III. 1035, 102
FULCHER, Geoffry, IV. 869.
FULCO, Archbishop of Rheims, III. 988.
FULCO, Count of. Anjou, I. 482, 558; III. 283, 977.
FULDA, celebrated college of, I. 604, 606; abbey of, IV. 42, 64; abbot of deposed, 243 jurisdiction of the abbot of, 244.
FULGENTIUS, advice to clergymen, II. 468.
FULGOTIUS, Octavianus, II. 638.
FULLER, confession of, I. 125; on the innovating preachers, II. 529 envy of. 655; on the Lord's Prayer, 690; preaches revenge, III. 200.
FUNERAL abuses forbidden, I. 814.
FUNERALS, alms distributed at, III. 256.
FURCY'S St., death, I. 796.
GALATEA, Antonio, III. 216, 434, 754.
GALEN, great authority of, I. 572; his maxim on utility, II. 564; his view of men, III. 814.
GALESWINTHE, wife of Chilperic, IV. 603.
GALILEO, III. 548, 558; IV. 596.
GALL St., II. 499 · sermon of, IV. 363; labors of, 367.
GALL St., monks of, II. 343; IV. 85, 192, 197, 198, 200.
GALLA, Placidia, vow of I. 407.
GALLICAN St., III. 308.
GALLICAN liberties, origin of, I. 219; real servitudes, 221.
GALLICANISM, spirit of, I. 213.
GALTERUS St, III. 485.
GAND, John of, hermit, I. 392.
GANGRA, council of, III. 97.
GARCES, Julian, III. 117.
GARCIUS, last days of, III. 860.
GARDINER Bishop, on the reformers, IV. 801; saying of to Ridley, 802.
GARLANDE, Anseil de, death of, I. 240.
GATES of Cypress in St. Peter's, I. 472.
GAUDIN St., IV. 656.
GAUFRED, letter of, III. 814.
GAUFREY, Count of Poictiers, and the monk, II. 268; peace of his reign, III. 964.
GAUFRIDIUS, III 1010.
GAUFRIED, of Mans, IV. 134.
GAUKATER, answer of, III. 801.
GAUL, contrast of pagan and christian society, I. 265; in the 5th century, III. 800; Roman persecutions in, IV. 604
GAULTIN St., and King Philip, I. 215; IV. 675.
GAUTHIER, Count of Brienne, IV. 99.
GAUTIN, and the Florentines, III. 220.
GAZOTHES, Augustin de, III. 222.
GEBEHARD St., IV. 782.
GEBEHARD, Bishop of Eichstadt, II. 472.
GEBHARD, Abbot, III. 271.
GELAIS Octaviens de St., poet and bishop, I. 515.
GELASIUS II. Pope, cruelly abused, I. 217; carried two leagues on the shoulders of a Cardinal. 217.
GELLI, Giovanbatista, becomes a great writer, I 526.
GEMBLOURS, IV. 86.
GENAZAANSIS, Marianus, his preaching, II. 512.
GENEBAUD Bishop of Leon, penance of, I. 706.
GENEVA, persecutions in, IV. 815, 838.
GENEVIEVE St., III. 811; IV. 685.
GENIUS misdirected, I. 535; and unhappiness, 673; of melancholy, 660.
GENOA, city of, I. 368; Petrarch on, 369; tribute to, 379; memories of, 379; memorable churches in, 486; piety of its people, II. 272; constitution of the republic, 639; taken by Louis XII., III. 128; its asylums for the poor, 319; Pisa makes peace before battle, 813; religious revival in, 850; had no court for law proceedings, 906; changes its form of government, 941.
GENOVEVA, wife of Count Siegfried, II. 380.
GENTIL St. Martyr, IV. 631.
GEOFFROI of Chartres, III. 479.
GERALD, Count, I. 302.
GERARD St., I. 459, 733; IV. 618.
GERARD, abbot, IV. 397.
GERARD of Angouleme, III. 486.
GERARD of Cremona, III. 487.
GERARD, a Carthusian brother, IV. 344.
GERARD Bishop of Padua, III. 1094.
GERARD, Bishop of Séez, III. 1094.
GERARD, friar Minora, III. 1115.
GERARD Hugues, III. 170.
GERBERT, a learned monk, I. 552, 602.
GERBERT, Pope Sylvester, II. III. 477, 486, 805, 812, 905, 1093; IV. 173, 203, 401, 415.
GERHARD of Provence, III. 343.
GERLAC, III. 382; IV. 301.
GERMAIN St., of Auxerre, I. 430; II. 496; III. 268; IV 459.
GERMAIN St., bishop of Paris, II. 480, 584; zeal for the redemption of slaves, III. 104.
GERMAN nobles who defended Luther, III. 628.
GERMAN first formed into a written language, IV. 192; literature, oldest monument of, I. 515.
GERMANS, how they view certain things, I. 335.
GERMAN St., IV. 651.
GERMANIC, ancient codes, III. 57.
GERO, Archbishop of Cologne, III. 494.
GEROLD St., Duke of Saxony, IV. 295.
GERSON, I. 58; II. 679; III. 507, 580; IV. 36.
GERSON, John, IV. 204.
GERVIN, a monk, I. 775.
GERVIN, St., IV. 689.
GERWICK of Wolmundstein, IV. 94.
GHENT, origin of, IV. 100.
GHIBELINES, character of, I. 213; III. 1108; name first used, 806.
GHISLA, Sister of Charlemagne, IV. 809.
GIBBON, his admission, I. 233; historians of his school, II. 479.
GIFFORD, Walter, earl of Buckingham, IV. 169.
GIFFORD'S letter to Cromwell, IV. 844.
GIFTS to God impoverished no one, I. 64; New Year's, II. 188; could not be received from oppressors of the poor, III. 1045; to monasteries, IV. 130, 131.
GILBERT St., IV. 558.
GILBERT, Bishop of London, II. 481.
GILDA, institutions of peace, III. 1071.
GILES St., pilgrimage of, I. 712.
GILES of Colonna, II. 363, 640, 642; III. 497.

GILES of Tusculum, IV. 363.
GILES, son of Vailladaros, III. 708.
GILLEBERT, Abbot of St. Bertins, I. 572.
GILLES de Rome, II. 491.
GIOTTO, I. 413; III. 422.
GIOVANNI of Pisa, III. 422.
GIROIE and Giseli, marriage of, II. 409.
GIROIE, William, IV. 489.
GISOLF, Prince of Salerno, cruelty of, III. 81.
GISORS, assembly of, II. 250.
GLANA, William de, IV. 86.
GLASS works established by the abbot of Jarrow, I. 402.
GLASTONBURY, IV. 70.
GNOSTICS, III. 745, 760.
GOBERT, IV. 299, 673, 835.
GOBERTUS, edifying life of, II. 574.
GOD, knowledge of by natural reason, III. 631; as seen by the clean of heart, 638; His attributes, 771; vision of, 771, 773; vision of obtainable by love, 777; effects of union with, 778; why he must exist, IV. 869.
GODEFRED, Archbishop of Treves, II. 1098.
GODEFRID, Bishop of Amiens, III. 968.
GODEFRID, Bishop of Amiens, III. 543.
GODEGRANDE St., IV. 666.
GODELIEBE St., IV. 603.
GODEMAN, Benedictional of, I. 475.
GODESCALE St., IV. 690.
GODFREY, Duke of Lorraine, assists like a laborer in rebuilding a church, I. 418.
GODARD St., IV. 690.
GODFREY de Bouillon, I. 359; III. 192, 966.
GODFRID, legend of, III. 730.
GOERRES, influence of purity on music, III. 421; on Fra Angelico, 423; God and nature, 638; on Monarchs, 961, 963; on visions, 773; vocation to monastic life, IV. 290.
GOETHE, on Tasso, I. 225; II. 27; on woman, 369; representation of the demon, 647.
GOLDEN Fleece, order of, III. 1036.
GOLDAST on the monks, IV. 344.
GOLDEN Legend, III. 673.
GOMEZ, Suera, III. 168.
GONDI, Count and Countess of, II. 312.
GOMBERT St., IV. 622.
GONSALVO of Cordova, II. 243.
GONTHRAM, IV. 718.
GONZAGA, Camillus, III. 280.
GONZAGA St., Aloysius, IV. 663.
GONZALES, Fernan vow of, I. 406.
GOOD, in what consists, I. 470.
GOOD, the, calamities of, I. 660.
GOOD children, society of, I. 629.
GOOD of the people, the end of government, III. 955.
GOSPELS, precious copies of, IV. 182.
GOTESCALCH, Abbot of Nonantula, IV. 461.
GOTHS, III. 801.
GOTHIC architecture, I. 404; churches built between the 10th and 16th centuries, 403; cathedral grandeur of, 401; symbolism of, 439; church lighted up at night, II. 79; III. 647
GOTHIC translation of the gospels, III. 751.
GOTTSCHALK of Fulda, II. 683; III. 761; IV. 234, 245.
GOUGY, Peter, III. 467.
GOVERNMENT, its end the good of the people, III. 955.
GOVERNMENTS, modern, I. 246.
GOZLIN, Bishop of Paris, II. 459.
GOZZOLI, Benozzo, IV. 377.
GRACE and nature, II. 571.
GRANDMENIL, Robert de, IV. 295, 305.
GRANVILLE, Bartholomew de, I. 597.
GRAO, Island of, II. 84.
GRATIAN, I. 508; IV. 709.
GREEK artists employed on churches in the 11th century, I. 471.
GREEK literature introduced into Germany, IV. 192.
GREEK SCHOOLS, IV. 191.
GREGORIAN chant, II. 98, 103; calendar, 161.
GREGORY St. the Great, Pope, care for the poor, I. 47; orders property presented to the Church restored, 63; denounces inconsistency of giving ones property to God and his soul to the devil, 63; his gifts to strangers, 66; passages from his morals, 165; on obedience, 181; fears of the bad effect of secular business, 206; to the Emperor Maurice, 210; house and church of, 426; patron of scholars, 543; on sadness, 605; false penance, 708; rewards hospitality, II. 353, 480, 482; on justice, 676; on arrogance, 689; on censuring bishops or superiors, III. 35; his humility, 37; recommended the manumission of slaves, 100; on pastoral care, 156; his almsgiving, 263, 268, 272; on God, 371; way to Paradise, 520; on miracles, 663; on masters and servants, 886; to the king of the Longobards, 1084; association with a holy man, IV. 41; requests to for books, 171; writing his dialogues, 185, 650.
GREGORY VII. I, 214, 252; II. 240; impressive discourse of, 447; and Henry IV. 476; his preaching, 522; reprehended superstitious customs, 721; imprisoned when a novice by the Emperor Henry, III. 702; forbids an imperfect translation of the Scriptures, 748; deplores the sufferings of Christians in the Holy Land, 1017; vision when a Monk, IV. 393, 698, 729, 732, 747, 759, 783.
GREGORY IX. Pope, II. 447, 470; III. 54; admonition to professors, 592, 597; IV. 501.
GREGORY X. Pope, to the bishop of Senlis, III. 1090; to the King of Sicily, IV. 202.
GREGORY XVI. Pope, II. 440.
GREGORY, Nazianzen St., on evil, I. 349; Greek tragedy by, 514; letter to Thecla, 675; the sacred mysteries, II. 64; on licentious habits, 314; condemns theatrical preachers, 537; IV. 664.
GREGORY St. of Nyssa, II. 479; III. 292.
GREGORY St. Thaumaturgus, II. 479; III. 567.
GREGORY the theologian, III. 750.
GREGORY of Tours, his reluctance to write, I. 96; evils of his times, 542; Ecclesiastical Colleges, 618; sympathy of, 764; anecdote related by, II. 317; defends Praetextatus IV. 562, 648; and the general of Chilperic, 765.
GREGORY St. of Utrecht, III. 62, 211.
GRENADA city of, scenes on its recovery from the Moors, 382.
GRENADA, Lewis of, on liability to sin, I. 74; quotation from, 76; work on Rhetoric, 283.
GRIEF, Spanish saying concerning, I. 678.
GRIMALDI, Nicholas, II. 552.
GEOSSTETE Robt., III. 487, 489.
GROTIUS, on the modesty of the schoolmen, III. 914; on war, 992.
GRUNDTVIG'S reference to the middle ages, I. 15.
GUALDENSIS, Angelus, II. 333; IV. 519.
GUALFARDUS, a hermit, IV. 510.
GUARINUS, Abbot, IV. 314.
GUELF and GHIBILINE dissensions, III. 11, 1108.
GUELFS, III. 806.
GUERCINI, piety of, II. 140.
GUERCINO'S generosity, III. 315; his painting of St. Francis, 422.
GUESCLIN DU, a nun's influence on his life, II. 375; reply to the Prince of Wales, 558; III. 284.
GUEVARO, Antonio de, III. 955, 956, 988; IV. 339, 341, 355, 419, 434.
GUIBERT St., converts his castle into a monastery, I. 317; IV. 86.
GUIBERT de Nogent, on conversion, III. 388; the crusades, 410; style, 596; on false narratives, 673; erronious notions, 723.
GUIDO of Arezzo, II. 95.

GUIDO, Aurora of, II. 152.
GUIDO the astrologer, III. 1109.
GUIDO, Bishop of Puy, III. 979.
GUIDO, Count of Donoraticus, becomes a hermit. IV. 512.
GUIDO de Montifeltro, III. 1109.
GUIDO, son of Gaymere, III. 278.
GUIGNARD Pere, death of, I. 218.
GUIGO, Count, IV 217
GUILDS, Catholic, in England, III. 998.
GUILLA, generosity of, II. 370.
GUILLAUME, Abbot, II. 479.
GUILLAUME, Bishop of Grenoble, III. 1101.
GUISCART Robert, III. 127 128.
GUISE, Duchess of III. 1073.
GUITMOND'S reply to William the Conqueror, IV. 471.
GUITTONE of Arezzo, I. 518 III. 1071.
GUIZOT, on religious society I. 17; certain German views, 35 the Church's care for the poor, 47; ordinance of Louis Hutin, 48; the writers of the middle ages, 103; rule of St. Benedict, 183, 189; St Boniface, 202; independence of the clergy, 205; liberty in the Church, slavery in civil society, 221; St. Louis, king of France, 251; Capetian kings, 256; moral unity in France, 266; individuality in the middle ages, 277 feudal system developed individuality, 318; descriptive poetry of our day, 530; literature in the 3th century, 562; Alcuin, 567; error of regarding the crusades, 729; dispositions of the crusaders, 730; the middle ages, II. 301 domestic life in the middle ages, 341; the clergy, 501; admission of, III. 198; intellectual activity of the middle ages, 523; books of the middle ages, 534; modern desire for pleasure, 916; religion, IV 601.
GUNDELBERT St., IV 85.
GUNDOBAD, King of Burgundy, III. 128, 911.
GUNDRAMNUS, IV 97
GUNTCHRAMNUS, II. 236.
GUNTHER St., IV. 326.
GUSMAN, Juan de, relieves his hereditary foe, III. 223; on christian unity, 981.
GUSTAVUS Adolphus, II. 649.
GUTBERT letter to Lullus, I. 519.
GUTHLAC St., IV. 501, 504, 533.
GUY de Roye, Archbishop of Sens, III. 20, 21; on envy, 37; on helping the poor, 302.
GUZMAN family, I. 303.
GYLIPPUS, III. 445.
GYRON le Courtois, describes the self-reproach of a knight, I 305 narrative of, II. 311, 346; Lay of the two lovers, 419, 420; a story of, 556.
HADES, why so called, I. 768.
HAGIG, Yusif, Abul, Moorish King of Grenada, IV. 837.
HAIR, wearing it long, condemned, II. 543.
HALI Abenhazen King of the Moors, III. 194.
HALLER, De Subjection to a foreign king, I. 234; modern political principles, 250 the patrimonial bond, 268; the celebration of Glorious National events, a mark of freedom, 287 marked superiority of the Catholic religion, 288 on selling a barony, soil and people, 297 instability of fortune, 681; Protestantism IV 818, 821.
HALYNARDUS Abbot, IV. 354.
HANGERICUS, family of, II. 366.
HANMER'S infamou covetousness, I. 836.
HANNIBAL, Savedra's comments on, I. 252.
HANS II. Count of Rappenschwil, IV. 834.
HAPPINESS depends on wisdom and justice, I. 278; under Catholic governments, 304; not found in love of creatures, II. 28.
HARDING, Stephen, abbot of Citeaux, IV. 255.
HARDOUIN, Groffroy ville, II. 648.
HAROLD, his remarkable hunting incident, I. 431.
HARLIND and Renild, II. 385.
HARRINGTON Godson of Queen Elizabeth, II. 366.
HARTMAN Bishop of Brescia, III. 1096; IV. 766.
HARTRY John, an Irish Cistercian, IV. 439.
HATTO, abbot of Fulda, III. 475.
HAUTEVILLE, Drogon de, I. 310.
HAUTEVILLE, Tancred de, I. 327
HAWK, a, war about averted, III. 1105.
HEATHEN Philosophy and its followers, I. 160; revived, III. 507 741, 742.
HEATHEN temples consecrated to the worship of the true God, I. 432.
HEATHENISM, Frederick Schlegelon, III. 668.
HEBREW kings, character of, I. 255.
HEDWIG, learning of, II. 397.
HEDWIGE, Queen of Poland, III. 118, 287; caused to be made the first translation of the scriptures into Polish, 749; promoted peace, 1073.
HEGEL, on Fathers of the Church, III. 512.
HEINSIUS, on laws, II. 327; on the Fathers of the Church, III. 533; on the spirit of liberty, 952.
HELADIUS becomes a monk, IV. 312.
HELDEMARE, IV 97.
HELIAND, a celebrated monk, III. 159.
HELINAND'S sketch of himself, IV. 295.
HELISENA, IV. 97.
HELOISE, Abbess, II. 358; receives the body of Abailard, IV 138; letter to on the death of Abailard, 321.
HELYNAUD, a poet of renown, I. 518.
HENDRICOURT Richard de, IV 305.
HENN, Alexander, Abbot, III. 310.
HENRIETTA, de Savoy, III. 898.
HENRIQUE IV. King, I. 251.
HENRY, Archbishop of Upsal, II. 472; IV. 622.
HENRY, Bishop of Ermeland, I. 353.
HENRY, Bishop of Liege, III. 1050.
HENRY, Bishop of Winchester, IV. 773.
HENRY, brother of Louis VII. join's the monks of Louvain, IV 300.
HENRY of Castile, IV 467.
HENRY I., Count of Champagne, excommunicated, III. 1081.
HENRY Count of Salmes, III. 965.
HENRY Count of Troyes, II. 135.
HENRY of Ghent, III. 1, 491, 513, 536, 645.
HENRY, the hermit and king Robert, III. 1107.
HENRY a knight of Bonn, V. 238.
HENRY of Louvain IV 20.
HENRY Duke of Saxony IV 481.
HENRY I. of Germany, story of his marriage, III. 899.
HENRY I. of England at the abbey of Ouches, IV. 262.
HENRY II. of France refused to receive the decrees of the council of Trent, I. 218.
HENRY II. of England, III. 820; barbarous conduct of, IV. 720; to the French King, 721 character of, 722; to the Pope on the murder of St. Thomas, 723; bishops obsequious to, 733; letter to Reginald, 741; to the Pope, 742 edict of 742 rebuked, 792.
HENRY II. Emperor, conscientiousness of, I. 258 and the abbot, II. 253; entry into Lyons, 359; and St. Thomas, 618; in church of St. Michael, II. 51; birth and adventures of, III. 1038; IV. 643.
HENRY III. of England, death of, I. 784; IV. 704.
HENRY III. of Germany, III. 726, 828.
HENRY IV. of England, III. 196.
HENRY IV. of Germany, Voigt on, I. 213; IV. 719, 765, 766.
HENRY V. of Germany drags the pope from St. Peter's, I. 216.
HENRY V. of England, IV. 130.
HENRY VI., I. 173.
HENRY VI Emperor address to his people, III. 1061.
HENRY VIII. of England, IV. 641, 837.
HENRY St., chalice of, IV. 139.
HENRY of Saxony, II. 328.
HERALDIC painting, III. 933.
HERBERT, Count of Maine, III. 1033.

HERBERT, Count of Champagne, IV. 169.
HERACLITUS playing with boys, I. 118.
HERBORDI, Bishop of Bergamo, III. 291.
HERCULANI, Vincent, Bishop of Imola, III. 298.
HERCULES of Ferrara, II. 555.
HEREBERT, Bishop of Thelford, II. 443.
HEREBERT, Archbishop of Milan, III. 1098.
HERECA, abbot to Lullus, I. 647.
HERESINDA, Countess of, II. 252.
HERESY, sources of, I. 191; baleful effects of, 395; numerous views of, 390; evils of, 692; of our age, 592; suppression of in France, III. 186; deaf to truth, 448; rejected by philosophy, 610; origin of, 611; a distorted view of truth, 611; what it is and what it is not, 615; took no root where education was most extended, IV. 105; protean character of, 801; evil effects of, 803; by whom caused, 804; its tactics, 804; its calumnies, 812; disturbed Europe, 817.
HERETICS, Dante's description of, I. 191; writings of, 542; learning of, 574; impiety of, 602; danger of intercourse with, III. 143; capital punishment of originated with the civil power, 171; who have abjured their errors, 340; St. Augustin on, 534; why are there, 613; agree in opposing the Church, 797.
HERETICAL Countries, I. 21; opinions of the 16th century refuted, III. 534; views concerning the Church, 611.
HERLUIN, IV. 106, 230.
HERMAN, Count of Zarungen, IV. 294.
HERMAN, of Thuringia, III. 419.
HERMAN, founder of the Fratracelli, III. 700.
HERMAN, author of the Salve Regina, I. 95.
HERMANDAD, la del Refugio, III. 326.
HERMAS St., on charity, III. 241.
HERMENGILD St., IV. 616.
HERMENTRUDE, generosity of, II. 371.
HERMES, enfranchises her slaves, III. 99.
HERMIT, a legend of, III. 252; life in the earliest days, IV. 499; in the middle ages, 500.
HERMITS frequently dwelt near cities, I. 391; and ascetics long lived, 705; in their caves, II. 144; Frederick Schlegel on, III. 624; their love of nature, 638; privileges of, IV. 502; sites chosen by, 506; who had been parish priests, 514; advice sought from, 516; modern view of, 517; characteristic answers of, 518; death of, 528; influence over animals, 529; Saracen respect for, 536; Polish petition in behalf of, 536; eulogy of, 536; St. Thomas on, 589.
HEROES, Christian versus pagan, III. 221, 410; IV. 547.
HEROIC and holy men forgotten, II. 312.
HEROISM, Fichtes views of, I. 82; in the middle ages, II. 562.
HERRAD, Abbess, I. 552.
HESIOD on due regard to seasons, II. 209; on slavery, III. 96; on riches, 442.
HESSE, Alexander, III. 241.
HEYMANDUS, abbot of Cluny, IV. 333.
HIERARCHY, II. 433.
HILARION and St. Anthony, I. 128.
HILARY St., on the Church, I. 197; against the Emperor Constans, 210; on liberty, 264; always travelled on foot, II. 479; to the Emperor Constans, 479; advice to the Catholics of Milan, III. 404; on words, 611; miracles, 668; IV. 615.
HILDA St., letter to a friend, I. 645; her death miraculously known in a distant monastery, I. 705.
HILDEBERT, Archbishop of Tours, III. 478; IV. 781.
HILDEBOLD, Archbishop of Cologne, IV. 695.
HILDEBRAND'S preaching, II. 522; imprisoned when a student, III. 726.
HILDEGARD defines pride, I. 349; letter to, II. 269; popes and archbishops correspond with, 376; letter to the bishop of Liege, 373; and the emperor Conrad, 377; gifts of, III. 421, 783; on the world, 798.
HILDEGARDE, Countess of Poictiers, II. 413.
HILLEIN, Archbishop of Treves, III. 1096.
HINCMAR, Archbishop of Rheims on the authority of kings, I. 210; warns Louis, III. 210; simplicity and austerity of, II. 480; on a court of equity, III. 51; reproved for severity, 157.
HIOBUS, literary perfidy of, I. 575.
HIPPARCHUS, cause of his expulsion, II. 64.
HIPPOCRATES, III. 486; IV. 681.
HIPPOLYTUS, author of the first paschal cycle, II. 159.
HIRMAN said to have composed the Salve Regina, IV. 371.
HIRSCHAU monasteries of, III. 1038; monks of, IV. 231.
HISTORIAN, a, should be a poet, II. 295.
HISTORIANS, modern, on the doctrines and customs of Catholics, I. 576, 577; of the middle ages, II. 293; modern defects of, 294; of the middle ages deplore wars, III. 825, 826; Protestant, IV. 819; Catholic, 820.
HISTORY, its relation to religion, I. 19; Voigt's observations on, 19; useful to theologians, 21; how it is perverted, 35; and moral philosophy favorite studies of the middle ages, 574.
HOLINESS, fruits of peculiar to the Catholic Church, I. 30; what it partly consists in, III. 371.
HOLY LAND, pilgrimage to, I. 711, 718.
HOLY PLACES, I. 504; veneration for, 507.
HOLY SEE, devotion to, I. 204; cardinal Pacca on, 205; voice of, III. 590; and temporal governments, 695.
HOLY TRINITY, Monks of, IV. 363.
HOLY WATER, II. 36; sprinkling of, 99.
HOLY WEEK, observance of, II. 223.
HOMER describes the sympathy of the poor for Telemachus, I. 59; his heroes, 86; manner of life he preferred, 378; city and country life, 496; estimate of a man loved by God, 644; his description of morning, II. 33; copy of brought to England by the missionaries of St. Gregory, IV. 192; why said to have been made blind, IV. 687.
HOMER, on human misery, I. 657.
HOMERIC criterion of education, I. 106.
HONOR, false motives of, I. 82; the strength of states, 250; true idea of, II. 557, 561.
HONORATUS, Bishop of Arles, I. 65; IV. 455.
HONORE St., IV. 666.
HONORIUS of Augt, III. 478.
HONORIUS II., Pope, III. 121.
HONORS, love of, I. 73; motives for, not always vicious, 79.
HOPE, christian, springs from our poverty and weakness, I. 48; weakened in our days, 843.
HOPES of worldly honor disappointed, I. 11.
HORACE on Homer's Iliad, I. 531.
HORATII and Curiatii, II. 342.
HOROLOGIA James, III. 471.
HORSEBACK, travelling and exercise on, I. 376.
HORSES, love for, 1. 325.
HORSE SHOES nailed to the gates of churches, I. 469.
HORTENSIUS, IV. 532.
HOSPICE St., penance of, I. 706.
HOSPICE, at Genoa, III. 330; at Amalphi, 331; description of by Spencer, 331; for strangers and the poor, 350; for special nationalities, 332.
HOSPITAL of Knights of St. John, I. 737; at Treves, III. 309; for lepers in Paris, 311; Lisbon, 317; Bruges, 320; Warsaw, 334; Lima, 369; Florence, 342; Rome, 342, 344; Granada, 345; mentioned in the Annals of Corby, IV. 459.
HOSPITALLERS orders of, III. 343.
HOSPITALITY to strangers—the Church took the lead, I. 738; a religious duty, II. 353; Roman, 483; of bishops, 482, 484; abused, 483; extended to the author, 485; commended, III. 259.
HOSPITALS founded in the middle ages, I. 14; monuments of repentance, III. 257; unknown to

the Greeks and Romans, 306; the first founded, 306, 307; were at first bishops' houses, 307; in France, 308; in the 8th and 9th centuries, 308; attached to monasteries, 308; enjoy the right of sanctuary, 311; of Paris, founders of, 311, 312; founded in other cities, 313; prodigious number of, 314; in Rome, 314, in Florence, 314; in Antwerp, 314; in France before the revolution, 314; palaces of Milan changed into, 315; Howard's admiration of in catholic countries, 317; of Spain, 318; Burgos, 318; works of art in, 319; superior administration of, 321; for convalescents, 323; patients allowed to remain after recovery, 328; Pilgrims received, 328; consolation found in, 335; at Munich 337; cemeteries attached to, 338; influence of priests in, 339; attendants at, 340; established by the brotherhood of St. John of God, 346; service in by distinguished people, 349, 350; royal attendants at, 355; how supported, 355, 356, 357, 358; crusaders bounty to, 357; royal gifts to, 357; exempt from tax, 357; destroyed in England, 359; in protestant countries, 360.

HOSPITIUS St., IV. 516.

HOSTELS of the middle ages, I. 736, 737, 738.

HOTEL DIEU, Paris, III. 311, 334, 339, 340, 348; Lyons, 316; Rheims, 342.

HOUDAN, Raoul de, I. 534.

HOURS, sacred devotion explained, II. 31; institution of, 32; of tierce, 33; sisters of the graces, 43; christian employment of, 44.

HOUSSAI, John de, IV. 506.

HOWARD on prisons, III. 64; on Italy, 87; catholic countries, 92; admiration of hospitals in catholic countries, 317; nuns who attend the sick, 340; convent hospitals, 342.

HOWARDS, I. 310.

HROSWITHA, a nun, christian dramas by, I. 514; III. 22.

HUBER, on Spain, II. 329, 360; knowledge in catholic times, III. 590.

HUDDLESTON LADY, persecution of, IV. 810.

HUET, on love of romance, I. 513.

HUGH of St. Victor, death of, I. 782; on evil, II. 23; love of God, 28; ceremonies, 39; on the Allelujah, 68; the Lord's Prayer, 68; prayer, 76; dissimilar symbols, 77; the house of the Lord, 123; desire for justice, 291; in what it consists, 292; penitence, 609; on youth, 581, self-scrutiny, 587; conscience, 589; pardoning sins, 595; exercise of authority, 636; portrays a boy, 671; beasts, 672; different classes of persons in the Church, 680; on grace, 691; charity, III. 20, purification of the heart, 388; saying of to a learned doctor, 418; the rational mind, 455; early studies, 459; visiting foreign countries, 470; sketch of, 483; faith, 563; faith and reason, 565; humility, 574; honest belief, 581; eloquence and ability of, 596; philosophy, 623; true wisdom, 626; the highest good, 634; arts and sciences, 645; the days of creation, 652; those who investigate the secrets of nature, 654; power of God, 660; heathen writers, 734; loving, 758; the Real Presence, 763; the soul, 775; contemplation, 780; ecstasy, 782; charity, IV. 20, 30; solitude, 59; virtues that insure victory, 218; classes of persons whom it is difficult to retain in the cloister, 236; narrates a legend, 406; sympathy for his brethren, 418.

HUGHES St., IV. 159.

HUGHES, Bishop of Gibralter, IV. 858.

HUGO, the Great, duke of Tuscany, I. 259.

HUGO St., abbot of Cluny, I. 414; IV. 355; and the swan, 533.

HUGO, Bishop of Lincoln, on wills, II. 466; to Berenger, III. 762, 1098; IV. 651.

HUGO, duke of Bergundy, III. 965; IV. 297.

HUGO Victor, describes the student Frollo, I. 624.

HUGUENOT ravages, IV. 827.

HUGUES II., Bishop of Grenoble, IV. 447.

HULNE, origin of the abbey of, IV. 293.

HUMBERT, Archbishop of Lyons, II. 453.

HUMBERT II., duke of Vienne, III., 883.

HUMBLE, peace of the, I. 144.

HUMILITY brings blessings to youth, I. 139; Hugh of St. Victor on, III. 574; a Kempis on, 575; St. Augustin on, 770.

HUNERIC, persecution by, IV. 694.

HUNS, described as capricious, I. 639; invade Italy, III. 802; destroyed monasteries, IV. 108, 109.

HUNTING and huntsmen, I. 325; excellent books on in the middle ages, 327; II. 361; forbidden to ecclesiastics, IV. 184.

HUQUES de Pierres-Pont refuses an Archbishoprick, II. 440.

HURTER, on moral power of the papacy, III. 458; familiarity of the clergy with the bible, 742.

HUSBAND, choice of, II. 411.

HUSBANDMEN, virtues of, II. 317.

HYERONYMITES of the escurial, IV. 268.

HYMN, why so called, II. 333.

HYMNS, singing of promoted, I. 511; those of the church, beauty of, II. 79.

HYPOCRISY, temptation to, II. 662; follows rejection of faith, III. 379; of the reformers, IV. 846.

IBAR St., IV. 66.

IBYCUS, a celebrated sentence from, I. 81.

ICONOCLASTIC heresy, I. 478.

ICONOCLASTS, IV. 617.

IDA, Mount, IV. 67.

IDEA, not habit influenced the people of the middle ages, II. 241.

IDEAS, Plato on, III. 541.

IDEN, Geoffroi de, III. 834.

IDIOTA, III. 13; on love, 399.

IDOLATRY, impossible to christians, I. 479.

IDRIAL, capture of his castle, III. 1057.

IGNATIUS St., Bishop of Antioch on the Roman Church, I. 200, on certain heretics, III. 760.

IGNATIUS Loyola St. I. 373; IV. 689.

IGNORANCE, in what it consists, I. 544; a species of, III. 431, St. Augustin on, 431, 432; St. Thomas on, 432; presumption of, 432; degrees of, 432; Savonarola on, 433; an atrophy of the soul, 453.

ILLEGITIMATE birth, a bar to ordination, II. 351.

ILLYRICUS, Thomas, II. 520.

IMAGES religious, I. 363; first to declare war against, 477; made by express command of God, 478; abuses of guarded against, 478; use of explained, 479.

IMAGINATION, influence of, I. 13; when not controlled by reason, 533; influence of the rites of the Church on, II. 40; St. Thomas on, III. 605.

IMITATION of Christ, I. 94; III. 619; IV. 382.

IMMO, abbot of St. Gall, IV. 142.

IMPERIAL electors, appointment of, III. 941.

INCARNATION and transubstantiation, III. 762.

INCENSE, use of, II. 83; ancient use of, 84.

INCREDULITY denounced, III. 673.

INDIAN rights defended, III. 117.

INDIANS, a book maintaining the justice of war against forbidden, III. 118.

INDIFFERENCE of our age, IV. 552.

INDIVIDUALITY in the middle ages, I. 277; want of in modern times, 277.

INDUCTIVE method before Bacon's time, III. 546.

INDULGENCES, objections against, II. 614; origin of, 615; right of granting, 615; works meriting, 616; abuse of, 617; misunderstanding of, 618; nature and tendency of, 619; exercises to which attached, 619; effect and object of, 620. those who object to them, 621

INE, King, his plan against slave traffic, III. 103.

INEQUALITY, necessity of, II. 352.

INFANTS trained to piety, I. 107.
INFIDEL schools of the 18th century, I. 13.
INFIDELS, treaties with must be observed, I. 250; assaults, III. 148; caution in intercourse with, 150; wars should not be made on as such, 1015.
INFIDELITY, IV. 726.
INFORMERS denounced, III. 41.
INGEBURGH, Queen and Pope Innocent, III. 80.
INGRATITUDE of the great, I. 44.
INGULPH, Abbot of Croyland, IV. 404.
INGULPHUS, and Vasketel, IV. 157, 275.
INIQUITY, IV. 547.
INJOURIOSUS, bride of, III. 373.
INNKEEPER of the Middle ages, I. 737.
INNOCENT I. Pope, III. 685.
INNOCENT II. Pope, and the king of France, I. 684.
INNOCENT III. Pope, nourished 8000 poor, I. 67; exchanged golden for earthen vessels, 68; where he studied, 608; conversion of women, III. 22; intervenes in behalf of prisoners, 79; and Philip of France, 80; deliverance of captives, 114; the Cathari, 143; to the clergy of Viterbo, 154; to the King of Portugal, 154; to the Archbishop of Narbonne, 163; other letters, 164; Hurter on, 165; and the Albigensis, 164; protects Jews, 181; and the Sultan of Damascus, 191; to the Sarassins in Sicily, 191; to the Nobles of Poland. 196; liberality of, 263; and King John, 653; and the King of Portugal, 682; founds a hospital for foundlings, 322; Jewish converts, 325; built a hospital, 356; revenue from theatres, 356; decisions of, 361; treatise on contempt of the world, 570; on the primacy of Peter, 613; on demonism and magic, 705; on a certain translation of portions of the Scriptures, 748; to the Archbishop of Rheims, 871; and the Emperor Otho, 946; and the crusaders, 1016; in behalf of peace, 1085, 1090; on the Praemonstratensians, IV. 450; and Count Guido, 505; on duty of princes, 701.
INNOCENT IV. Pope, III. 909.
INNOCENT VIII. Pope, II. 446.
INNOVATORS, religious presumption of, II. 689; of the 16th century not masters of themselves, III. 449.
INQUISITION in France, origin of, III. 171; in Portugal, 171; Bourgoin on, 171; in Spain, 172; kept Archbishop Carranza in captivity, 172; persons not subjected to, 172; Spanish, IV. 755.
INQUISITORS, character of, III. 173.
INSANITY, a frequent result of religious extravagance, I. 192; rare in the middle ages, III. 323, 669.
INSCRIPTION on a tomb in the Church of Fouju, I. 228; on the obelisk of the Vatican, 288; on churches and sepulchres, 465, 466; on tombs of early martyrs, 826; on heathen sepulchres, 827; in public places, III. 415; truth taught by, 589; monumental, 971, 973; in a Florentine library, IV. 180; on the entrance to certain monasteries, 101, 125.
INSTRUCTION in youth, value of, 616.
INTELLECT and truth, III. 543.
INTELLIGENCE when deceived, III. 550; St. Thomas on, 550, 551.
INTEMPERANCE punished, II. 340.
INTERDICT, a dreaded calamity, II. 138; example of, III. 138.
INTEREST, legislation regarding, II. 668.
INTOLERANCE, how understood, III. 131; of unbelievers, 199; reproved, 858.
INVEGES Bernard, IV. 367.
INVENTION and discovery in the middle ages, III. 652.
INVESTITURE lay, IV. 698.
IO'S complaints, IV. 888.
ION'S answer to his father, I. 131; II. 651.
IONA, monastery burned by the Danes, IV. 109; its tombs, 167.
IRELAND in the 5th and 6th centuries, I. 543; schools of, 608; death penalty not enforced there in the 8th century, III. 57; numerous priests put to death in, IV. 809.
IRENEUS on obedience, I. 184; on the supremacy of the Roman Church, 200; III. 439; unity of the Church, 613.
IRISH bishops in Italy, II. 443; intervene in behalf of peace, III. 1092.
IRISH church prohibits the acceptance of gifts from certain persons, I. 63; doctrines of, 203.
IRISH founders of monasteries, IV. 487.
IRISH kings who became monks, IV. 292.
IRISH monasteries, ruins of, IV. 429.
IRISH monks write on wax tablets, IV. 188; preference expressed for, 487.
IRISH pilgrimages of the 9th century, IV. 276.
IRISH Synod in the 8th century, I. 189; on qualities of a bishop, II. 448; decree against priests who die in conflict, 459; absence of priests, 465; in the 8th century, III. 55; on testimony of women, 674.
IRON Mongers fraternity in London, I. 335.
IRONY, Aristotle on, I. 140; true meaning of, 142.
IRRELIGIOUS Spirit, I. 294; of our times, 592.
ISABELLA, Queen of Spain, II. 370, 402.
ISCHOMACHUS, how he proves himself a gentleman, III. 1065.
ISENBURG, Henry de, IV. 395.
ISIDORE St., prediction of, I. 71; on impious books, 580; promoted learning, III. 473.
ISIDORE II. Dom. last sickness of, I. 765.
ISIDORIS St., II. 241.
ISLANDS consecrated by monastic foundations, IV. 68.
ISOCRATES, on philosophy, I. 171; on the Persians, 265.
ISOLATION, folly of, IV. 620.
ITALIAN churches, choice treasures and relics in, I. 446.
ITALIAN literature indebted to Dominican Monks, I. 551.
ITALY, what it owes to catholic art, I. 350; indebtedness to the Church, 423; Howard's remark on, III. 87; society for relief of prisoners, 87; hospitality in, 257; pestilence in, 298; study of natural science in, 549; in the time of Theodoric, 974; pagan persecution in, IV. 620.
ITTINGEN, IV. 86.
IVES of Chartres misled, I. 213; on consecration of churches, II. 70; character of, 452; to Philip, I. 486; to Roscelin, III. 162; on toleration, 177; against ordeal, 719; letter of, 979; efforts in behalf of peace, 1094; letter of, 1101; letter to a monk, IV. 47; on solitude, 78; on monks, 439; refused to approve the divorce of Queen Bertha, 649.
IVES, de Nesle, IV. 906.
JACCARD, martyrdom of, IV. 857.
JACOB, of Edessa, III. 473.
JACOPONE, I. 517; III. 417.
JACOPONUS, conversion of, IV. 308.
JAILERS in Catholic Countries, III. 66.
JAMES, Archbishop of Metz, III. 1047.
JAMES, artist and monk, III. 423.
JAMES I., King of Aragon, III. 109, 162, 193, 411.
JAMES II. and William, IV. 589; adherence to his faith, 664.
JAMES and John, Apostles, request of, I. 73.
JAMES, the Great of Carrara, III. 92, 967.
JAMES, hermit of Andalusia, IV. 504.
JANE St., II. 390.
JANE, Countess of Flanders, III. 315; IV. 461.
JANE of Navarre, II. 402.
JANUARIUS St., III. 675.
JAPAN, conversion and affliction of the king of, I. 680; martyrs in, IV. 625.
JEALOUSY, heathen pictures of, I. 84; did not exist between orders in the church, IV. 433.
JEAN de la Tour, II. 492.
JEROME, a hermit and the Pope, IV. 562.

JEROME of Florence, II. 533, 534.
JEROME of Pistoria, III. 313.
JEROME St., on men of luxury, I. 44; on learning, 103; on teaching of children, 107; reflections on life, 135; on the courtesy of Paula, 169; his courtesy, 170; on beauty of countenance, 173; the Roman churches, 200; Schism, 202; illustrious descent, 301; human equality, 307; compliment to Gaul, the catholic altar, 484; advice to a heretic, 484; Origen, 541, 592; heathen writers, 541; dangerous books, 580; exclaims "foolish Plato," 591; on sacrifice pleasing to God, 674; false prophets, 678; fasting, 699; describes Assella, 704; condemns immoderate fasts, 705; St. Paul's pilgrimage, 719; on advantage of night, II. 44; reason for inventing new words, 62; observance of festivals, 154; the true christian, 233; complaint of his age, 308; letter to Laeta, 365; to Chromatius, 365; the faith of women, 373; learning of Marcella, 386; defends his praise of women, 387; death of Blesilla, 390; Arian bishops, 448; to Nepotianus, 477; a hermit of Camaldoli, 529; the Arians, 537; love, III. 14; remonstrated with by St. Augustin, 157, 158; forgiving others, 218; on alms, 243; at Bethlehem, 354; purity of motive, 407; learning of the Fathers, 557; on Subtleties, 597; on Origen, 632; the Scriptures, 746; his times, 800; on monks, IV. 58; appeals to a friend, 290; definition of a philosopher, 346; to Vigilantius, 438; on persecution, 560; hated by the wicked, 615; licentious catholics, 665; persecuted, 685.
JERUSALEM, Asylums in, III. 307.
JESUIT College in Rome, I. 617.
JESUITS of great learning and zeal, I. 555; in the hospitals, III. 349; IV. 378, 474; why hated by the enemies of faith, 839; murdered in Madrid, 852.
JEWS pray towards the west, I. 438; first declared war against christian images, 477; forbidden to hold christian slaves, III. 100; and persons born in heresy not subject to the inquisition, 172; toleration of, 178; prejudice against, 178; crimes imputed to, 178; in Spain, 179, 181; protected by the Popes, 181, 182; converted by St. Vincent Ferrer, 184; converted, 325; cabalistic books of, 378; in Spain, IV. 632; intercourse with, 635; crimes charged against, 636.
JOACHIM, a hermit, III. 1107.
JOACHIMITES condemned, IV. 894.
JOAN of Arc, death of, I. 792; her heroism, II. 401; her purity, III. 707.
JOB, book of authorship unknown, I. 96; and his servant, 307; in adversity, 675.
JOHN, abbot, address to the Empress Agnes, IV. 465.
JOHN, Abbot of Croyland, IV. 427.
JOFFRIDUS, Abbot of Croyland, I. 607.
JOHN, Abbot of St. Victor, IV. 26.
JOHN, Archbishop of Treves, III. 1049.
JOHN St., the Baptist, death of, II. 290.
JOHN St., joy of, I. 145; and Cerinthus, III. 141.
JOHN St., the Almoner, II. 465, 480; III. 58.
JOHN of Bordeaux on human philosophy, I. 595; on christian virtues, II. 566.
JOHN of Bruges, II. 546.
JOHN, Patriarch of Alexandria, I. 66.
JOHN of Fano, IV. 678.
JOHN of Oxford, IV. 723.
JOHN, priest and hermit, IV. 515.
JOHN VI., duke of Bretagne, I. 309.
JOHN St. Climacus, on confession, II. 506; on penitence, 597; on sin, 602; on monks, IV. 352.
JOHN St., of the Cross, I. 97; on spiritual gluttony, 149; danger of self-esteem, 150; sensible consolation, 150; holy places, 504; the perfect, 679; II. 194, 635; condemns harsh judgments, III. 42; on imperfection, 394, 507, 776; IV. 75, 79, 113, 137, 149, 356, 398; death of, 463, 694; opposition to, 677.
JOHN St. Damascenus, poem by, I. 515; sum of theology, 585.
JOHN the Dane, death of, III. 835.
JOHN of Fidanza, III. 490; (see St. Bonaventura).
JOHN St., of God, III. 239; III. 344, 347; IV. 668.
JOHN St., of Matha, IV. 627, 628.
JOHN of Pusilie, III. 418.
JOHN of Rochetaillise, II. 537.
JOHN of Rutberg, IV. 500.
JOHN, Count of Soissons, licentious life of, III. 166.
JOHN of Salisbury, I. 171; on cares of the popedom, 206; subjection of Princes to the law, 234; force of truth, 237; submission to kings, 238; free speech to kings, 240; best interests of the people, 241; slavery and vice, 264; erudition of, 593; what and how to read, 595; describes certain unbelievers, III. 435; Paris, 470; sketch of, 485; philosophy, 512; christian discipline, 586; astrology, 683; defines superstition, 687; on members of religious orders, IV. 233, 558, 692, 699, 701, 708, 731, 736, 750, 768, 773, 777, 787, 789.
JOHN, Scot Erigena, III. 20.
JOHN of Erfurt, IV. 307.
JOHN IX. Pope, I. 204, 205.
JOHN St., of Sahagun, I. 622; IV. 651.
JOHN of Selva, archbishop of Milan, III. 835.
JOHN of Streton, III. 332.
JOHN the Teutonic, IV. 404.
JOHN King of Aragon, dying words of, II. 636, 640.
JOHN King of Bohemia, III. 1062.
JOHN King of England, IV. 727.
JOHN III., King of Portugal, III. 49.
JOHNSON Criterion of Salvation, III. 304; on monastic life, IV. 47.
JOINVILLE and St. Louis, II. 258; IV. 611.
JONAS St., and his companions, Martyrs, IV. 611.
JORDAN, the, where John Baptized, I. 111.
JORDAN Cardinal, his preaching, II. 513.
JORDAN of Pisa, II. 520.
JORDAN, Raymund, III. 513.
JORDAN of Saxony, III. 283; IV. 321; and the Emperor Frederick, 653.
JOSEPH II., character of, I. 219.
JOSEPH Cupertino, III. 421, 455.
JOSEPH St., of Leonissa, IV. 632.
JOSEPH, Hermann, III. 421, 772, 773.
JOSSE, a hermit, son of the king of Brittany, IV. 511.
JOSSELIN'S prayer after the flight of the Turks, I. 75.
JOVIN of Rheims, I. 229.
JOY, the characteristic of sanctity, I. 664; of the just defined, 668; touched with sorrow, 670; and sadness, blending of, 674.
JOYOUSNESS in religious life, I. 137.
JUDAS, and those who crucified our Lord, III. 868.
JUDGMENT after death, I. 768; by fire, III. 910; by combat, 911; last, prediction concerning, IV. 894.
JUDGMENTS should be merciful, III. 422; of God, purgation by, 916.
JUDICIAL fairness in ages of faith, IV. 592.
JUIGNE DE, Archbishop of Paris, III. 267.
JULIA St., well of, I. 431; II. 374.
JULIAN revokes a decree of Constantine favorable to the poor, I. 66; deformity of his countenance, 174; issues a decree against christian professors, 610; his friendship for the Jews, IV. 798; his policy that of the reformers, 815; detested monks, 832.
JULIANA, a poor but generous widow, I. 410.
JULIANUS, a bishop, II. 469.
JUMIEGE, abbey of, I. 68, 69; III. 273; IV. 69.
JUNIPERUS, IV. 599.
JURIEU'S Sophism, I. 244.
JURISPRUDENCE, definition of, I. 244.
JUSSIE, Ieanne de, IV. 838.
JUST, the, their reasons for mourning, I. 694; why persecuted, IV. 667.
JUSTICE, who thirsts for, II. 19, 21; the root of hap-

pineas, 27; thirst for, 285, 291; reign of, 291; St Augustine on, 332; supplanted, 324; greater than fortitude, 327; administration of, III. 902.
JUSTIN St., III. 567.
JUSTINIAN, law of, prohibiting the ordination of rustics, I. 213; code of, 244; impiety of, III. 868.
JUSTINIANA, Augustin, III. 268.
JUSTINIANI, Thomas, IV. 313.
JUSTINIAN St. Lawrence, II. 481; IV. 686.
JUVENAL'S compliment to the Romans, I. 361.
KEMPIS, Thomas a, II. 522, 542, 597; III. 507, 574, 575, 755; IV. 39.
KENELM St., I. 116.
KERHARD, IV. 675.
KILDARE, Monastery of, I. 355.
KILWARBI Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, III. 70.
KING, the, never dies, an ecclesiastical invention, I. 233; "of Alms" II. 181; of France and the bishop of Paris, III. 932.
KINGDOMS small in their beginnings, I. 234.
KINGS, frugality of in the middle ages, I. 229; of Spain subject to the laws, 234; right of resistance to, 236; when they endanger the state, 242; Hebrew, 255; Catholic, 255; remarkable for virtue, 256; capetian, 256; of Spain, 256; duty of, 258; accessibility of, 260; warning to, 271; of France encourage learning, 560; sons of educated with the poor, 604; anniversaries of, 815; zeal of in attending the divine office, II. 136; piety and justice in, 238; of England and France at Gisors, 250; of the Franks familiar with sacred literature, 257; of Spain symbolic painting of, 318; early, 334; of France, minority of, 324; humility of, III. 247; charity of, 276; admonitions to, 934, 935, 936; of Spain noted for their pacific character, 958; of England, 961; of France their gifts to monasteries, IV. 131; sons educated in monasteries, 207.
KISS of peace to a new Cardinal, I. 168.
KNEELING in church, II. 311.
KNIGHTS of Hainaut, noble conduct of, I. 305; of Calatrava, originally cistercians, 327; and monks, II. 259; Gaudenti, III. 1071.
KNIPRODE Winrich von, II. 321, 638; III. 315; IV. 492.
KNOWLEDGE only a small part of education, I. 616; not happiness, 678; food of the soul, III. 453; subservient to trade, 454; desire for, 569; and wisdom not the same, IV. 343.
KONRAD, abbot of St. Gall, IV. 371.
KUCKLEY St., IV. 664.
LABOR, no one illustrious without, I. 676; hours of shortened, II. 353; by freeman, first example of in Europe, IV. 230; those who, 546.
LACERTA, Hugo de, III. 1011.
LACORDAIRE on the Church and human reason, III. 557; on the Holy See, 591.
LACTANTIUS, misunderstood Socrates, I. 142; on freeman and slave, III. 97; on philosophy and religion, 512.
LADISLAUS, king of Hungary, II. 262.
LAGARDE, Chanveau, IV. 593.
LA HOGUE on public worship, II. 38.
LAITY, in the middle ages, I. 557; love of the divine offices among, II. 132; duties of, 233; knowledge of scripture among, 256; venerates the clergy, 260; interest of in Church matters, 261.
LAMARTINE on the pathway of life, 127; tribute to the solemnity and grandeur of a church interior, 444; his exclamation, II. 528.
LAMB a, in the convent of Murl, IV. 424.
LAMBARD St., IV. 649.
LAMBERT, abbot of Lobes, IV. 365.
LAMBERT, a monk, IV. 393.
LAMBERT St., IV. 656.
LAMPS, found in the Roman Catacombs, II. 84; of great richness in Charlemagne's time, 84; of the sanctuary, apostrophe to, 84; in the church of Monte Casino, 84.
LANDES, Noel de, his preaching, II. 513.
LANDON, Berenger de, III. 89.
LANDOR, a quotation from, IV. 304.
LANDULPH, count of Aquinum, III. 280.
LANDRY St., III. 334.
LANFRANC, Archbishop of Canterbury, II. 471; induces William the Conqueror to forego the traffic in slaves, III. 103, 331; eulogy on, 477.
LANGTON, Stephen, III. 427; first divided the Scriptures into chapters, 750.
LANSENGIS, on the people, I. 270.
LANDIT, origin of, I. 388.
LANSPERGIUS John, II. 694.
LARAGIO, Pontius de, conversion of, III. 1059.
LASCASAS in America, III. 116, 117, 118.
LAST Judgment, I. 707.
LAPI Manrus, IV. 189.
LARDNER, on the middle ages, III. 533.
LATERAN Council, III. 1003.
LATIN in the 7th and 8th centuries, I. 544; in the time of St. Bernard, 544; Fathers, superb collection of, 549; in the 11th century, 590; a reason for its universality, II. 60; colloquial language of the people, 644.
LATINI BRUNETTO, on friendship, IV. 642.
LATUDES, release from prison, III. 68.
LAUDS, hour of, II. 54.
LAURA, II. 406.
LAURENCE, Archbishop of Dublin, III. 1093; IV. 448.
LAURENTIUS, Archbishop of Kent, II. 487.
LAVATER, thoughts of in a catholic church, II. 41.
LAW, wrong done in the name of, I. 247; ideas not reformed by, 274; study of by the clergy, 598; professors of not admitted to ecclesiastical dignities, 598; professors of excluded from the University of Paris, 599; practice of forbidden to the clergy, II. 470; statute and canon, important to know, IV. 694.
LAWS contrary to the law of God invalid, I. 210; God threatened Israel with a multitude of, 246; that obstruct the good, 246; made to crush inclinations, II. 172; what they should be, 325; not multiplied in the middle ages, 327; obedience to, 642; of the visigoth, 644.
LAWYERS and advocates, III. 903, 904.
LAXINGTON, Stephen, IV. 208.
LAYMEN'S parliament, IV. 705.
LAY Scholars, numerous conversions of, IV. 321.
LAZARUS, our Lord wept over him, I. 771; III. 797.
LAZARUS St., congregation of, IV. 628.
LEADERS, folly of modern, II. 218; IV. 615.
LEANDER, Archbishop of Seville, III. 1099.
LEARNING, decay of, I. 542; diffusion of, 543; now pursued for gain, 556; honored, III. 466.
LEGAL disability of catholics, IV. 816.
LEGER St., his letter to his mother, IV. 571; his death, 586.
LEGATES, II. 431.
LEGEND of an infidel prince, III. 238.
LEGENDS of monks, IV. 404, 405, 406, 407.
LEGISLATION, chief object of, I. 245; a people's philosophy, 247; Catholic writers on, 249.
LEGISTS, in the middle ages, IV. 726.
LEIBNETZ, on modern jurisprudence, I. 245; necessity of the religious element in states, 264; on the papacy, II. 429; Theodicee, III. 491; catholic philosophy, 522; the Real Presence, 760; contrasts monks with men of the world, IV. 54.
LEISURE, value of, IV. 360.
LEMEINGLE, John, III. 1011.
LENT, institution of, II. 155; in England in the 7th century, 157; fast of in the middle ages, 158; a scandal in, 159; strict observance of, IV. 229.
LEO St., on the ages of faith, I. 158; on man, 167;

[illegible] love of our neighbour, 268; on St. Peter's coming to Rome, 282; and Attila, 288; on the regal power, 289; to the Emperor Theodosius, 289; night vigils of [illegible]; defends a synod of the oppressed, III. [illegible]; and the strangers, 254; on persecution, IV. [illegible].

LEO X., Pope, [illegible] 948, IV. 38.

LEO, the Armenian, IV. 427.

LEO, the Isaurian, I. 474.

LEO, Armenian, III. 48.

LEO St., Bishop of Bayonne, IV. 622.

LEON of Assisi, I. 288; III. 488.

LEONARD, a holy hermit, III. 72.

LEONARD, Friar, I. 324.

LEONARDO da Vinci, III. 36.

LEONELLUS of Este, III. 2008.

LEONIDAS of Alexandria, III. 288.

LEOPOLD of Austria, II. 132, 136, 288, 294; III. 967; IV. 491, 492.

LEOPOLD of Tuscany, II. 132.

LEPERS, a story of, III. 230; and St. Elizabeth, 252.

LEPERS, ordinance regarding, III. 202; mercy towards, 251.

LERINS, famous school of, I. 402; IV. 42; Island of, 62; Saracens attack it, IV. 622.

LESSONS for the divine service, II. 102.

LETTE, meaning of, I. 397.

LEUVIGILD, King of the Goths, III. 602.

LEVITICUS founds a monastery, IV. 87.

LEWIS of Granada on self-love, I. 45; on the Hebrew Kings, 226; ceremonies, II. 36; zeal, 251; sermons of, 311; pious actions, 479; merits of our Lord, 602; III. 205.

LEWIS of Bavaria, II. 488.

LEWIS, Son of Charlemagne, II. 262.

LEWIS, King of Germany, III. 269.

LEWIS, the pious, III. 48.

LEWIS, husband of St. Elizabeth, III. 1999, 1999, 1999.

LEWIS XII. in Italy, III. 238.

LIBANIUS, IV. 602.

LIBER St. Columbanus, IV. 173.

LIBERTY alone not sufficient, I. 48; false, 190; what it owes to the spiritual power, 222; excess of, 223; secured, in England by the catholic religion, 241; in France, 242; sweetest of all treasures, 254; what it was in ages of faith, II. 641; false notions of, 641; justice of war in its defence, III. 255; of conscience, III 139; and justice, IV. 535; maintained by the Church, 602, 606; of the Church not injurious to states, 700.

LIBERIUS, Pope, and the Emperor Constance, II. 602.

LIBRARIES in churches, IV. 171; in monasteries, 172; of cathedral chapters, 172; destroyed in England during the reformation, 173; presented to religious, 175; private, 175, 176; of monasteries suffered with decay of discipline, 177; of French monasteries, 178; of Italian abbeys, 178; of Spain, 180; in the Islands of the Archipelago, 180; of the monks virtually public, 181; of Paris formerly and now, 181; more accessible in the middle ages, 182.

LIBRARY, first church, IV. 171; of Fulda, 176; of Corby, 176; of Gembloux, 176; of St. Gall, 176; of Heidelberg, 176; of the abbey of Cluny, 178; Petavian, 178; of St. Victor, 178; Dominican at Venice, 179; in Bobbio, 179; of La chiusa, 179; of Camaldoli, 179; of the Cistercian convent in Florence, 179; in the abbey of Ponposa, 179; at Messina, 180; of St. Salvator, Florence, 185.

LICENTIOUS men destroy states, I. 245.

LICENTIOUS habits, II. 314.

LIDWINA of Scheidam, III. 778.

LIEGE, III. 465.

LIES, field of, II. 556.

LIEW St., Archbishop of Sens, III. 78.

LIETBERTUS, Bishop of Cambray, I. 729.

LIFE, pathway of (Lamartine), I. 127; without catholic faith, 658; interior and exterior united by the Church, II. 286; in the ages of faith, III. 404, 405; pagan and modern, 406; St. Thomas on, 406.

LIFFORD, story of, IV. 145.

LIGHT as an emblem, II. 814; and warmth inseparable, 274.

LIGUORI St., on the law-making power, I. 270.

LIMINA, tragedy in the family of, III. 31.

LIPSIUS JUSTUS, III. 500.

LIPPA, Bernard de, II. 498.

LISBON, delivered from the Moors, III. 1018.

LITANIES, restriction regarding, II. 78.

LITANY of the B. V. M., II. 75; of Jesus, 75; of the Saints, 75.

LITERATURE encouraged by the fraternities, I. 294; love of among English ecclesiastics, 556; and religion, 562; love of modern, 658; modern effect of, II. 268; purity of, III. 413, 414, 415; theological character of, 416; dramatic, 415; pagan, 416; monastic, 417; modern, 421 indebted to monasteries, IV. 50.

LITIGATION, evils of, III. 904.

LITURGY, in the Latin tongue, II 60; grandeur of, Roman, 63; critics of, 76; charms of, 142; affection for, 147; ancient, 216; invoking peace, III. 838, 839, 840, 841.

LIUDGER St., I. 429, 455, 555; II. 485; IV. 85, 668.

LIVES of Saints, extravagant narratives introduced, III. 674.

LIVINIUS St., portrait of by St. Boniface, I. 107.

LIVONIA, Apostles of, II. 499.

LOANS of money, II. 667.

LOAYSA, Garcias de, III. 129, 264.

LOAYSA, Jerome de, III. 330.

LOCKE, III. 607.

LOISEL, Pierre, a generous shoemaker, I. 406.

LOLLARDS, III. 155.

LOMBARD, Peter, humility of, I. 97. III. 494, 534, 535, 571.

LOMBARD'S penance, III. 55.

LOMBEZ on natural loveliness, I. 492; on seeking pleasure, II. 139.

LOMENIE, story of, IV. 637.

LOMELLINI family, I. 413.

LONDON, plague in, III. 299.

LONGA, Maria, III. 23, 354.

LONGOBARDS cut off their beards, II. 113; effects of their conversion, III. 809.

LONGSWORD William, II. 510.

LOOKS, the, of holy persons, I. 173.

LORETTO, sacred house of, I. 427; IV. 102.

LORICAT, Dominic penance of, I. 706.

LORRAINE how the princes of obtained their taxes I. 243.

LORRIS Guillaume de, I. 52, ; II. 308.

LOT of men, difference in, IV. 779.

LOT selection by forbidden, III. 683.

LOTHAIRE, his school days, I. 621; at Monte Casino, II. 236; elected emperor, III. 918; and his brothers 1014, III. 989; IV. 59, 293.

LOUIS of Blois on prayer, II. 110; on the house of prayer, 127; on celibacy of the clergy, 434; on vice, 563; God's mercy, 606; Christ's merits, 693; on evil speaking, III. 358; on detraction, 42; on the soul, 376; on fear of God 380; beauty of created things, 636; the Eucharist, 769; enlightenment through grace, 779.

LOUIS Le Debonnaire, public penance of, II. 585; III. 275, 950, 960; IV. 247.

LOUIS le Gross, grief for Ansel de Garlande, I. 240; edifying death of, 783, 784; advice to his son, III. 962; rejoice, 995; indignation of, 1030; defends churches against assailants, 1036, 1039, 1041, 1043; IV. 153.

LOUIS le Huntin, ordinances of, or the enfranchisement of serfs, I. 47.

LOUIS, son of Charlemagne, III. 959; IV. 491.

LOUIS, Duke of Orleans, II. 137.

LOUIS I., Count of Blois, III. 257.
LOUIS VII. razed many castles, III. 1043; peacemaker, 1064.
LOUIS IX. St., on splendor of the Spanish court, I. 284; action of regarding the marriage of his niece, 297; on free exportation, 379; font in which he was baptized, 468; in the forest of Vincennes, 495; and Joinville, II. 258; immoral poets of the age, 308; instructions to his son, 328; his ransom, 557; reign of, III. 56; no desire to see a miracle, 667; and Henry, III. 996; his attendants plundered, 1031; as peacemaker, 1604; reproved by the Pope for having passed too severe a law, 1086; in danger of shipwreck, IV. 68; in the abbey of Royamant, 265; and brother Giles, 282; how he honors his confessors, IV. 466; religious foundation of, 492; inters a crusader, 626.
LOUIS X., ordinance respecting serfs, III. 102.
LOUIS XI., French writers on, I. 239; in his castle of Plessis, 802; and the canons of Rouen, III. 74.
LOUIS XII. at Mass, II. 117; forgave those who disobliged him, III. 216; noble saying of, IV. 589.
LOUIS XIII. composed church music, II. 137.
LOUIS XIV., conduct toward the pope, I. 218; forebodings of, 234; French writers of his times, II. 346; IV. 686.
LOUIS le Jeune and St. Thomas, IV. 710, 748.
LOUIS of Bavaria, IV. 90.
LOUIS IV., Landgrave of Hesse, III. 1036.
LOUIS of Paris, IV. 24.
LOUP St., where he stopped Attila, I. 374, 428.
LOVE of Jesus, what it gives, I. 12; of God excludes love of the world, 279; and veneration of church buildings, 481; and hate, 643; mixed with sorrow, II. 124; as an index of character, 271; in the middle ages, 415; Plato on, 415; purified by christian faith, 416; in the social life of Spain, 421; evil of unrestrained, 422; Dante on, 422; defined, III. 10, 11; Socrates on, 12, 25; Plato on, 13, 26; St. Jerome on, 14; St. Francis de Sales on, 14; St. Thomas on, 15; St. Bernard on, 15; in the Church, 19; associated with faith, 24; its influence on art, 27; effects of, 26; the universal, principle of good, 47; Plato on, 350; of sensible things, 372; spiritual and carnal, 397, 399; of God, 400; solves all problems, 538; of eternal things, 587, 639; of country, 983; power of, IV. 308; and fortitude, 554.
LOYER St., Bishop of Seiz, IV. 515.
LUCAN on causes of war, III. 795; on Cæsar's love of war, 796.
LUCIA St., incident in the life of, II. 373.
LUCULLUS, palace of, IV. 125.
LUCY, Bartholomew de, IV. 477.
LUDOLPHUS of Saxony, III. 1058.
LUDOVICUS, Pius verdict of, II. 228.
LUGO, Alexander, III. 90.
LULLE, Raymund, I. 597; III. 504, 563.
LUNA, Alverus de, IV. 157.
LUPOLD, Count, III. 1037.
LUPUS, a French bishop, II. 478, 496.
LUPUS, a monk, writes to the pope for a copy of Quintillian, I. 553; his love of learning, 555; IV. 104, 343, 479.
LUSIGNAN, Stephen de, III. 113.
LUTHER of Brunswick, love of poetry, I. 524; dying directions of, 819; his love of music, II. 137.
LUTHER, Martin, protectors of, II. 628; on the German princes, 643; his wife asks him a question, 690; advice of his confessor, III. 43; want of tenderness, 49; urges no mercy to the peasants, 130; intolerant spirit of, 201; letters of, 301; on the Italian hospitals, 318; on the depravity of the people, 401; confession of failure, 401; and Erasmus, 435; laments the decay of the universities, 466; heretical opinions of anticipated and rejected, 534, 558; superstition of, 677; at the grave of a former religious brother, IV. 161; recalls an exclamation of his father, 236, 566; Pope's bull against, 761; days of, 799; disposition of, 821; his books, 837; remorse of, 846.
LUXEUIL, foundation of, IV. 86.
LUXURY denounced, II. 354.
LYDGATE, monk of Bury, I. 624; advice of, II. 133; IV. 253.
LYING, evil of, II. 631; vice of, III. 144.
LYONS, martyrs of, I. 427; conduct of the calvinists in, 427; testimony to its virtue, II. 316; care of the poor in, III. 294; pillage of, IV. 808.
MABILLON, on monks of St. Benedict, I. 15; on ecclesiastical history, 20; on the death of Jessenetus, 27; his love of truth, 99; on devotion to the Holy See, 204; submission of Princes, 212; the Sybylline oracles, 449; the tenth century, 544; monastic studies, 546; monastic prisons, 709; on certain theological works, II. 584; on superstitious narratives, III. 673; on objection to receiving Holy Communion, 770; on monasteries, IV. 52; in the abbey of St. Denis, 160; on his travels in Germany, 342.
MABLY, Abbé de, I. 209; on feudalism, 297.
MACAIRE St., on raptures, I. 148.
MACARIUS' answer to Evagrius, I. 727; IV. 686.
MACCHETTO, Theophilus, IV. 376.
MACEDONIUS, the monk, III. 1102.
MACHARIUS, III. 19, 142.
MACHIAVELLI'S admission in favor of the Church, I. 214; maxims of excited horror, 250; on detachment from worldly motives, 277; pagan spirit of, 285; III. 510.
MÂCON, Council of, I. 228.
MADRID, reverence to the Blessed Virgin in, II. 577.
MAFFEI, Raphael, I. 559.
MAGDALEN de Pazzi, St. Mary, IV. 665
MAGDALEN, Mary, zeal of, II. 281.
MAGIC, promoters of, III. 508; works on, 695; rise and progress of, 696; in Britain, 697; in Greece and Rome, 697; in Egypt, 698; condemned and punished, 699; horrors of in France, 701; belief in, 703; Hugo of St. Victor and Suarez on, 704; St. Augustin on, 705; places celebrated for, 711; books on, 714, 715.
MAGICIAN and Dean, III. 649.
MAGICIANS, stories of, III. 691, 692, 693, 694; laws against 698; in Northern Europe chiefly women, 700.
MAGISTRATES, respect for, I. 226.
MAGLOIRE St., II. 496.
MAGNA CHARTA guaranteed the rights of the Church in England, IV. 693.
MAGNANIMITY, II. 553.
MAGNUS, Archbishop of Upsal, II. 453.
MAGNUS, Olaus, II. 672.
MAGUS, Simon, III. 697.
MAHOMETAN King, anecdote of, IV. 476.
MAHOMETANS, war against justified, III. 190.
MAHOMETANISM, rise and progress of, IV. 686.
MAI, Cardinal, IV. 173.
MAILLARD, Peter and his accomplices, III. 75.
MAIMONIDES, III. 486.
MAING St., IV. 619.
MAIO, on the Sybylline oracles, I. 449.
MAIOLAUS, abbot of Cluny, IV. 333, 463.
MAISTRE DE, on prayer, II. 61; on Hume, III. 878.
MALACHY St., rebuilds the Abbey of Bangor, I. 403; death of, 780; II. 481; IV. 276.
MALASPINA, William, IV. 306.
MALATERRA, Gaufrid, III. 420.
MALATESTA, Sigismund, IV. 472.
MALEBRANCHE on corruption of the senses, II. 41; on Seneca and Montaigne, III. 421; on rulers of protestant countries, 561; on faith, 586; a man

of conceptions, 607 ; on scientists, 643 ; on physical and moral science, 644 ; on different aims of men, IV 334.
MALHERBE, Francois de, I. 558.
MALINES, origin of, IV. 100.
MALO St., IV. 666.
MAN, most miserable of all animals, I. 657 ; state of, II. 585 ; incompetence of, 586 ; what is he? III. 797.
MANASSIS, Bishop of Noyes, II. 594.
MANES, doctrine of, III. 17, 189.
MANETTE, Gleannozo, remarkable learning of, I. 558.
MANFRED, King, IV. 726.
MANICHAEISM, IV. 636.
MANICHEAN priest converted, III. 150.
MANICHEANS, III. 17, 142, 175.
MANIFRED, Marquis of, III. 280.
MANIN, last days of Venice, II. 614.
MANNERS of Countries without the faith, II. 577.
MANOZZI, John, I. 559.
MANTUA, art treasures of, disfigured, I. 396.
MANUAL labor of the clergy, II. 468.
MANUAL of St. Augustine, I. 571.
MANUSCRIPTS copied by Cistercians and Carthusians, I. 549 · devotional, early use of, II. 112 ; ancient, IV. 132 ; taken from monasteries, 172 ; from England and Ireland brought to light, 173 ; Vatican, 173 ; destroyed in England, 173 ; transcribing of, 186.
MANZONE, Antonio, III. 249.
MANZONI, on urbanity, I. 164 ; on the intention to afflict, 169 ; reply to Sismondi, 170 ; on the moral law, II. 170 ; on neglecting to attend Mass, 172 ; on the Catholic Religion, 501 ; the oratorical spirit, 531 ; catholic morals, 571 ; deathbed repentance, 611 ; crimes of the times, 613 ; indulgences, 616 ; reply to Sismondi, 662.
MAPHOENS, Gherardus, II. 447.
MAPS of the world by Father Mauro, I. 582.
MARC of Monte Casino, I. 517.
MARCEL St., I. 374; III. 673.
MARCELLA, IV. 832.
MARCHANGY on the castles of the middle ages, II. 346.
MARCONALDUS, III. 191.
MARCUS, Cardinal, I. 171.
MAREPESTUS, Aureus, II. 253.
MARGARET of Burgundy, tomb of, III. 1074.
MARGARET of Lorraine, dying testament of, II. 697.
MARGARITA, philosophica, I. 571.
MARGUERITA of Sicily, III. 354.
MARGUERITE of Louvain, III. 885.
MARGUERITE, Queen of Scotland, II. 393.
MARIA, Theresa, wife of Louis XIV., II. 394; III. 355.
MARIA wife of Louis, of Bavaria, IV. 90.
MARIAN, Ambrose, remarkable life of, I. 323.
MARIANA, defence of, I. 98.
MARINIS, Archbishop of Avignon, III. 267.
MARINNUS, miserable end of, I. 237.
MARINUS, Obealtus, first bishop of Venice, IV. 447.
MARINUS, the hermit, IV. 316, 509.
MARIUS, Victorinus, Afer, II. 257.
MARLE, Thomas de, III. 1041.
MARMION, extract from the Lay of, I. 508.
MAROT, John, on the happiness of the poor in France, I. 304.
MAROT, Clement, II. 306.
MARRIAGE, II. 409 ; with pagans, 410 ; promotes peace among rival families, III. 895, 896, 897 ; portions to poor maidens, III. 264, 284 ; of the poor, protestant practice and theory, 264.
MARRYMARDUS, reproof and conversion of, II. 487.
MARSEILLES, praise of by Cicero, I. 381 ; a bishop of, III. 299.
MARSHAM on the fall of the monasteries, IV. 847.
MARSIGLI, Louis, a learned friar, I. 612.
MARTEL Charles, fable concerning, I. 253 ; III. 1017 ; evils of his times, 1075; tomb of, IV. 166.
MARTIN, Antony, conversion of, III. 346.
MARTIN IV. Pope, to the king of Sicily, III. 1032 ; on christian strength, IV. 555.
MARTIN V Pope, III. 220.
MARTIN, Pope, on Roman hospitality, II. 483.
MARTIN St., Pope, IV. 783.
MARTIN of Bologna, II. 296.
MARTIN of Fulda, IV. 433.
MARTIN, Lord, cleaned his servants shoes, I. 307.
MARTIN of Valentia, II. 456.
MARTIN St., and his servant, I. 117; converts a robber, 733 ; death of, 732, 795 ; burial of, 810 ; cap of, II. 134; waited on at table by the Empress, 437 ; at Arverna, 438; humility of, 454 ; episcopal life of, 473 ; and the Emperor Maximus, 564 ; efforts to save heretics, III. 156; gives his vest to a poor man, 267; IV. 615.
MARTINUS, Abbot, IV. 398.
MARTYRDOM, spirit of, IV. 565, 566.
MARTYRIBUS, Barthoiomew de, III. 273, 296.
MARTYROLOGY, its suggestions, II. 217.
MARTYRS, act of, II. 161; anniversaries of, 162 ; virgins, IV. 577 ; youths, 578, 579 ; Dominicans and Franciscans, 623, 631; on Japan, 625; in Morocco, 629 ; in Constantinople, 629 ; for reproving the powerful, 647, 654 ; to false principles, IV. 582.
MARUFFUS, Matthew, II. 326.
MARY, the Blessed Virgin, earns what is necessary by spinning, I. 109 ; festivals of, II. 128 ; devotion to, 200 ; poverty of, 204 ; sorrows of, 206 ; benefits of devotion to, 206, 207.
MARY of Egypt, II. 129.
MARY, Queen of Scots, playful irony of, I. 141 ; II. 278, 401 ; and Pope Pius V., III. 80.
MARY, Queen, restores to the Church its revenues, II. 665.
MARY of Agreda, III. 773.
MARY of Oignys, III. 635, 773.
MARY murmurs not against Martha, IV. 438.
MASLE, John le, poet, I. 525.
MASS, privilege of serving, I. 130 ; antiquity of the word, II. 35 ; canon of, 35 ; at midnight, 53; how frequently celebrated, 55 ; Pope Benedict XIV. on daily celebration of, 56 ; permission to celebrate in Sclavonic, 60 ; solemn celebration of, 100 ; illness or death of a priest during, 116 ; canon regarding the celebration of, 116 ; Butler, baron of Cahir at, 116 ; celebrated in palaces, 136 ; notorious sinners excluded from, 148 ; early hours provided for, 150 ; against tyrants, IV. 646; mimicry of, 812.
MASSES, musical composers of, II. 97.
MASSACRES and outrages in the name of religion, IV. 807, 808, 809, 810, 811.
MASSIEU Abbe, on the metrical romances of France, I. 529.
MASSILLON on indulgences, II. 618; on justice and liberty, IV. 555 ; on the injustice of the world, 672.
MASTERS and servants, III. 886.
MASTRILLI, Sabine and his family, II. 350.
MATERIAL things, excessive devotion to, II. 149; III. 10.
MATERIALISM and unbelief, II. 285; of modern, III. 655.
MATHILDA, Countess, II. 370 ; learning of, 397, 398 ; fidelity of, 400.
MATHIAS, the apostle, III. 134.
MATILDA, Empress, III. 1073 ; daughter of Otho, 1074.
MATILDA, wife of Henry I., III. 899.
MATILDA, Princess, III. 897.
MATIN bell, II. 59.
MATRICULARII, IV. 231.
MATTHEW, prior of St. Martin de Champs, I. 709.
MATTHEW, Abbot of St. Denis, II. 471.
MATTHEW, Archbishop of Treves to Pope Alexander III., IV. 763.
MAUCLERC, Walter, bishop of Carlisle, IV. 449.
MAUDE, Princess, II. 560.
MAUDE, wife of Henry I., II. 391.
MAUGER, Archbishop of Rouen, II. 440.

MAUGIN, Mdlle., III. 92.
MAUNY, Sir Walter, I. 642.
MAUR Rabau, on the Gentile poets, I. 591.
MAURICE, Emperor, to Pope Gregory the Great, I. 240.
MAURICE, Archbishop of Rouen, II. 461 ; III. 965.
MAURICE, Archbishop of Tuam, III. 492.
MAUROCENUS, Michael, II. 688.
MAURUS of Amalphi, III. 82.
MAUSOLEUM of St. Denis, I. 342.
MAXIMUS St., IV. 614.
MAYENCE, Council of, I. 211; Synod of, 605.
MAYENCE, Duc de, III. 1070.
MAYEUC, Yves, III. 240, 264, 297.
MAYEUL St., IV. 629.
MAYRONIS, Francis de, III. 498.
MAZARIN, Cardinal, III. 1060.
MEALS, Sacred reading at, II. 482.
MECHANICAL trades elevated by the Church, I. 386.
MEDHAMSTED Abbey, interesting account of, I. 410
MEDIÆ Vita, a hymn, III. 843.
MEDIATION of Christ, etc., II. 696.
MEDICI, Catherine de, I. 693, III. 186.
MEDICI, Cosmo de, splendid structures erected by, I. 380, 559; II. 360 ; III. 285, 315, 579; IV. 265. 869.
MEDICI, John de, character of, I. 230.
MEDICI, Lorenzo de, I. 177 ; II. 357 · 698 : III. 285.
MEDICI, Mary de, IV. 641.
MEDICINE studied by Monks, I. 596; study of prohibited monks in, 1131, 597 ; practice of forbidden to the clergy, II. 470 ; when ecclesiastics could practice it, III. 310.
MEDINA Celi, Duke of, III. 242.
MEDINA Sidonia, Duke of, III. 77.
MEDITATION, value of, III. 395.
MEDITATIONS in a cloister, I. 12.
MEEK, the, inheritance of, I. 347 ; and proud contrasted, 347.
MEEKNESS and humility, strength of, I. 267.
MEHUN, Jean de, II. 308.
MEINHARD. tribute to, I. 495.
MEINHARD St., Apostle of Livonia, II. 493.
MEINRAD St., the hermit, I. 427 : his ravens, 493 ; his school days, 621 ; IV. 521
MELANCHOLY, the result of pride, I. 138 ; ascribed to heroic characters, 656 ; in relation to art, 672 ; of the middle ages, 673 ; mental influence of, 677 ; of the finest wits, 677.
MELANCTHON'S superstition, III. 677.
MELIOR, Cardinal, III. 1089.
MELODY, its influence on the mind, II. 102.
MELCHIOR, Canus on philosophy, III. 642 ; on Aristotle, 739.
MELLITUS St., first bishop of London, IV. 619, 695.
MELROSE, abbey, IV. 43, 147.
MELVIL, murders Cardinal Beeton, IV. 807.
MEMIER St., and his young companions, death of, I. 428.
MEN of noble character, I. 230 ; in the presence of nature alone, 496 ; races of, III. 792.
MENDICANTS, III. 246.
MENDOZA, Dominic de, IV. 353.
MENDOZA family, I. 303.
MENNAIS, Abbe de la, remark of, I. 94.
MENO, the Thessalian, IV. 682.
MERCANTILE character in the middle ages, II. 552.
MERCATO, Guido de, III. 613.
MERCHANTS of Paris, pious work of, I. 337.
MERCY called a vice, III. 17 ; value of, 20 ; St. Chrysostom on, 23 ; extolled, 51 ; Drexelius on, 95 ; Cresollius on, 95 ; St. Bernardine of Sienna on, 95 , Vincent of Beauvais on, 95 ; order of founded, 109 ; to criminals, 223, 224 ; inspired by Catholic teaching, 226 ; to the poor, 227 ; reward of, 227.
MERCY of God, II. 606, 607.
MERINDOL massacre of, IV. 806.
MERLIN, a Paris bookseller, II. 552.
MERMET, Claude, poet, I. 534.
MERTON, statute of, I. 252.
MESSENGERS honored, I.339.
MESSINA, I. 382.
METAPHYSICAL studies, III. 511.
METEOROLOGICAL observations of Monks, IV. 369.
METULLUS, Hugo, III. 742.
MEUN, Iean de, poet, I. 526.
MEYNHOLT, IV. 371.
MICHAELIS on Circumcision, II. 42.
MICHAUD, on writings of the Monks, I ; 93 ; on Catholic freedom and discipline, 189; chronicles of Monasteries, IV. 243 ; remarks on hermitage, 505.
MICHAULT, Pierre, IV. 833.
MICHEL Angelo's testament, I. 475.
MICHELET on the religious spirit, II. 26 ; description of a cathedral, 79 ; on church and people, 185 ; on the middle ages, 231; on St. Louis, 324; on St. Louis' instruction to his son, 328; on celibacy of the clergy, 426 ; on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, 440 ; Gregory VII. and Henry, IV. 475; the clergy in the year, 614, 477; a new era of morality, 585; on Robertson's History, 688 ; on Luther, III. 435 ; the sorbonne, 466 ; material and spiritual unity, 614; the Imitation of Christ, 619; cathedrals of Europe, 647; crime without depravity, 859 , church of St. Denis, 861; talent of ecclesiastics for Political Government, 937 ; the Pope and the Emperor, 940; the great question of the 14th century, 977 ; the worldly crusaders of our days, 1018 ; on the feudal system, 1027 ; castles of the middle ages, 1028 , monks in France, IV. 42 ; monastic life, 45; on relics, 135; the rule of St. Benedict, 214 ; abbeys of the middle ages, 258 ; influence of monks in French Society, 335 ; monastic history, 379 ; tribute to the influence of monks on monarchs, 466; on the middle ages, 551; the chronicles of St. Denis, 644.
MICHELON, Michelle, Sister, III. 359.
MIDDLE AGES, eulogy of, I. 10 ; pleasures attending the study of, 13 ; epoch of important discoveries, 14 ; hospitals first founded in, 14 ; era of great names and great deeds, 14 ; greatest problems of mechanics defined, 14 · architectural monuments of, 14 ; Neander on, 15 ; books of, 29 ; what would constitute the best history of, 34 ; affection for the poor, 49 ; community of feeling in, 49 ; opinion of modern critics of the, 70 · simple style of writing in, 98; influence upon youth, 117; faith, modesty, and gentleness in, 181; loyality of, 225; political success in, 249 ; virtue and grandeur of, 255 ; individuality in, 277 ; commerce of, 283 , population of England and France in, 284 , industry, 284 · social harmony of, 285; ancient customs respected, 286 , old memories cherished, 287 ; privileges of various classes, 296; love of minstrelsy, 301 ; many worthy princes and nobles of the, 309; architecture in, 312; hospitality to religion, 323, 324 ; vices of not connected with sordid love of gain, 338 ; churches and monuments, 399; philosophy and architecture, 404; art of design, 475; men famous for intellectual and moral greatness, 547 ; independence of learning in, 556 ; laity in the, 557 ; literature of compared with that of modern times, 564; learning of, 566, 581, 593 ; music, poetry and painting, 671 ; melancholy of, 673 ; earnestness of, 707 ; difficulties of travel in, 722 ; penitential spirit of, 726 ; innkeepers of, 737; character of, II. 21; Milton's accusation against, 36 ; religious character of, 231 ; piety of, 232 ; thoughtfulness of the people, 241 ; ages of philosophy, 274; Muratori on, 299; contrasted with modern times, 301 · principles of, better than actions in, 301 ; Guizot on, 301 ; and modern times compared, 303; elevation of manners, 315; opposition to gross vice, 319; domestic life, 341; filial piety, 343 ; manners unreserved, 363 ; preaching of, 538, 539 ;

truthfulness of writings of, 629; authors of, 643; municipal laws, 666; ethics of, 670; love of nature, 672; principles the source of law, 675; earnestness of men in, 681; humanity of due to the Church, III. 129; forgiving spirit of, 214; painters of, 422; activity and researches of, 455; literature, 461; philosophy, 474, 514; books of, 534; reasoning power exhibited, 536; science in, 650; classical studies in, 739; less litigation in, 902; lawyers in, 903; writers of, 958; war and peace in, 974; schools of, IV. 193; ages of struggle, 551; writers of 644; love of our Lord, 869.

MIDDLETON, pagan sentiments of, II. 214.

MIDDLETON, Rubard, IV. 193.

MILADAN, cruel character and conversion of, III. 222.

MILAN, church of St. Alexander, I. 426; Duke of, I. 321, 794; Duchess of, II. 590; devout spirit of its Citizens, 272, 316; palaces changed into hospitals, III. 315; charitable institutions in, 326.

MILDNESS commended, I. 170.

MILET JOHN, Bishop of Soissons, IV. 449.

MILHEY St., IV. 664.

MILITARY orders, IV. 467.

MILTON, on servitude, I. 192; Paradise Lost, 538; Sophistical objections to pilgrimages, 716; accusation of the middle ages, II. 36; songs of knighthood, 310; opinion of Kings, 634; on Italy, 341; incapable legislators, 635; moral condition of his times, 685; III. 444, 509, 537, 575; remarkable words on heresy, 612; opinion of Man, 952; complaint of wars, 988.

MINSTRELSY, love of, I. 301.

MINUTE acts, importance of, II. 677.

MIRACLES, III. 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666; possibility of, 668, 669; who reject them, 669; why they should not be rejected, 671; can't be performed by demons, 710; IV. 390, 392.

MISERICORDIA, anthem of, III. 292.

MISFORTUNES turned to blessings, I. 682; the beginning of, 844.

MISSA SICCA, I. 734.

MISSAL, Roman, II. 35.

MISSALS, richly ornamented, II. 82; for use of the laity, 112.

MISSIONARIES in America, II. 501; of the middle ages, III. 601.

MISSIONARY results, II. 500; self-sacrifice, 567.

MODENA, several Citizens of refuse supreme authority, III. 919.

MODERN Cities, comparatively debased condition of, I. 396.

MODERN, destructive spirit, I. 290; irreligious spirit, 294.

MODERN writers, false views of, I. 16; misconceptions of, 263; presumption of, II. 293, 294; misrepresentations of, 297.

MODESTY of christian writers, I. 171.

MOEHLER on monastic life, IV. 33; the Church's struggle for freedom of thought, 693.

MOLAY, Jacques de, III. 170.

MONARCHY conducive to peace, III. 941.

MONASTERIES, members of, II. 32; assist the poor, III. 271; have castles, 1048; chief use of, IV. 37; produce eminent men, 42; indispensible, 44; promote philosophy and literature, 49; usefulness of, 52; near cities, 57; situation of, 57, 58; in Egypt, 58; in solitary or desert places, 61, 64, 71; founded as acts of reparation, 87; motives for founding, 388; which owed their origin to grief, 94; inscriptions over the portals of, 101; generally open and undefended, 107; when and where fortified, 107; Noblemen work as laborers in building, 107; pillaged and destroyed, 108; contain remarkable tombs, 153; Scriptorium of, 186; baths in, 205; king's sons educated in, 207; reading in, 229; vices or abuses early discovered, 232; chronicles of, 243; never bereft of good men, 244; secular power in, leads to abuse, 244; prisons sometimes attached to, 245; inmates who had the aspect of prisoners, 246; of France, 254; visited by great numbers, 258; frequently visited by kings, 261; a retreat for kings, 264; a refuge for the wounded and dying, 264; interesting record of visits to, 266; in time of war, 272; frequented by men of genius, 279; employments in, 66 classes of, 443; in Ireland in the first ages, 443; placed directly under papal jurisdiction, 445; why riches were bestowed on, 468; wealth of, a benefit, 469; gifts to, 469, 470; motives for endowing, 476; in need of necessaries of life, 479; on the continent, founded by Irish men, 486, 487; Charters from early kings, 488; calamities ascribed to violations of, 488; in Scotland, who founded, 490; preservers of peace, 489, 490, 496; opposition to reform in, 675; protected by the fear of divine vengeance, 836; destruction of, 846; destruction of in England, 847; now desecrated, 849; suppressed in Portugal, 852; suppressed in Spain, 853.

MONASTERY of St. Benedict, Mount Cassino, I. 432; Helsterbach, III. 271; Hirschau, 1038; Lerins, IV. 42; Cluny, 42, 50; St. Bertin, 42; St. Gregory, 42; St. Victor, 42; near Xeres, 65; Cara, 67; Ferrieres, 73; Eberbach, 74; Congor, 378; St. Maria Nova, 78; St. Michael de Camissa, 79; Hauterive, 86; Konigsberg, 87; St. Agatha, 88; Les Santes Creuses, 89; Finstenfeld, 89; Vasor, 93; Hirschau, 98; Windberg, 99; Hexham, 111; St. Remi, 136; St. Florentin, 132; Faro, 141; Squillace, 172; St. Oequitius, 230; St. Mary of York, 240; Menhart, 242; Ranshoven, 263; Fontevrauld, 269; Villiers, 293; Lagny, 480; Swethi, 495.

MONASTIC poets, German critics on, I. 519; and modern writers compared, 589; schools, 627; penance, false notions of, 708; prisons, 708, 709; habits assumed in sickness, 793; State, IV. 19; inscriptions, 20; elections. 21, 22, 23; electors, duties of, 24; life, 29; Sepulchres, 28; institute, origin of; life, why called religious, 31; object of, 33; what it renounces, 35; influence in France, 42; Abailard on, 43; A Kempis on, 44; Michilet on, 45; those fitted for, 46; Petrarch on, 47; Johnson on, 47; sites, 62; foundations, 68; architecture, 102, 103; foundations in the 5th a 6th centuries, 112; buildings used for hospitality, 115, 116, 117; art, 119; inscriptions, 125; churches, magnificence of, 141; ancient customs, 144; music, 144, 145; method of instruction, 198; schools, science taught in, 202; order and discipline, 212; obedience, 215; discipline, a cause of its decline, 234; exemptions a source of abuse, 235; life reasons for espousing, 289, 291; influence on social refinement, 335; Georgics, 369; wisdom, 382; happiness, 389; life, beauty of, 409—18; charity brought monastic wealth, 476; gifts, motives for, 480; orders, how founded, 829, history, 830.

MONEY, lovers of not esteemed, I. 54; virtue prized above in ages of faith, 278; manner of making, 278.

MONGAL, an Irish pilgrim, IV. 276.

MONK and KNIGHT, strange account of, III. 1058; story of a zealous, IV. 239; conversion of a, 323; experience of a, 323; and departing guest, 497.

MONKS invented clocks, I. 14; cultivators and botanists, 14; of St. Benedict, 15; early christian painters, 475; who were also poets, 517; as copyists, 549; literary zeal of, 550; works of, 587; frequently quote Cicero and Plato, 594; study medicine, 596; of Nitria, II. 31; of Citeaux, 260; of Canterbury, 269; tolerant spirit of, III. 161; acquaintance with classical literature, 417; versus sophists, 455; forbidden to appear in courts of law except in defence of widows or orphans, 904; of Fulda, IV. 20; charity among, 20; discord severely punished, 20; peace of, 20, 21; originally lay men, 31; help each other, 41; transform the forests, 83; as arch-

itects, 106; massacred by Danes, 109; fervor of, 138; at devotion, 139; devoted to their offices, 148; defend their observances, 150; deprived of manuscripts, 172; motives in forming libraries, 173; of St. Gall, 192, 198; of Bec, 192: habits (dress) of, 214; oriental, 213: first of England, rule of, 214; long lived, 222: first free laborers, 230: of Hirschau, 231: land possession of subjected them to military service, 245. virtues of, 249: tribute to, 251, 253, 254; of St. Gall, 254: men who became, 291; kings who became, 292; kindness of, 335; as represented by the dramatists, 336 as seen by moderns, 337; characteristics of, 338; careless of fame, 346; and men of the world contrasted, 347: their old age, 351; St. John Climacus on, 352; what they remembered, 353 character of, 354; literary labors of, 359; their incessant work, 362; things accomplished by them, 362; employments of, 365; execute great works, 367; as agriculturists, 368, 369; improve the art of winemaking, 369; meteorological observations of, 369; as artists, 370; as musicians, 375; as painters, 376; industries of, 377: various orders of, 378; art and science among, 378; conversations of, 379; the true philosophers, 380; on demonology, 399; affection for each other, 413, 420; love their monasteries, 421; as chroniclers, 423; as meteorologists, 425; danger to which exposed, 426; spared by Turkish pirates, 426; saved as if by a miracle, 426; devotion to their monasteries, 426, 427, 428; dwelling in the ruins of Irish Monasteries, 429; fraternal feeling between, 431; Ives de Chartres on, 439; convert Germany and Britain, 441; and bishops, 444; influence on society in the middle ages, 451; venerated and feared, 452; zeal in giving instruction, 455; the friends of the poor, 456; best friends of the poor, 456, 60; spiritual directors of princes, 466; donations to, 475; their charity to the poor brought many gifts, 476; preference for Irish, 487; conduced to national and international peace, 487; veneration for, 490; disliked by the heathens, 831; persecuted, 832; respect for them shown by infidels, 837; ridiculed and calumniated, 837; unreasonable prejudice against, 840; story of a fiendish crime against, 841; outrages against, 844.

MONTAIGNE, John de, IV. 157.

MONTAIGNE, quotation from, I. 102; on affable persons, 178; on association with the low, 277; on private and public error, 288; carelessness of dress, 320; reverence inspired by churches, 445; his own works, 571; enthusiasm for classical learning, 594; on death, 752, 767; on fragrant odors, II. 83; servants and masters, 57 on bad books, III. 421; on ignorance, 575; on Socrates, IV. 334.

MONTAND, dialogues of, IV. 843.

MONTAUBAN, Bernard de, II. 245.

MONTAUSIER, Duke de, II. 256.

MONTE Aperto, battle of, I. 450.

MONTEIL on the French clergy, II. 461.

MONTERINO, Antonio de, III. 117.

MONTFORD John de, body of, I. 793.

MONTFORT, Simon de, victory over the Albigenses III. 168; IV. 639.

MONTFORTS, family of, III. 1032.

MONTH of MARY, I. 502.

MONTIGNY, Guido de, III. 410.

MONTLHERY, castle of, III. 1032.

MONTMASSON, martyrdom of, IV. 628.

MONTMORENCY on his death bed, I. 800.

MONTMORENCY, Duchess de, notable act of, III. 217.

MONTMORILLON, Garnier de, III. 284.

MONTSERRAT, IV. 61; hermits of, 507.

MONUMENTS of modern times, I. 363; christian veneration for, 372; funeral, desecration of, 835.

MOORS defeat the Spaniards, I. 693; of Granada, III. 194; well treated in Spain, 195; christians captured by, IV. 630.

MOOTE, John de la, death of, I. 803.

MORAL pretensions of immoral writers, II. 297.

MORALISTS, christian and pagan, II. 622.

MORALITY, pagan and modern, II. 651; of the Church, objection to, 688.

MORE, Sir Thomas, on the scaffold, I. 141, 230; wish of, II. 353: on purgatory, 615; III. 33, 859; IV. 558, 561, 570, 571. 573, 574, 583, 584, 602, 643, 693, 803, 811, 813.

MORILLON, IV. 371.

MORNING devotions, I. 32; St. Ambrose on, 33; glory of, 152: IV. 868.

MORTIFICATION, pagan and christian, I. 699; advantage of, 702.

MOSAIC of St. Ambrose, I. 467; apses of the 6th century, 471.

MOSES takes with him the bones of Joseph, I. 464.

MOTHER of Guibert de Nogent, II. 402.

MOTTOES of warriors, III. 1012.

MOUNT Cassino, rebuilding of the Monastery church, II. 128; IV. 259, 277.

MOUNT Sinai and Mount Horeb described, I. 505.

MOUNTAIN of the holy martyrs, IV. 66.

MOUNTAINS specially dedicated to religion, I. 506; pagan and christian recollections, IV. 67.

MOUNTS of piety first established, IV. 459.

MOURNING, character of in the ages of faith, I. 663; contrast between that of the christian and worldling, 667; necessity for in spiritual life, 687; of christians, 839; in the worldly sense, 840; in the sense of faith, 840.

MOUSSET, Marguerite, III. 88.

MOWBRAY, Robert, Earl of Northumberland, IV. 294.

MOZART, II. 97.

MULLER, John von, on the popes, I. 208; modern political error, 294; government and religion, 244; the Dorians, 266; privilege of sanctuary attached to churches, 488.

MURATORI on the middle ages, II. 299; III. 274.

MURCHARDT, King of Leinster, III. 995.

MURDAC, Henry de, IV. 390.

MURIEL, wife of Tancred de Hauteville, II. 405.

MURILLO'S picture of the Assumption, III. 422; picture of St. Boneventure, IV. 396.

MUSIC more important than gymnastics, I. 128; Plato on, 531; poetry and painting in the middle ages, 671; effect of, II. 89; use of by Pythagores, 89; studied by Socrates at an advanced age, 89; Plutarch on, 90; Plato regards it an essential part of the education of youth, 90; Quintillian on, 90; St. Chrysostom on, 90; Frederick Schlegel on, 90; elevating effect of, 91; St. Dunstan's love of, 91; Cassiodorus on, 91; ancient, 92; in the middle ages, 92, 95; Gregorian, 93; in the early days of the Church, 93; Charlemagne's love of, 94; in France, 94; in Ireland, 95; in Germany, 95; productions of the old Catholic School, 95; of the sacred offices, 96; modern versus ancient composers, 97; influence of the Church on, 98; ecclesiastical, 100; profane, 101; effect of on the multitude, 103; St. Augustin on, 102; celestial, what it is, 110; among the monks of St. Gall, IV. 375.

MUSICAL NOTES, II. 95; school formed by Charlemagne, IV. 375.

MUSICIANS who were monks, IV. 375.

MUTABILITY, St. Augustin on, III. 612.

MYSTICISM, what is it? II. 65; growth of, III. 507; meaning of, 618; in the desert, 638; in the cloisters, IV. 391.

NAKED statues in Rome, I. 313.

NANTES, revocation of edict of, 218; siege of raised by a miraculous event, 383; synod of, II. 477.

NANTIN, excommunication and death of, III. 1057.

NAPLES, Don Alonzo, king of, I. 164; Queen of, III. 288.

NARBONNE council of, II. 463.

NARRATIVES, false or superstitious, III. 673, 674.

NARSES, III. 1010.
NATIONAL, prejudices, II. 442.
NATIONALITY, III. 283.
NATIONS of the north and south contrasted, I. 282; judgments of God upon, 841.
NATIVITY, feast of the, II. 155; sermons of St. Bernard on, 192.
NATIVITY of the B. V. M., feast of, II. 160.
NATURAL objects or beauty protected, I. 495; loved by saints, III. 635.
NATURE, fallen, blindness of, I. 91; a silent echo of divine revelations, 491; what it is without religion, 499, 500; not sufficient even for poetic imagination, 500; combined with faith, 500; productions of, 837; its calendar, II. 164; love and observation of, 672; beauty of, III. 636.
NAUDÉ, Gabriel, work of, III. 693.
NAUSICA, remark on, II. 406.
NAVARRE, Queen of, IV. 846.
NAVAS de Tolosa, victory of, III. 198.
NEANDER on the middle ages, I. 15; his false assumption, 202.
NELIS, Cornelius Francis de, IV. 515.
NEMESIUS, Bishop of Emessa, III. 473.
NEMOURS, Duchess of, III. 349.
NEOCASTRO, Bartholomew de, IV. 644.
NEPOMUCEN, St. John, IV. 766.
NERI, St. Philip, II. 522.
NESSAN St., IV. 63.
NETLEY abbey, ruins of, IV. 80.
NEUTRALITY, not commendable, II. 275.
NEVERS, count de, refuses the regency, I. 227.
NEVERS, Vincent de, IV. 364.
NEW opinions welcomed, II. 659.
NEWTON, Sir Isaac, III. 686.
NICE, council of, I. 353; III. 981.
NICEPHORUS St., IV. 617.
NICETIUS, Archbishop of Treves, III. 104, 661.
NICETIUS, Bishop of Lyons, II. 468.
NICHOLAS I. Pope, confirms doctrine of free will, II. 684.
NICHOLAS V. Pope, his encouragement of literature, I. 543.
NICHOLAS, abbot of St Owen, IV. 28.
NICHOLAS, the Carmelite, I. 582; his pilgrimage, 745.
NICHOLAS of the Rock, I. 461; IV. 513, 516, 518.
NICHOLAS, Von. der Flue, I. 390; II. 52.
NICOLE, Brother, his great work, I. 76; on Venice, 268; on the Holy Land, 284.
NIEREMBIRG on the Church, I. 205
NIGHT, the holy fathers on, II. 44; St. Chrysostom on, 45; pagan writers on 46; consecrated to sacred actions in the old Testament, 46; desecrated by the moderns, 47; St. Basil on, 47; devotions of holy men, 49; devotions of the laity. 49. French laws regarding, 52; of the middle ages, 53; pious exercises during, IV. 225, 226.
NILUS St., son of ransomed from slavery, III. 103.
NIVARDUS' answer to his brother, St. Bernard, I. 129.
NIZILON St., IV. 664.
NOBILITY in the middle ages elevated by christianity, I. 49; principle of Coeval with the development of the social State, I. 300.
NOBLEMAN, a, acts the good Samaritan, III. 261.
NOBLEMEN, attributes of, II. 355; virtue in, IV. 296.
NOCHERUS, Bishop of Liego, III. 1055.
NOEL, Hervay, III. 498.
NOGENT, Guibert de, I. 623; on his times, II. 316; mother of, 402; IV. 21; on recreation, 205; sketch of his conversion, 302; early life of, 327.
NOLA, II. 388; society in, III. 114; hospitality in, 259; peacefulness of, 925.
NOLASCO, Peter, IV; 627, 688.
NOMINALISM, III. 478; advocates of, III. 506; and Realism, 541, 559.
NOMINALIST opinions condemned, III. 507.
NOMINALISTS and Realists, III. 505.
NOMINOE'S gift to a monastery, IV. 480.
NORBERT St., IV. 657.
NORMAN princes, coronation oath of, I. 242; victory over the Longobards, III. 127; kings, character of, 803; knights at Malfi, 995; in Italy, 1018; plunderers, in England, 1028; kings in England, IV. 726.
NORMANDY, II. 635; excesses of reformers in, IV. 808.
NORMANS assail France, III. 801
NOTERIUS, Theobold, III. 59.
NOTGER, Archbishop of Liege, III. 1056.
NOTHBINGE St., IV. 603.
NOTKER, a monk of St. Gall, II. 33; IV. 342, 375.
NOTKER the thicklipped, IV. 197.
NOTKER, Balbulus, IV. 338, 371.
NOVALIS on sickness, I. 63; human science, II. 20; music, 91; the demands of a poetic people, 141; our inclinations, 230; the qualities of a historian, 295; poets, 309; the merchants of the middle ages, 532; opposition of body and soul, 578; the ideal of morality, 580; practical christianity, 687; the will, III. 443; sophists, 454; pure mathematics, 518; the tendency of the learned, 521; falsehood, 602; scholastic philosophy, 603; the Eclectics, 619; true philosophy, 628; man's relations with the visible world, 635.
NOVARIS, John, a work on the privileges of the miserable, III. 119.
NOVATIAN, St. Cyprian on, I. 201, 202.
NOVATIANISTS, the, I. 206.
NOVICES, care in admitting to religious life, IV. 234; debts of paid by the order, 234.
NUMA, Pompilius, III. 698.
NUMBERS, doctrine of, 647.
NUNS, II. 373; learning and pursuits of, 385; of Britain, 385; who attend the sick, III. 340, 341; heroism of, 348; as architects, 359.
NYDER, John, the Dominican, III. 176.
OBEDIENCE, religious, importance of, I. 181; St. Gregory Great on, 181; value of, 182; St. Teresa on, 183; origin and virtue of, 184; St. Irenaeus on, 184; brings joy, 186; dignity of, 191; political and social effect of, 262; and individual freedom, 266; to the Church, II. 172; fruits of, 674; best safeguard of liberty, III. 954; monastic nature of, IV. 216.
OBELISKS in Rome, I. 362.
OBIZO, III. 1010.
OBLIVION, reflections on, II. 25.
OCCAU, III. 541.
OCHIN, apostasy of, IV. 679.
OCTAVES, institution of, II. 177; attached only to the greater festivals, 179.
OCTAVIUS, Cardinal, III. 1089
ODDA, Earl, death of, I. 793.
ODERICUS a Franciscan Missionary, II. 495.
ODESTITIREUS on monks, IV. 249; appeal to Earl of Shrewsbury, 481.
ODILIA forewarned of her sudden death, I. 795; IV. 91.
ODILO St., II. 113; III. 270.
ODO of Anjou, I. 309.
ODO St., of Cluny, II. 490; on pride, 669; III. 19, 261; IV. 214.
ODO III., in Lyons, III. 1069.
ODO St., on the worldly nobility, I. 306; on mourning for evil, 691; on sin, 707.
ODO, Count of Corbiel, III. 1031.
ODO, Prince, liberty, the serf, Albert, III. 102.
ODOACER, and his brother, III. 813.
O'DONNELL, I. 310.
OEGENTIUS St., Monastery of, IV. 230.
OELRED of Revaulx, his speculum charitatis, I. 186; III. II, 417.
OFFERINGS at Mass, II. 113.
OFFICE book ordered by an emperor of Germany, II. 112.
OFFICERS of Government, virtues of, III. 944.
OFFICERS of the church, II. 71; familiar to the

people, 107; satisfy the strong and the weak, 109; observance of, 109; poetic influence of, 140; what love of indicates, 145; love of, IV. 146.
OGGER'S crime, II. 62.
OIGNIES, St. Mary de, IV. 685.
O'KELLY, an Irish bishop, executed, I. 797.
OLBERTUS, abbot of Gembou, I. 456.
OLD AGE, veneration for, IV. 352.
OLIBA, count of Cabra, IV. 315.
OLIER, hermit, of the Aube, I. 390.
OLYMPIAS St., IV. 575.
OLYMPIC, festival, III. 985.
O'NEIL, I. 310.
ORAL instruction, advantages of, I. 626.
ORATOR and philosopher rarely united, I. 223.
ORATORS, christian and pagan, III. 583.
ORDEAL, trial by condemned, III. 719.
ORDELAFFI, Pinus, III. 968.
ORDER of the star, II. 243.
ORDER of mercy founded, III. 109.
ORDER and law respected, II. 660.
ORDER of peace, III. 1036.
ORDER, Catholic love of, I. 653.
ORGANS in the 12th century, II. 98; of present construction, 98; the first one in France, 98; builders of in Rome in the 9th century, 98; made by priests and religious, 99; in the church of Aix la Chapelle, 99; abuse of prohibited, 101; first one placed in the cathedral of Strasburg, 137; first used in France, IV. 144.
ORDINATION of rustics prohibited, I. 213.
ORIENTAL Monks, IV. 213.
ORIGEN, I. 628, 689; defended by St. Athanasius and others, III. 159; on a succession of worlds, 659.
ORIOL of Barcelona, IV. 683.
ORLEANS, Louis, duke of, first words taught him, I. 108.
ORLEANS, council of, II. 467.
OROBONI, Antonio, III. 226.
OROSIUS' history, I. 657.
ORSINI, cardinal, III. 266.
OSCA, Durandus de, III. 313.
OSMOND St., Bishop of Salisbury, I. 804.
OSWALD, king of the Northumbrians, I. 257; III. 275.
OSWALD St., and count Alwyn, II. 266.
OTFRID, a monk of Weissenberg, author of the oldest poem extant in a vulgar tongue except the Niebelungen Lied, I. 518.
OTHERICH of Magdeburg, IV. 381.
OTHGAX, the Paladin, IV. 141.
OTHLO, III. 478.
OTHMAN St., III. 309; IV. 651, 687, 835.
OTHO, Bishop of Bamburgh, IV. 38.
OTHO, death of, I. 798.
OTHO, the Great, III. 962, 976.
OTHO III., III. 963, 1037; IV. 170, 261.
OTHO I., crowning of, III. 930; reverence for religion, 932; IV. 227; noble answer of, 491.
OTHO IV. as a peacemaker, III. 1063; on monastic foundations, IV. 489.
OTHO, Archbishop of Treves, III. 1054.
OTHO, Archbishop of Milan, III. 1047, 1100.
OTHOBONO, papal, legate, III. 1119.
OTILO, duke of Bavaria, II. 145.
O'TOOLE, St. Laurence, III. 268.
OTRANTO, life in, II. 338.
OUTLAW, an, IV. 83.
OUEN St., Bishop of Rouen, I. 430; denounces superstitious practices, III. 680.
OVERBECK, I. 476.
OX, custom of leading through the streets, III. 255.
OXFORD, its old stone pulpit, I. 608; students leave Paris for, 611.
PACCA, Cardinal, on the Holy See, I. 205.
PACIOLI, Lucas, friar, unrivalled Mathematician, I. 564.
PACHIUS, defender of Augusta, IV. 522.
PACOMIUS St., conversion of, I. 178; IV. 31, 686.
PADUA, great men of, II. 547; confraternities in, III. 292; cultivating peace, 809; in the 14th century, 976; and Venice, 998.
PAGAN spirit of the Church's accusers, II. 42; Pretence to love of justice, 297; barbarity, 387; reverence for Jove, 676; literature in the 16th century, III. 416; studies, result of, 510; importance attached to them, 733, 735; versus christian use of wealth, IV. 468.
PAGANI, use of the word, I. 352.
PAGANISM, spirit of in civil government, I. 213; in architecture, 474.
PAGES, how cared for in feudal times, I. 319.
PAGNINUS, Sanctes, a Dominican, III. 176.
PAINTERS of the middle ages, III. 422; confraternity of, 424.
PAINTING, representing the stages of human life, IV. 122; cultivated by monks, 376.
PAINTINGS of the 14th century, I. 471; and images in churches, 481; expression of spiritual exaltation, III. 422; in cloisters, IV. 123.
PALA, Pierre. de la, III. 749.
PALACES converted into churches, II. 133.
PALATINATE, frequent changes of religion in, III. 562; schools of, 567.
PALESTRINA, II. 97; III. 422.
PALEY'S moral philosophy, II. 688.
PALM SUNDAY hymn, origin of, II. 74; celebration of, 159, 181.
PALMER, a, described by Spencer, I. 711; described by Scott, 742.
PAMMACHIUS, III. 306.
PANAGYRICS of the rich rebuked, II. 634.
PANDOLF de Teano, I. 250.
PANDULF, prince of Capua, III. 54.
PANDULPH a shepherd, IV. 312.
PANEBUS, a hermit, IV. 502.
PANIGALEO, Justine a, III. 254.
PANTENAS St., I. 600.
PANTHELO of Amalphi, III. 82.
PAPACY, temporal power of, II. 429.
PAPAL power, grandeur of, I. 206; supremacy, II. 427; influence reforms the clergy of Gall, III. 1076.
PAPER invented in the 8th century, I. 14.
PAPIA, III. 994.
PAPINIAN on paracide, IV. 686.
PARABLES of our Lord, II. 64.
PARACELSUS, III. 508.
PARADISE, what is it? I. 490.
PARCHMENT purchased at the landit, I. 389; repeatedly written on, IV. 186.
PARENTS, example of, II. 252; respect for authority of, 342; reverence for, 334; obedience to, III. 218; devotion to, 892.
PARIS, Matthew, on castles, III. 1028.
PARIS sixth council of, condemns accumulation of riches in the Church, I. 66; council of in, 824, 244; early growth, 335; a tribute to in the 15th century, 361; past and present appearance of, 370; charitable institutions of, III. 305; its seductions, IV. 211.
PARISH priests, when first appointed, II. 432, 433.
PARISHES first established, II. 433.
PARISIUS, on seeking honor, II. 448.
PAROCHIAL Schools, I. 605.
PARRE St., anchoret, IV. 500.
PASCH, significance of, II. 160.
PASCHAL cycle, II. 159.
PASCHAL II., Pope, and the duke of Bavaria, I. 215; outraged by Henry, V. 216.
PASCHAL, Pope, visit to St. Denis, IV. 128.
PASCHAL festival, celebration of, I. 201.
PASCHAL, St. Peter, IV. 628.
PASCHAL on popular sentiment, I. 294; on man's miseries, 292; wonderful effects of christianity, 288; people of high birth, 300; veneration of relics, 465;

habitual faith, II. 212; convicted of falsifying texts, 584; on confession, 601; on inability of some minds to perceive certain things, III. 431; Plato and Aristotle, 516.
PASCHASIUS Radbert, II. 293.
PASCILUPI, IV. 509.
PASQUIER on the title of the kings of France, II. 249; France, 330; universities, 330; parents and children, 344; letter to his son, 345; the papacy, 429; the gibbet, III. 57; passions, when good, 373; amusing passage, 572; Roman oratory 586; the voice of the people, 590; IV. 121; the Jesuits, 474, 839.
PASSAVANTI, Jacob, works of, I. 551.
PASSION of our Lord, I. 696; II. 194, 221, 231.
PASSIONS, influence of on the judgment, III. 440.
PASUNTIUS flys from honors, I. 171.
PASTORS, unworthy, II. 457.
PATERNE St., IV. 428.
PATIENS St., munificent charity of, I. 65.
PATIENCE, noble manners rest on, I. 174; as taught and exhibited in the Church, III. 206, 209; in Catholic times, 219; Tertullian on, 886; Proverbs on, 886, 887; beauty and worth of, 888, 889; recommended to kings, 934; excellence of, IV. 568.
PATRICK St., blessed the child Lananas, I. 107; and Prince Conallus, II. 252; his mode of travelling, 454.
PATRITIUS, Francis, III. 510.
PATROCLUS, mildness of, I. 177.
PAUL St., before Felix, I. 46; to Philomena, 164; glories in having suffered, 674; Names Philemon before Archippus, II. 260; war with the senses, 646; painting of, represents him turning a mill, IV. 121; his love for Titus, IV. 413; place of his martyrdom, 611.
PAUL the deacon to King Charles, II. 260, IV. 390.
PAUL III., Pope, statutes of, I. 467; sent books to the abbey of St. Denis, IV. 171.
PAUL IV., Pope, IV. 353.
PAUL St., the hermit, death of, I. 781.
PAULA, St. Jerome on, I. 169; her pilgrimage, 719; her death, 789; IV. 491.
PAULUS, on a miracle of our Lord, II. 654.
PAULICIANS oppose devotion to the Cross, I. 509.
PAULINUS, Bishop of Nola, II. 468, 478; goes into slavery to redeem a captive, III. 103.
PAULUS, treason of, III. 49.
PAUPERISM produced by protestantism, III. 232.
PAVEMENTS of ancient churches, I. 450; worn by kneeling pilgrims, 451.
PAVIA, IV. 151.
PAZZI, family of, II. 181.
PAZZI, Rene, II. 665.
PEACE from humble suffering, I. 153; promoted, III. 809; its fruits, 810; St. Augustin on, 811; disposition towards, 813; love of, 814; fruits of, 815; aspirations for, 837; Plato on, 839; and the liturgy of the Church, 838, 841; processions, 845—50; how to find, 853; defined by St. Bonaventure, 855; St. Augustin on, 860; of heart, how preserved, 864; sought by all, 873; temple of in Rome, 874; Cicero on, 874; when shameful, 875; not in riches or pleasures, 877; should be the first object of a ruler, 926; St. Thomas on, 926; to secure the duty of kings, 927; sought on religious grounds, 987; and war, 992; confraternity of, 1035; order of, 1036; effected by a carpenter, 1070; Pope Alexander III., efforts for, 1085; efforts of Popes for, 1090, 1091.
PEACEMAKERS, Italian, III. 1069.
PEASANTRY in Catholic countries, I. 174.
PEASANTS invest a duke with authority, I. 243; of Burgundy better fed than the monks of Cluny, 304.
PECCHAM, Archbishop of Canterbury, II. 454.
PEDRO the cruel baseness of, I. 239.
PEDRO, Don, suppresses monasteries, IV. 852.
PEDRO IV., sacrifices honor to utility, I. 251.
PEERS, institution of in France, I. 303.
PELAGIUS, IV. 402.
PELAYO and his band, I. 71; tribute to, 256.
PELET, Louis, I. 116.
PELISSON, his confinement and conversion, I. 685; oder of, 686; on forgiveness of sins, II. 606; III. 51; liberty of conscience, 135; insulting language, 158; incredulity, 436; universal reason, 452; authority of the Church, 554; difference of doctrine, 562; the Saints and Luther, IV. 886.
PENAL laws in England, IV. 815.
PENALTIES for crime, III. 57.
PANALVAS, Marquis of, III. 217.
PENANCE, Fathers of the Church on, I. 701; St. Ephrem on, 702; solemn public, 703; Sacrament of, II. 563; public, notable examples of, 584; St. Gregory on, 609; Richard of St. Victor on, 609; imposed on Lombard, III. 55; on warriors, 832.
PENITENCE, what it is? II. 597.
PENITENT a, described, II. 596.
PENITENTS, bounty of to the poor, III. 257.
PENITENTIAL prisons, first mentioned, I. 708.
PENTHIEVRE, countess of, II. 402.
PEOPLE, the, St. Thomas, Bellarmines, St. Augustin, Suarez etc. on, I. 270; subject to the law of justice, 270; the object of the Church's care, 271; convened in assembly in 831, 275.
PEPIN, converts his palaces into a church, II. 122.
PEREZ, John, Franciscan, IV. 466.
PERCIVAL, Sir, his hempen shirt, I. 53.
PERICLES, a saying of, II. 359; on female virtue, 397; on war, III. 831; on praises of men, IV. 660.
PERIGORD, Cardinal de, III. 1069.
PERIPATETICS of the 16th century, III. 509.
PERJURY, crime of, 677.
PERNELLE, wife of Nicholas Flamel, II. 394.
PERPETUUS, Archbishop, will of, II. 466.
PERSECUTION and piety, IV. 551; of the Church, 610; two kinds, 862.
PERSECUTED, the, IV. 545.
PERSECUTORS, modern, IV. 859; who are most formidable, 863.
PERSIANS, observations of Isocrates on, I. 265.
PERUGINO, III. 422.
PERWEZ and his son, III. 827.
PESTILENCE in Italy, III. 298.
PETAVIAN library, IV. 178.
PETAVIUS on the ancient heresies, I. 591.
PETER, abbot of Mount Cassino, IV. 338.
PETER, abbot of St. Gildas, II. 471.
PETER, a Carmelite, preaching of, II. 513.
PETER St., martyr, IV. 637.
PETER of Blois, I. 67; classical authors cited by, 593; disputation, III. 913; christian unity, 962; love of country, 983; describes certain soldiers, 1007; bishops who adopted the title of barons, 1049; reproves an abbot, IV. 27; virtue of monks, 42, 249, 437, 442, 645; advice to a bishop, 753; to John of Salisbury, 777.
PETER of Cluny, II. 481.
PETER, King of Aragon, II. 335; IV. 89.
PETER St., comes to Rome, I. 198; supremacy of, 200; Altar on which he celebrated Mass, 426; chain with which he was bound, 461; why he was permitted to fall, IV. 755.
PETER of Ghent, II. 496.
PETER, abbot of Andrenes, I. 417.
PETER of Andalusia, III. 358.
PETER the venerable on pride, I. 308; literary zeal of, 550; letter to, 562; accusations against, 693; death of, 782; to Heloise, II. 385; III. 33, 149; and Abailard, 481; divine and human science, 597, 642; monarchy, 664; vision of, 725; discretion, 217; love for his monks, 419; remonstrates with a bishop, 444; dissensions between monks, 695.
PETER St. Damian, II. 469, III. 34, 477; IV. 410.
PETER, surnamed the sinner, I. 407.
PETER of Apono, works on magic, III. 695.

PETER of Verona, III. 201, 210.
PETER, Abbot of Einseideln, III. 1106.
PETER St. Chrysologus, III. 99.
PETER St. Gonçalez, III. 195, 305.
PETER St. Nolasco, III. 141.
PETER, a hospital patient, III. 330.
PETER of Ireland, master of St. Thomas, IV. 209.
PETER'S St. church, site of, I. 425.
PETRARCH, his praise of the people of Cologne, I. 167; adventure with Roman ladies, 179; letter of the Emperor Charles to, 226; and the Emperor, 240; love for churches, 481; the fountain of Vaucluse, 502; how news of his death was received, 516; honored during his lifetime, 520; on St. Augustin, 591; his reception in a monastery, 645; his wandering life, 723; night devotions of, II. 52; fasts of, 158; on the sciences, 190; love for his servant, 358; portrait of Laura, 406; on his love of Laura, 417; his episcopal friend, 452; desire to be good, III. 461; peace, 822, 898, 923; censure of a disturber, 953; last days of Garcius, 960; description of cloister life, IV. 47, 54; enjoyment of a Carthusian monastery, 280; pride in his Carthusian brother, 281; monastic life, 370, to the general of the Carthusians, 453.
PETRONIO St., festival of, III. 71.
PETRUS Cellensus on seductions of Paris, IV. 211.
PHÄDRUS, Thomas, IV. 172.
PHEBUS, Gaston, I. 557.
PHILIP of Macedon, II. 639.
PHILIP Augustus, testament of, I. 248; regulations against licentious poets, 289; emancipates the serfs of Orleans, III. 116; the crusades, 1017; at the battle of Bouvines, 1003; in a storm at sea, IV. 149, 460; and the Pope, 741.
PHILIP I. of France, coronation of, II. 486; and Ives de Chartres, 487; excommunicated, 488.
PHILIP II. of Spain, builds the Escurial, I. 483.
PHILIP LE BEL, II. 115, 313; III. 948; and the pope, IV. 741
PHILIP, Emperor, IV. 207.
PHILIP IV. of Spain, submitted to a sentence against him, I. 234.
PHILIP IV. of France, I. 796.
PHILIP II. of Burgundy rewards independance, I. 239; III. 966.
PHILIP, Count of Namur, IV. 452.
PHILIP, Count of Flanders, IV. 748.
PHILIP de Comenes, I. 566.
PHILIP St. Neri, his chamber as occupied by him, I. 373; night vigils of, II. 248; ecstasy of, III. 772; IV 667, 689.
PHILOGONUS, I. 598.
PHILOSOPHER, St. Jerome's definition of, IV. 346.
PHILOSOPHERS, catholic and sectarian, I. 579; of the middle ages, II. 26; modern pretensions of, 27; immorality of ancient, 622; of the latin Roman Empire, III. 454; of the 9th century, 475; heathen, revised, 507; catholic and anti-catholic, 549; catholic, humility of, 578, 579; arrogance of modern, 582; whimsical, 593; of the musty school, 594; pride of, 598; opposed to religion, 599; mystic and scholastic, 619; catholic, appreciate the dignity of man, 627; Gentile and catholic, 633; Socrates on contempt for, IV. 549.
PHILOSOPHY, Bonald on, I. 244; of a people, its legislation, 247; how can a state use without corrupting, 290; modern and catholic contrasted, 349; less powerful than painting, 480; in the middle ages, III. 457, 474; Frederick Schlegel on, 457; St. Gregory Nazienzen on, 458; in harmony with theology, 512; true and false views of, 518; various ideas of, 521; how accepted by the Church, 525; separated from religion, 529; modern, 529; christian and pagan, 533; subjects beyond its sphere, 539; ancient view of, 545; servant of the Church, 557; of inquisition and demonstration, 557; of the moderns, 560; systems of, 561; and theology, 563; Alanus de Insulis on, 567; modern, 585; of catholic schools, 586; a criterion of, 599; marks of a false, 600; what it should be, 600; Plato on study of, 601; the catholic view, 620; Hugo of St. Victor on, 623; catholic, ennobling influence of, 626; Utilitarian, 629; Melchior Canus on, 642; spirit of modern, 655; source of, 736; opinion of the Fathers on, 737; study of, IV. 236; the schoolastic, 381; christian, 382; St. Bonaventure on, 382.
PHOTIUS, pride of, I. 75.
PHYSICIANS of distinction, III. 510.
PHYSIOGNOMY, skill in, III. 38; study of, 647; experience in, 879.
PIAGALE, Herculanus de, II. 534.
PICCOLOMINI, duke of Amalphi, III. 260.
PICTURES religious, use of in first ages of christianity, I. 476.
PICUS Francis, II. 311; III. 407, 460, 508, 516, 583, 588, 718, 735, 742, 755; IV. 47, 176; love of, solitude and books, 422; letter of, 660.
PICUS of Mirandula, I. 561; his reply to Savonarola, 592; to his nephew, II. 345; gives his silver vessels to the poor, 354; to his sister, 382; on integrity, 550; III. 516, 531, 538, 584, 587, 611, 615, 628, 742, 744, 865.
PIERRE, Eustache de Saint, II. 553.
PIERREFONDS, Lord of, III. 1080.
PIETY, seems to preserve youthfulness, I. 139; false, 150; effects of, III. 451, 656.
PILATE'S motives, II. 276.
PILGRIMAGES prescribed to homicides, I. 710; an excuse for non-residence, II. 216; preceded by alms, III. 257.
PILGRIMS, returned better men, I. 716; condemned by worldly wanderers, 717; from England, 721; commend a story, letters given to, 731; rules, 732; books composed for, 733; bountiful to the poor, 734; gave rise to many towns, 735; privileged persons, 736; hostels established for them, 736; hospitals for, 737; welcome guests, 738; protected in time of war, 739; not newsbearers, 740; simple and affable, 741; dignity of, 744; provided for, III. 328, 330.
PIN, Gilbert de, III. 884.
PIN, John du monk, poet and naturalist, I. 518.
PINDAR on humility, I. 75; unholy deeds, 88; happiness, 136; deceit in oratory, 274; unjust praise, 279; virtues of Diagoras, 302; legends, 512; human affairs, 656; knowledge, III. 669; nothing divine incredible, 672.
PIQUOTTI, on art, I. 672.
PIRATES spare a convent, IV. 426.
PISA, memoirs of, I. 397; cathedral of, 407, 471; baptistery of, 408; and Genoa make peace before battle, III. 813; fall of, 1004.
PISAN, Christina de, her learning, I. 593; to her son, II. 305.
PIUS V. Pope, denounces cruelty to animals, III. 24; and Cardinal Moron, 41; and Mary Queen of Scots, 80; and Philip 3d, 80; as commissioner general of the inquisition, 173; after death, 176; warns the King of France, 187; how he treated his traducer, 213; tends the sick, 349; gift to a hospital, 359.
PIUS VI. Pope, letter to Napoleon, I. 207; IV. 260.
PIUS VII. Pope, his return to Rome, I. 205.
PIZICARDIS, Francis de, 633.
PLACEA, Bartholomew de, IV. 652.
PLACENTIA, council of, III. 1015.
PLACENTIA, Ruffinus de, IV. 653.
PLAGUE, time of, III. 295; in Paris, 299; in London, 299; in Athens, 350.
PLATEANS, terrible punishment of, I. 768.
PLATO on the chief object of legislation, I. 245; value of unity in a state, 266; influence of assemblies, 273; Rhetoricians, 274; good of the state 278; public interests, 287; punishing transgressions of poets,

239; hard question of, 290; images of naked men, 313; music, 531; study of astronomy, 584; truth, 591; Fleury's remark on, 591; Latin translation of, 612; true end of education, 634; laughter, 668; pleasure and grief, 676; injustice and punishment, 677; love and melancholy, 678; number of the very good and the very wicked, 693; a supreme object, II. 22; night and its uses, 46; character of, 278; description of a man of the world, 278; small concessions, 284; love, 415; an orator's power, 539; philosophy, 572; lust and avarice, 581; confession of sin, 582; the right to direct, 585; a king, 640; the unjust man, 643; love, III. 13, 26, 47, 350; slaves, 96; sacrilege, 188; purification, 371; wants of the body, 372; passions, 373; truth, 434; philosophy, 464; and Dionysius, 456; money making, 456; definition of a philosopher, 519; test of a philosopher, 527; ideas, 541; philosophers, 593; study of philosophy, 601; the beautiful, 609; the real philosopher, 628; love of good men, 629; beauty, 631; acuteness of evil persons, 633; studies of nature, 641; faith in good men, 663; miracles, 665; value of traditions, 736; St. Augustin's preference for, 739; Count de Maistre on, 740; delight in God, 765; cause of war, 794; peace, 839; truth, 866, 882; IV. 32, 37; continence, 38; teaching his disciples, 59; and Demosthenes, 349; on Socrates, 383; persons who retire from the world, 451; the reproaches of the vulgar, 661; just men, 680; Bolingbroke's criticism of, 684; instruments of war, 824; shame, 885.

PLAYS, sacred, I. 384; medieval, literary merit of, 538; abuses of, 539.

PLEASURE man yearns for, II. 129; and cruelty, 572; enslavement to, 644; lovers of, III. 14; contempt of, 403; St. Chrysostom on, 403.

PLINY on fame, I. 96; his houses, 312; contrasts school and forum, 635; sickness, 762; magic, III. 697.

PLOTINUS, III. 509.

PLUTARCH, on the influence of example, I. 19; flatterers, 88; rules for conversation, 106; youthful education, 127; assemblies, 273; hearing, 479; criterion of progress in virtue, 676; on music, II. 90; on love in woman, 416; on confessing error, 582; change of life, 592.

PODHAYEO, Nicholas Wolski de, IV. 168.

POETIC character of the people in Medieval times, I. 519.

POETRY, its uses and delights, I, 512; not incompatible with religion, 514; first treatise in French on art of, 518; love of, 526; and christian civilization, 521; in harmony with faith of the middle ages, 532; medieval religious character of, 534; influence of the Church on, II. 98; debt of to christian festivals, 184; in the ages of faith, III. 417.

POETS of the early christian ages, I. 515; of the cloister, 517; of the middle ages esteemed during their lifetime, 520; of ancient Gaul, 523; princes and nobles, 523, 524; Suabian, 524; German, 524; of pure and moral lives, 534; and philosophers, piety of, II. 140; pagan and christian, 306; and poetry of immoral character, 308; of old, 310; monastic, IV. 371, 372.

POLAND, persecutions in, IV. 858.

POLE, Cardinal decrees of relative to the poor, I. 67.

POLITIAN, Angelo, III. 462, 470.

POLITICAL freedom and religious docility, I. 261; economy, first chairs of founded, I. 379; modern economy, sadness of, 660.

POLITICIANS of vile character, I. 241; modern, 246; false principles of, II. 282.

POLITICS, subservient to religion, I. 248.

POLLALION, Madame de, III. 288.

POLYDORE, Virgil, remarks on, II. 42.

PONCE, Abbot of Cluny, IV. 327.

PONTE, Nicholas, II. 548.

POOR, the, in the Church, I. 46; gifts to, 64; two thirds of the church offerings given to, 65; nourished by Pope Innocent, III. 67; prelates notable for their charity to, 67; faith of, 270; in church, II. 125; in the middle ages, 317; privileges of, III 119; how affected by the reformation, 231; in ancient times, 235, 237; hospital for in Vienna, 239; Catholic institutions for, 238, 239; law of Charlemagne concerning, 238; in Rome, 239; in Spain, 239; in Portugal, 258; bounty of the Church to, 262; the property of the Church their inheritance, 269; received the tenth part, 278; remembered at meal-times, 279; distribution of food to, 279; invited to feasts, 289; confraternities to aid, 291; Guy de Roye on helping, 302; interment of, IV. 159; in pagan and christian times, 460.

POOR scholars generously assisted, I. 628; Colleges founded for, 629, 630; in Spain, 630.

POPE Alexander, shallow thoughts of, IV. 598.

POPES, the, respect for in the middle ages, I. 203, 204; encourage literature, 542; patrons of the first printers, 543; wash the feet of strangers, 739; authority of, II. 411; appeals to, 433; raised from low stations, II. 441; sanctity and greatness of, 445; temporal power of, 445; exercised and recommended right of enfranchisement, III. 100; sacrifice kingdoms in behalf of justice to defenceless women, III 127; protect Jews, 182; liberality of, 262; influence in behalf of peace, 1082, 1089.

POPPO, Archbishop of Treves, III. 105.

POPULAR power, tendency of, I. 290.

PORCAIRE St., IV. 628.

PORTINARI, Falco, I. 380.

PORTUGAL, purity of its women, II. 372; confraternities for relief of prisoners, III. 88; an English traveler in, 217; treatment of the poor, 258.

POSTS established in France, I. 339.

POUCYN, Thomas, abbot of Canterbury, I. 788.

POVERTY, pagan feeling concerning, I. 40; christian estimate of, 40; St. Teresa on, 47; merits of, 50; dignity of in catholic countries, 55; love of, a virtue, 60; not a baseness, 306; no bar to promotion in the Church, II. 441; in our times, III. 235; St. Bernardine on, 239; advantages of, IV. 30.

POWERFUL and luxurious, warning to, I. 307.

PRACTEXTATUS, Bishop of Rouen, IV. 557, 648.

PRADO, St. John de, IV. 631.

PRAGMATIC Sanction, effect of I. 217.

PRAYER of preparation before Mass, I. 669; defined by St. Thomas and others, II. 60; De Maistre on, 61; form of, 76; composed by saints, 78; must not be a studied composition, 77; the Church's care regarding, 78; Hugo of St. Victor on, 76; of the heart not of the lips, 110; Louis of Blois on, 110; attitudes in, 111; a peculiar and edifying distraction during, III. 262.

PRAYER BOOKS before the invention of printing, II. 112; printed in the 15th century, 112.

PRAYERS for the dead, II. 161.

PREACHERS of great force, II. 512, 516, 519; Dominican and Franciscan, 530.

PREACHING, council of Tours on, II. 523; council of Arles on, 523; Guibert de Nogent on, 523; of the 16th century reformers, 526, 528; of the middle ages, 538, 539.

PRECIOUS stones, III. 686.

PREDESTINATION, early works on, II. 684.

PREFACE, the, song of, II. 100.

PREJUDICE, power and origin of, III. 438; a malady of our nature, 439.

PRESBYTERIANS, abolish Christ's birthday, I. 690.

PRIDE, consequence of, I. 91; impoverishes the imagination, 521; the root of lust, II. 169; unfavorable to truth, III. 429; leads to impurity, 429.

PRIERIO Sylvester Mozzolini de, III. 296.

PRIEST, the, what he is, II. 142, 143; respect for, 436, 437; character and duty of, 462; and philosopher converse, III. 457.

PRIESTS the best teachers of kings, I. 253 ; forbidden to bear arms, II. 459; forbidden to excite litigation, 906 ; massacred in France, IV. 807 ; tried for treason in England, 814.
PRIMACY of Peter, III. 613.
PRIMOGENITURE, duties it imposed, II. 349.
PRINCE, the, or ruler, laws of the visigoths regarding, II. 641; and tyrant, difference between, III. 955.
PRINCELY and noble poets in the 15th century, I. 594.
PRINCES, proper instruction of, I. 52 ; who refused crowns, 228 ; subjection of to the law, 234 ; books written for, 250; who were poets, 524, 525; noted for piety, II. 234; devoted to the Church, 246, 247; who were peacemakers, III. 1062, 1063.
PRINCES who retired to convents, II. 384.
PRINTING introduced in Iceland I. 554 ; in England, I. 554.
PRINTING PRESS, the first one in Italy, I. 554 ; monks hasten to avail themselves of the invention of, 554.
PRIOR of Avis, III. 287.
PRISCA, Empress, piety of, II. 133.
PRISON of the ministers of Charles X., III. 91.
PRISONERS released in Holy Week, II. 180; for debt, III. 65; woman's tenderness to, 68; Theodosian code regarding, 70; released on great festivals, 71 ; ceremonies attending release of at Rouen, 73; restored to all their rights, 75; notable release of, 76 ; Pope Innocent III. intervenes in behalf of, 79; burial of those executed, 88 ; confraternities to relieve, 88 ; escape from execution, 93; last moments, 94.
PRISONS, condition of, III. 63 ; in catholic countries, 64.
PRIULI, Lorenzo, III. 410.
PRIVATE judgment, universal disorder, I. 841; consequences of, II. 658.
PRIVILEGES of the people, I. 297; of towns and cities, 298; granted by Monarchs, 300.
PRIX St., IV. 650.
PROCESSIONS with litanies, antiquity of, II. 85; importance of, 86 ; described by Tasso, 87; St. Charles' day at Milan, 87; St. Bernard on, 88; in the year thirteen hundred and thirty five, 242.
PRODIGALITY better than avarice, II. 561.
PROFESSIONS that unfit men for the cloister, IV. 236.
PROFESSORS of liberal arts, immunities granted to, I. 609; of learning raised to the dignity of Counts, 610.
PROGRESS, false pride in, II. 297.
PROPERTY, right to possession of, II. 352; relinquished by the clergy, 467.
PROPHECY and intelligence, III. 734; of a friar minor, IV. 393; of Columbkille, 894.
PROSPER of Aquitaine, II. 255.
PROSPERITY of the wicked, IV. 607.
PROTAGORAS, the Sophist, III. 527.
PROTESTANT Countries, rulers of, III. 561; captains, 1005.
PROTESTANTISM introduced by the powerful, I. 269; its ruins, 422; a principle of destruction, 422; nature and probable end of, II. 628; produced pauperism, III. 232; as a religion erects no monuments, 360; produced discord, IV. 818; its rise and progress, 821.
PROUD, the, vanity of their possessions, I. 349.
PROVERBS of the people, III. 561.
PROVIDENCE, interposition of, III. 657, 659.
PRUDENCE, false, II. 277.
PRUSSIA possessed no city before the arrival of the Teutonic knights, I. 353.
PSALMS, St. Ambrose on, II. 104.
PSALTER of the Empress Engelberg, II. 112.
PUBLIC opinion, danger of, II. 284.
PUDENTIENNE St., church of, I. 426.
PULCHERIA, IV. 491.
PULGER, Fernando Perez del, chivalrous adventure of, II. 243.
PUNISHMENT, Aeschylus on, III. 189.
PURCELL on ancient church charts, II. 98.
PURGATORY, Sir Thomas More on, II. 615.
PURIFICATION, feast of, II. 155.
PURITY of soul, III. 371, 377, 384 ; pagan and christian compared, 407 ; advantages of, 426 ; of great christian philosophers, 427.
PYTHAGORAS, Muller's remark on, I. 253 ; abstinence of, 702 ; reasons for leaving home, 714 ; on a bark sailing to Egypt, 744 ; use of music, II. 89 . contempt for honors, 448; on wickedness, 641; method of, IV. 217 ; prescribes abstinence, 221 ; lost public favor, 796.
PYTHAGOREAN, the, and the innkeeper, III. 13 ; maxim, 432; lessons of, 640 ; belief in the providence of God, 659 ; a magician, 694.
PYTHAGOREANS, their early morning exercises, II. 43; prescribed music in the evening, 58 ; symbols, 65 ; reason for revering parents, 344 ; forbade hunting, 482; impart wisdom to the select, 478 ; exhorted to beware of pleasure, 561 ; discipline, 636 ; miracles, 671 ; community life of, IV. 31.
QUEENS who led cloistered lives, II. 374.
QUELEN de, Archbishop of Paris, IV. 658 ; medal in commemoration of, 774.
QUERFURT, Baron of, II. 367.
QUINCTILIAN, advice to boys, I. 18 ; oral instruction, 626 ; on facility of accusing, III. 445.
QUINTAVILLE, Bernard de, IV. 683.
QUINZANA, Stephena, III. 400.
QUIRINUS, Vincentius, IV. 313.
QUIROLIO, Michael, IV. 490.
RABAN MAUR, on practice of virtue, II. 293, 539 ; rules for composition of sermons, 535 . predestination, 684; tomb of, 792; the Cross, 703; charity, III. 20 ; disciple of Alcuin, 475 ; the Scriptures, 750; founding towns, IV. 100 ; introduced Greek literature in Germany, 192.
RACES of men, III. 792.
RACHIZ, king of the Longobards, IV. 292.
RACINE, his description of a christian child, I. 121.
RADBERT Paschasius, I. 567; classical learning of, 593; the Eucharist, III. 476.
RADEGUND St., III. 69.
RAGINBERT, Bishop of Passau, III. 332.
RAGUENAL, Madam, wife of Bertrand du Guesclin, III. 689.
RAIMOND Florimond de, IV. 820, 821.
RAIMUND, Archbishop of Toledo. III. 496.
RAINALDO, Archbishop of Ravenna, III. 584.
RAINAULD, a monk of Ouches, IV. 403.
RAIS, Marchaldo, prosecution of for magic, III. 701.
RALEIGH, Sir Walter, I. 84.
RAMBERT, a young monk, IV. 243.
RAMIERES, Martin, II. 337.
RAMSAY, founding of the abbey of, II. 267.
RAMUS, Petrus, III. 509.
RANULPH, Flambart, III. 689.
RANULPHUS, father of English lawyers, I. 582.
RAOUL, the ploughman, I. 32.
RAPERSCHWIL, counts of, IV. 305.
RAPERTUS, monk and poet, IV. 371, 375.
RAPHAEL, his teacher in art a friar, I. 475.
RAPTURES, devotional, I. 148.
RASCHAU, Marquard von, III. 196.
RATHERIUS, Bishop of Verona, III. 812, 935, 947; IV. 156, 646.
RATIONALISM, bad effects of, II. 633, 647; phases of, III. 435.
RATIONALIST writers, II. 296.
RAUMER, reflections of, IV. 49.
RAVENNA, I. 375; approach to, 398; votive churches in, 407; church of St. Theodore, 426; inscription in the cathedral of, 819.
RAYMOND St., of Pennafort, I. 550 ; II. 426, 584 ; III. 109, 175; IV. 649.
RAYMOND of Toulouse, III. 165, 167, 220.
RAYMUND of Placentia, I. 718.

RAYMUND St., of Nonnatus, IV. 628.
READING during repasts, I. 322; the food of thought, 678, in the monasteries, IV. 220.
REAL PRESENCE, St Chrysostom on, III. 762, belief in, 763. 764 Gerbert on, 765 St Teresa on, 766, 767.
REALISM, III. 478. 486, 541.
REASON, without grace, III. 403 430; conjunction of truth and intellect, 543, its use and abuse, 551; individual, 552; universal, 552; in relation to faith, 556, 564.
REBAPTISM forbidden, I. 201.
RECHARIDUS King, in the council of Toledo, I. 248.
RECLUSES of Lyons, II. 79; in the 11th and 12th centuries, 381; of St. Gall, 381: lives of defended, 382.
RECREATION, necessity for, IV. 205.
REFECTORIES of oted convents, IV. 14.
REFORM in many convents, V. 238.
REFORMATION, influence of on manners, II. 647, 648.
REFORMERS, who needed to be reformed, II. 304; writings of, 307 preaching of, 526 character and objects of, 625, 627; want of Christ among, III. 16; ferocious spirit of, 180, 200; opposition to, IV. 639, 811; follow the policy of Julian, 815; hypocrisy of, 846.
REGAL, insignia, II. 238.
REGINHARD Bishop of Liege, III. 1055.
REGIS, St. Francis, I. 115, 173.
REGNIER John, his love of the peasantry, I. 305, 595.
REINALDUS, Abbot of Preux, IV. 28.
REINHARD, III. 486.
RELICS of saints, veneration for, I. 457; protestant precipitancy regarding, 457; translation of, 458; brought to the West in the 7th century, 460; regarded as precious treasures, 462; of St. Ambrose, 462; of St. Anthony, 463; of St. Thomas of Canterbury, 463; of St. Vincent De Paul, 464; of Saints, IV. 134; in abbeys, 85; how prized, 136.
RELIGION, or the world, claims human energies, I. 17; not Catholic in a Catholic state, III. 176; subordinated to politics, 187; frequent changes of in the Palatinate, 502.
RELIGION, Catholic, forms and promotes generous and gentlemanly behavior, I. 164; definition and importance of, 195; ennobles obedience, 244; false philosophy contrasted with, 244; sanctifies progress, 293; creative spirit of, 351; caused the birth and increase of many cities, 355; veneration of, 464; puts the stamp of her genius on mountains and deserts, 498, 717; importance of, II. 37; the highest duty, 230; power of, 234; separated from life, 661; difference in, no just cause for war, III. 116; must be voluntary, 161; joys and consolation of, 757.
RELIGIOUS houses, earliest founders, IV. 491.
RELIGIOUS influences, heretical desire to destroy, I. 137; basis of legislation, 244.
RELIGIOUS extravagance a source of insanity, I. 192.
REMI St., I. 68; attracts and tames wild birds, 493; II. 449.
REMORSE, a source of conversions, IV. 307.
REMY St., tomb of, IV. 163.
RENAUD de Chartres, II. 454.
RENÉ of Anjou, I. 475.
RENELLE St., IV. 620.
RESEMBERG, count of, IV. 294.
RESURRECTION feast of, II. 222.
REUCHLIN John, III. 508.
REVENGE, a Spanish maxim on, I. 85: prayed for, II. 653.
REVOLUTION, (French) incident of, II. 220.
RHEGINUS, Matthew, IV. 428.
RHEIMS, chapter of, I. 68; Archbishop of, 68; church of, 403; rebuilding of its Cathedral, 406; council of, 684; church of, II. 432; council of, 447; Archbishops of, 449, 454; siege of by the English, III. 125; council of, 1000, 1083.
RHETORICIANS contempt for, I. 274.
RHODES, I. 747.
RHODIANS. Strabo on, I. 241.
RHYME, first beginning of, II 33.
RIBADENEIRA objects to a soft and delicate education, I. 52.
RICAREDE, III. 968
RICCINI, countess of, II. 257
RICH, the, timeservers, I 44; cold and uncharitable, 56; unbelievers, 270; selfishness of the modern, 303, faith and piety of, II. 238: and poor saved by charity, III. 303; and great respected by the poor, III. 229; and proud V. 547.
RICHARD of Normandy, II. 325; III. 729, 1068; IV. 261. 492.
RICHARD, a Franciscan, preaching of, II. 511.
RICHARD I., King, naval laws of, I. 254; gift to the Church, 454; and the charter of Rouen, II. 351; to Archbishop Adalbert, 472; avarice of, 802; death of, 842; IV. 96, 718.
RICHARD, prince of Capua, III. 278.
RICHARD of Bury, reflections on war, III. 830; tribute to books, IV. 173; on libraries, 180.
RICHARD of St. Victor on impressive words of Scripture, II. 69; sermon of, 196; paschal sermon of, 257; motives of doing good, 279; love, 415; evil persons, 444; man's erring judgment, 586; governing the affections, 588: penitence, 597, 609; pride, 669; free will, 685; fear, 687; grace, 689; charity, III. 288; heinousness of sin, 386; holy desires, 393; love, 394; evil thoughts, 395: spiritual love, 399; vice, 430; neglect of learning, 462, 483; experimental science, 546; faith, 553; faith and reason, 565; virtue and grace, 577; humility of, 580: concupiscence, 586; poverty of language, 594; truth, 598; corporal sense, 604; discretion, 608; the Trinity, 629; miracles, 662; pagan philosophy, 739; the scriptures, 746; union with God, 774; illumination of soul, 776; earnest souls, 779; the spirit of contention and war, 799; what the world is, IV. 289; evil men, 607; reflections on life, 868.
RICHARD St., of York, IV. 190, 675.
RICHARD, Archbishop of Canterbury, IV. 30, 447.
RICHARD, abbot of St. Vienne, IV. 227.
RICHARD, monk of St. Remi, IV. 417.
RICHARIUS St., I. 774; and King Dagobert, II. 497: III. 36, 107; IV. 452.
RICHELIEU, policy of, I. 218; III. 1060.
RICHELIEU, Cardinal du Plessis de, III. 299.
RICHENZA, Emperor, III. 928.
RICHERIUS, I. 99.
RICHES, evils of, I. 50, when lawful, III. 229; without alms regarded a crime, 230; Hesiod on, 442.
RICULPHE, Bishop of Frejus, II 453.
RIENZIS, reputation as a poet saves his life, I. 530.
RIGHTS of men in Catholic Nations II. 324.
RIGOBERT St., II. 449.
RINALDO, the hermits reproof to, II. 559; his shield, 560.
RING, the episcopal, II. 432.
RINGS significant of fidelity to one's word, I. 87.
RIO, on christian art, III. 422, 425.
RITUAL, its treasures, II. 142; and popular taste, 219; its unity and variety, 220; its beauty, 221, 222; influence of, III. 604.
ROBBER, a penitent, story of, II. 610.
ROBERT, duke of Normandy, III. 257, 1092; IV. 156.
ROBERT, king of France, piety of, I. 736; II. 133, 677; III. 61, 247. 274, 906, 959.
ROBERT, brother of St. Louis, I. 322.
ROBERT, Bishop of Lincoln, IV. 191.
ROBERT, Count of Anjou, III. 489.
ROBERT of St. Evroul, IV. 216, 837.
ROBERTSON on the Catholic Missionaries in America, II. 501.
ROCHEFORT, Guido de, and his wife, III. 890.

ROCHERUS, legend of, IV. 407.
RODOLPH, Emperor, self-denial of, I. 703.
RODOLPH of Hapsburg, II. 667; III. 1068.
RODOLPH, Archbishop of Arles, III. 111.
RODULF, Abbot, journey across the Alps, I. 726.
RODULF, Count, at Monte Casino, II. 114.
RODULPH of Austria dies, I. 726.
RODULPH, a monk, adventure of, IV. 273.
RODULPH, prior of Cameldoli, IV. 499.
ROGATION days, II. 162.
ROGER, Count, IV. 470, 483.
ROGER of the purse, III. 278.
ROGER, Duke of Calabria, II. 135.
ROGER, king of Sicily mourns the death of his wife, II. 411; never idle, 665; III. 276.
ROHESIA, daughter of Aubrey de Vere, II. 393.
ROLAND of Cremona, III. 175.
ROLLIN, youth of, I. 130.
ROLLO, rule of, II. 325.
ROMAIN St., release of prisoners in his honor, III. 73; life of, 673.
ROMAN Breviary, II. 463, 464.
ROMAN calendar of the 4th Century, II. 216.
ROMAN Matrons, II. 387.
ROMAN oratory, III. 586.
ROMAN Pontiffs, exercise of jurisdiction by, I. 21.
ROMAN ritual and customs, II. 34; liturgy, 63; offices, antiquity of, 63.
ROMAN See, its power, II. 427.
ROMANCE of the Rose, I. 526; II. 305.
ROMANCE of chivalry, II. 310.
ROMANCES, origin of, I. 513; Carlovingian, III. 951, 1009.
ROMANS, morals of, II. 573; virtues of, 574.
ROMANS, Humbert de, IV. 404.
ROME, christian and pagan, I. 70; its claims, 198; Tacitus on, 198; Dante on, 198; Petrarch on, 198, Tertullian on, 198; St. Vincent de Paul on, 199, as seen by the author, 199; supremacy of, 200, 201; Tasso on, 359; Chateaubriand on, 359; St. Chrysostom on, 359; streets of, 366; author's description of, 369; sacked by the troops of Charles V., 396 thoughts it excites, 397; history of its churches, 425, 426; advantages of visiting, 722; sacked by lutheran troops, III. 130.
ROMUALD St., cheerfulness of, I. 138; preaching of, II. 574; IV. 75, 505, 527, 673.
ROMUALD, a pious hunter, I. 326.
ROMULUS, a house of his time preserved, I. 372.
RONSARD, burial place of, IV. 170.
RONSARD'S poems, I. 526.
ROSALY of Palermo, II. 378.
ROSARY, early use of, II. 112; condition of things when St. Dominic formed the regular devotion of, III. 168.
ROSCELIN, III. 162, 478.
ROSENKREUZIAN society, III. 508.
ROSWITHA, III. 417.
ROTA, tribunal of, III. 185; Luther's testimony to its justice, 185.
ROTRON John, heroic devotion of, I. 230.
ROUEN saved by the generosity of monks, I. 68; pillage of, IV. 806.
ROUGEMONT count de, turns his castle into a hospital, I. 317.
ROUX, Danayn le, story of, I. 738.
ROYAL gifts to churches, I. 411, 412.
ROYSTON, origin of, II. 333.
ROZEVIN on faith and reason, III. 554.
RUBSA, Blanca, II. 412.
RUBENS, III. 1070.
RUBENS, Hieronymus, III. 418.
RUBERT of Padua, III. 286.
RUDOLPH, Abbot of St. Tron, IV. 301.
RUDOLPH, Count of Rapperschiel, IV. 470.
RUDULF, Archbishop of Canterbury, II. 467.
RUFFINUS, a Franciscan, sermons of, II. 534.
RUFFINUS, a hermit, IV. 505.
RULE, the only one without an exception, I. 151.
RULES of the Monastic Colleges, I. 632.
RULE of St. Benedict, IV. 214.
RULE of St. Francis, IV. 215
RULE, observance of, IV. 226.
RUMOLD St., IV. 622.
RUPERT, Emperor, III. 187, 1062.
RUSSELL, Sir John converts a church into a stable, I. 62.
RUZELA, begins rebuilding the church of St. Tron, I. 409.
SABA, the monk, IV. 366.
SABAS St., IV. 603.
SABBAT of the sorcerers, III. 707.
SABIAN, Elzear de, count, IV. 280.
SABUNDE, Raymond de, III. 507.
SACERDOTAL office, II. 463.
SACRED ORNAMENTS, care and preservation of, I. 455; vessels of great value, II. 82.
SACRED PLAYS, I 384.
SACRILEGE, punishment of, III 188.
SACRO CATINO, supposed to have belonged to the temple of Solomon, I 455.
SACY, Sylvester de, IV. 379.
SADNESS proceeds from self love, I. 665; the Church prays to be delivered from, 666.
SADOC, martyrdom of, IV. 620.
SAINT AMOUR, Guillaume du, IV. 440, 441.
SAINT GALL, tribute to, IV. 851.
SAINT SIMON, Claude de, IV. 243.
SAINTS, their honors came unsought, I. 74; avoid contradiction when possible, 75; meekness of, 172; spots sacred to their memories, 429, 430, 431; their love of natural scenery, 492; intercession of, II. 214; heroism of, 550.
SALADIN, cruelty of, III 129.
SALERNO, ·lege of, III. 126.
SALIC law, I. 285; III. 1014.
SALISBURY Cathedral, building of, I. 434.
SALOMON Bishop, orders play days for the students, IV. 206.
SALUTATI, Coluccio, IV. 374.
SALUTATIONS, christian, III. 21.
SALVATOR, miracles of, III. 662, 666.
SALVE REGINA, author of, I. 95; II. 33, 75.
SALVIAN, IV. 32.
SALZA, Hermann von, II. 650; III. 1069.
SALZBOURG, its cathedral, II. 135.
SAMSON St., III. 349.
SANCERRE, Louis de, III. 256.
SANCIUS Gonsalvus, II. 665.
SANCTITY, moving power of, II 224; foundation of 680.
SANCTUARY, privileges of, III. 55; violation of, 970.
SANOISY, Charles de, III. 467
SANSEVERINO, IV. 679.
SANTA FE, origin of, I 355.
SANTARAMENSIS, Antonius, IV. 304.
SAPONARO submits to its bishop, III. 185.
SAPRICIUS and Nicephorus, IV. 571.
SARABAITS. IV. 673.
SARAGOSSA, IV. 44.
SARASSIN deception, III. 112; justification of war against, 190; Innocent III. on, 191; subdue great part of Spain, 801; respect for hermits, IV. 536.
SARASSINS pray towards the south, I. 438.
SATAN, pacts with, III. 705; temptations from, IV. 400.
SATIRISTS of Louis XIV's time, II. 308.
SATISFACTION, council of Trent on, I. 701.
SATURDAY, holy, lessons of, II. 142.
SATURDAY, abstinence on, II. 166.
SAVARIC, Bishop of Auxerre, III. 1075.
SAVEDRA, Don, on the popes, I. 204; obedience of kings, 212; princes, 243; best books for a prince, 249; treaties with infidels, 250; on Hannibal, 258; the Reformation

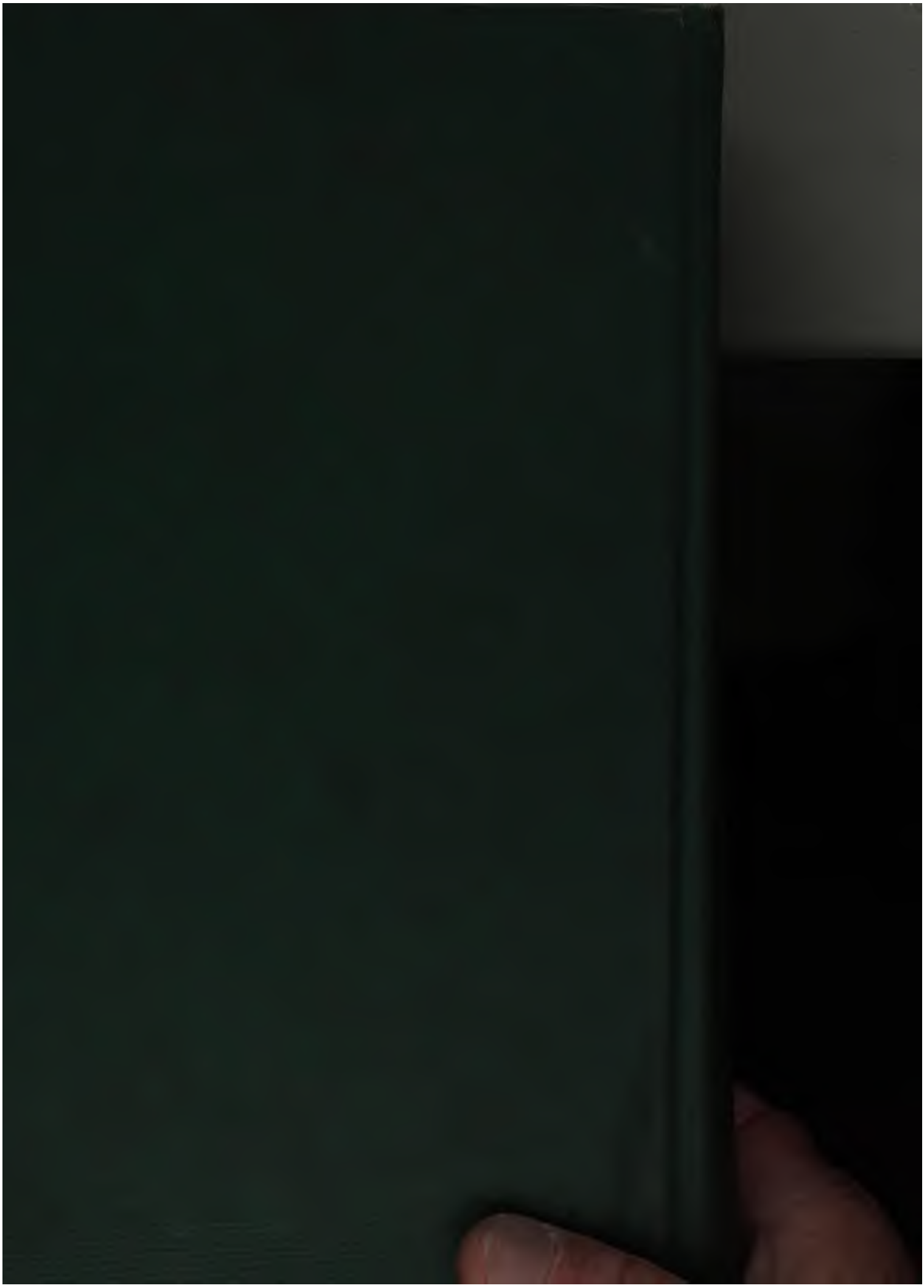
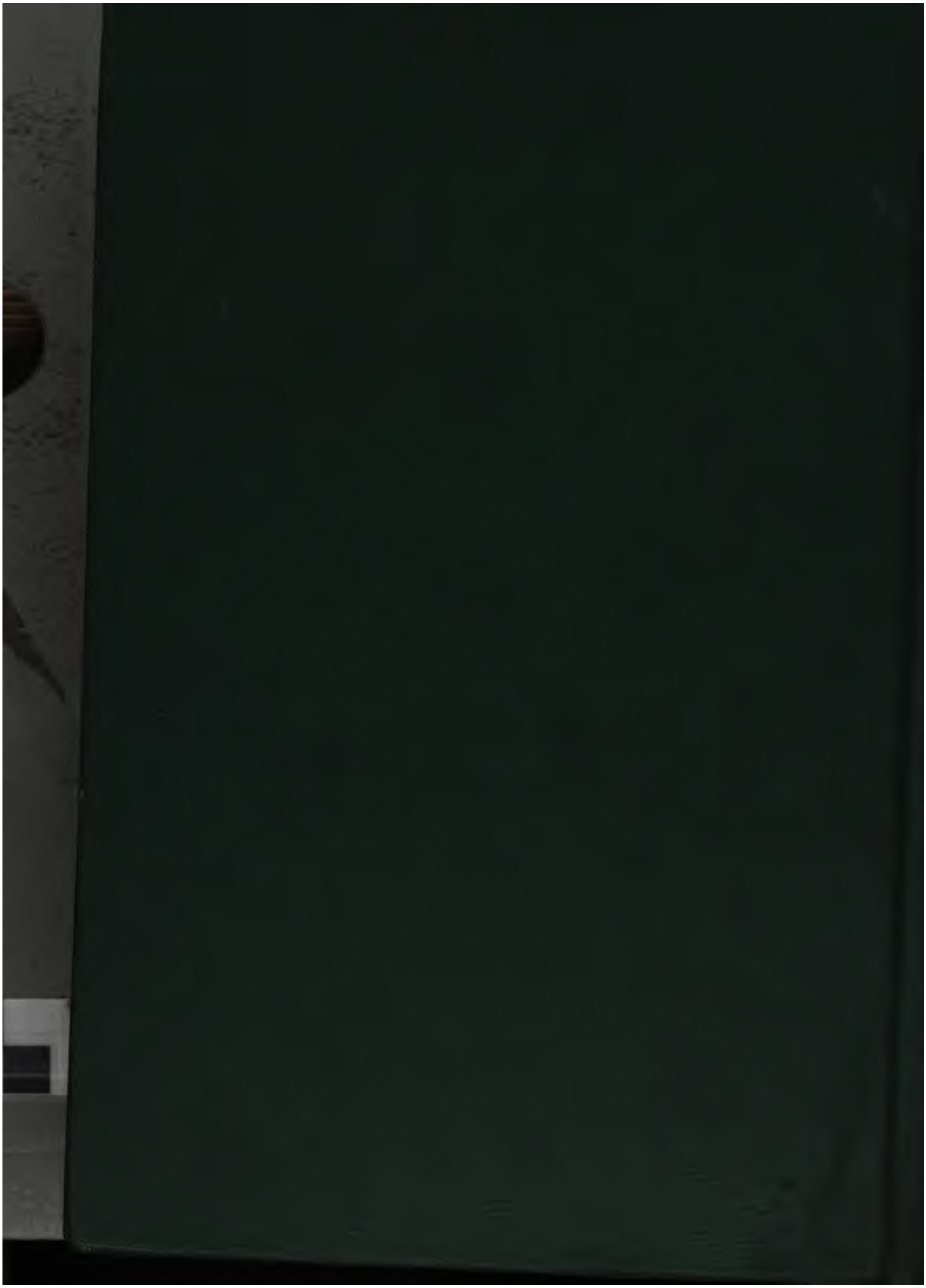
265; popular assemblies, 272; freedom, 293; war, III. 821.
SAVONAROLA, I. 591; preaching of, II. 511, 512, 530; his sermons immediately printed, 533; on christian life, 570; III. 90; sentence of, 170, 250; and John Picus, 285; on external expression, 378; purity of heart, 396; Catholic doctrine, 431; ignorance, 433; faith and reason, 566; Catholic wisdom, 588; unity and diversity, 612; the Church, 616; astrology, 718; the scriptures, 753; Christ in the Church, 757; the Incarnation, 758; the effects of the Eucharist, 769; education, IV. 207; simplicity, 333; sermons of, 456, 656; Touron's life of, 655.
SAXONY, conversions in, III. 195; not forced to embrace christianity, 1025.
SCALA, Signori della, II. 636.
SCALIGER Joseph, III. 421, 509, 582; IV. 103.
SCANDAL, St. Augustin on, II. 457; its evils, III. 29.
SCHELLING on history, III. 657.
SCHERODUS, Thomas, a boy martyr, IV. 580.
SCHILLER, his Fredolin, I. 129; mental disposition of, II. 22; memories of his youth, 24; in society, 363.
SCHISM, crime of, I. 192, 202; Louis of Blois on, III. 17; St. Augustin on, 18.
SCHLEGEL, Frederick, division of the middle ages, I. 14; English poetry, 25; system, 33; true quality of a christian state, 35; irony of the platonic writings, 141; the Ghibelines, 213; revolution, 286; sympathy for beasts, 493; fancy, 512; manipulation of manuscripts, 543; early poetry, I. 671; music, II. 90; interior conflicts, 578; evil of lying, 631; philosophy, III. 572, 581, 585; marks of a false philosophy, 600; reason and fancy, 606; holy hermits, 624; heathenism, 688; the scriptures, 746; interior enlightenment, 779; the descendants of Cain, 792.
SCHLEIRMACKER, III. 453.
SCHOLARS, happiness of, I. 556; of Paris invited to England by Henry 3d, 610; valley, 631; of different nations, 632; privileges of, III. 467; in time of war, 998.
SCHOLASTIC theology, what it embraced, I. 586; writers, III. 539; questions of, 540; wisdom, 563; philosophy, origin of, 567; theology, first teachers of, 617; mysticism, 617.
SCHOOL of the English in Rome, I. 602; of the Palace, 604; houses recommended to be built, 605; of Magdeburg, 607; recreations, 619; and forum contrasted, 635; of the abbey of St. Victor, V. 197.
SCHOOLMEN, greatness of, III. 536; humility of, 571; explicitness of, 595; work of, 642; respect for science, 643; disputes of, 915.
SCHOOLS in ages of faith, I. 321; of Alexandria, 600; Cæsarea—Palestina, 600; Rome, 600; Constantinople, 600; Carthage, 601; Milan, 601; first maintained at the expense of the State, 600; in Gaul, 601; parochial in Italy in the 5th century, 601; of cathedral churches first arose in Spain, 601; in France, 602; of Lyons, 602; Rheims, 602; of the Benedictines, 602; of Ireland, 603; of England, 603; of St. Benedict, 603; free, 605; ordered to be established by various councils, 606; established by Lothaire, 606, 607; third council of Lateran on, 607; zeal of Popes in establishing, 607; greater safety of catholic, 635; appended to basilicas, III. 473; of the middle ages, IV. 193; most distinguished in the 10th century, 195; of the Franciscans and Dominicans, 195; attached to the residences of Bishops, 200
SCHWARZENBERG, Conrad von, III. 382.
SCIENCE, religious, versus natural, I. 564; encouraged by the Church, III. 459; and faith, 549; temptations of, 569; St. Augustin on, 569; the demons have, 569; Richard of St. Victor on, 569; in the middle ages, 650; order of teaching in monastic schools, IV. 202; want of not a reproach, 344.
SCIPIO AFRICANUS, piety of, I. 130; despised a life of pleasure, 311.
SCOTIST SCHOOL, disciples of, III. 498.
SCOTISTS & THOMISTS, III. 497.
SCOTT, Sir Walter, pictures puritan gloom, I. 141; description of the castle of Glammis, 312; nobles and peasants of La Vendee, 320; portrait of Wilfrid, 670; meeting of Bruce and his sister, 682; a hostel, 738; church service, II. 38; a remark on, 140, 653; lay of the last minstrel III. 414.
SCOT, Michael, I. 572; his death, 767; his tomb, 811; on physiognomy, III. 30; warning against persons maimed, 357; translates from the Arabic, 487, 499; definition of philosophy, 644; physiognomy, 667; prediction of, 709; burial place of, IV. 170.
SCOTUS Dun, I. 583.
SCRIPTURES, knowledge of among the laity, II. 256; how not necessary, III. 743; to be believed on the authority of the Church, 744; abuse of, 744; versus heretics, 745; reading of, 746; Richard of St. Victor on, 746; care in translating, 747; the Church's care of, 748; first translation or into the Polish tongue, 749; first complete Italian translation of, 749; versions of in most of the European languages before the invention of printing, 749; Luther's edition of, 749; Hurter on the reading of, 749; great commentators on, 749; first divided into chapters, 750; St. Thomas on the exposition of, 750; interpretation of, 750; transcribed by Alcuin, 751; familiarity of the French with, 752; St. Bonaventure on, 752; St. Chrysostom on, 752; how regarded in the middle ages, 753; superiority of, 754; order of reading in Cluny, IV. 229.
SCROVINIO, Reginaldo, II. 667.
SCRUPLES proceed from spiritual pride, II. 663.
SCULPTURE in the Cathedral of Orvieto, II. 146.
SEAL of a prince of Antioch, II. 272.
SEASONS, symbolism of, II. 195.
SEBASTIAN, king and hero, II. 562; III. 682.
SEBONDE, Raymonde, I. 559.
SECRET of the Mass, why so called, II. 148.
SECULAR power in ecclesiastical elections, IV. 708.
SEDULIUS Irish priest and poet, I. 516, 565.
SÉEZ, episcopal palace of, II. 432.
SEINE St., IV. 84.
SELF CONTEMPLATION, II. 588.
SELF ESTEEM, men of, I. 20.
SELF LOVE, a source of evil, II. 565.
SELF SACRIFICE, christian and pagan, I. 700; II. 567; produced by catholic faith, III. 350.
SELF WILL, St. Anselm and Drexelius on, I. 185, 186.
SEMITIC language, II. 60.
SENECA on bodily and mental sickness, I. 689; on slaves, III. 96; and the christians, 434; IV. 661.
SENSE, corporal and spiritual, III. 604.
SENSES, war against, II. 646.
SENSIBILITIES, morbid, littleness of, I. 84.
SENSUALITY causes loss of faith, III. 430; IV. 802.
SENTIMENT and reason, III. 604.
SEPULVEDA, his book suppressed, III. 118, 509.
SERAPHIM, III. 628.
SERAPHION St., IV. 27.
SERFDOM, influence of the Church in abolishing, I. 47; mitigated by the Church, 48.
SERFS, decline to redeem themselves, I. 265; ordination of, II. 441; in the middle ages, III. 102; condition mitigated by the Church, 102; capitulary of Charles the Bald, 102; enfranchised by Louis le Gros, 102; enfranchised by Lous VIII., 102; ordinance of Louis X. regarding, 102; emancipated by Philip Augustus, 116.
SERGIO of Naples, I. 250.
SERGIUS, III. Pope, I. 204.
SERMONS of St. Eligius, II. 502, 508; of the 6th century contrasted with those of the 17th, 530; preached in rural places, 534; reflect the spirit of the age,

541 ; of the middle ages, 541 ; of Franciscans and Dominicans, IV. 655.
SERVANTS, duties towards, II. 356 ; elevated by christianity, 356; in catholic times, 357; noted for fidelity, 358 ; treatment of, IV. 602.
SERVILITY of paganism, I. 306.
SERVULUS St., death of, I. 783.
SETH, family of, III. 792.
SEVENTH, a sacred number, II. 172.
SEVENTH century, a golden age, I. 15.
SEVERINUS St., and the trio, I. 494.
SEVIGNE, Madam de, IV. 686.
SEVILLE, school of, I. 608.
SFORZA, Francis, III. 315, 1012.
SFORZA, Ludovicus, III. 90.
SHAKESPEARE on tradition, I. 314 ; and Dante, II. 282; his apostrophe to man, 560.
SHEPHERDS, remark on, III. 921.
SHIPWRECKED PERSONS, decree in behalf of, I. 739.
SHOEMAKERS community of, I. 332.
SHOP-COUNTER, morality of the reformers, II. 654.
SHROVETIDE, II. 157.
SICHICHI, Francis, IV. 512.
SICKENGEN, Frank von, II. 629.
SICKNESS, reflections on, I. 761.
SIDNEY, Sir Henry, advice to his Son, I. 117.
SIDNEY, Sir Philip, I. 18; to Queen Elizabeth, II. 274 ; essay of, 380, to Molyneux, 652, IV. 646.
SIDONIUS, Archbishop of Mayence, III. 103.
SIENNA, religious pictures in its legislature hall, I. 228.
SIEYES, Abbé, on feudal and ecclesiastical property, I. 297.
SIFFRED, Bishop of Paderborn, III. 1092.
SIGEBERT, monk of Gemblow, III. 485.
SIGEBERT of Metz, IV. 341.
SIGISMOND, Emperor, III. 963.
SIGISMOND of Hungary, IV. 167.
SIGUENCA, Rodrique de, III. 345.
SILENCE, value of, IV. 224.
SILVERIUS St., Pope, IV. 615.
SILVERSMITHS of the 14th and 15th centuries, I. 375.
SILVESTER, Pope, to the Emperor Adelaide, IV. 758.
SIMEON, holy, II. 565.
SIMON of Tournay, III. 485.
SIMONIDES on youth, I. 766.
SIMONY prohibited, II. 443 ; St. Peter Damian on, 443 ; self-inflicted punishment for, 444.
SIMPLICITY, an effect of the monastic life, IV. 332; value of, 332.
SIN, what it is, I. 490 ; its weight, 688; a dreadful evil, 695; roots of, II. 549; pardon of, 595; St. John Climacus on, 602; against the Holy Ghost, 605 ; St. Thomas on, III. 380; deceives Souls, 430.
SINS of the people the cause of revolutions, I. 245 ; the enemies David meant to overthrow, III. 131.
SISEBODE, clemency of, III. 882.
SISTERS of charity, III. 341, 348.
SISTERS of St. Thomas de Villeneuve, III. 348.
SIWARD, the Dane, IV. 157.
SIXTUS of Sienna, III. 172.
SKIVA, castle of taken by stratagem, III. 1053.
SLAVE traffic opposed, III. 103
SLAVERY, the result of vice, I. 264 ; alleviated by the Church, III. 96; St. Chrysostom on, 97; St. Ambrose on, 99; St. Gregory the Great on, 100 ; St. Thomas on, 101; how the Church dealt with, 101; existed in the Roman world until the 7th century, 101; means by which it was abolished, 116 ; the foe of peace, 235; Sir Thomas Smith on abolition of, 116.
SLAVES in pagan times, III. 96 ; early christian treatment of, 97; first great enfranchisement of, 99 ; another enfranchisement of, 100 ; many set free according to St. Jerome, 100; St. Melanæ emancipated eight thousand, 100 ; Jews forbidden to hold Christians, 100 ; might possess property, 102 ; selling men as slaves opposed by the Holy See, 103; ecclesiastical goods may be sold to ransom, 103; church vessels sold to redeem, 104 ; redeemed by St Elphege. 104; set free by St. Wilfred, 105 zeal of Benedictines and Franciscans in behalf of slaves, 105; attached to certain religious houses, 108 Greek monks have none, 108 . rule o St. Ferreole regarding emancipation of, 108; emancipated by St. Benedict of Aniana, 108, many abbots emancipate, 108; ransomed by the Trinitarians, 109.
SLEEP, overmuch, injures health, II. 48.
SLOTH denounced, II 685.
SMITH. Sir Thomas on abolition of slavery, III. 116.
SOBIESKI. wife of, II. 401.
SOCIAL virtues preserved by the Church, II. 350.
SOCIETY, real evils of, I. 293; how constituted in the middle ages, 297; man's need of, 331; inequality and diversity necessary to, II. 352.
SOCRACY, III. 620.
SOCRATES on the rich and powerful, I. 42; went barefoot in frost and snow, 53; had no special esteem for the rich, 53; on human opinion, 81; answer to Callicles, 87; education, 105; qualifications of the young, 117; boldness and fear, 124 irony of, 141, 142; ruling ideas, 147 beauty and deformity, 173 ; veneration for the laws of his country, 246; corrupt public opinion, 275 ; remarkable words of, 276; money making, 278 , restraint on literature and art, 289; satirizes vulgar ambitions, 291; wished to dwell in a city, 394; on city and country, 496; whatever is unjust is unpoetical, 531; on Thersites, 668; advantages of adversity, 676 the skillful pilot, 744; death, 800; his death described, 801; men who think themselves supremely wise II 274: love, 284; philosophy governing 474, virtue and instruction, 500; refuses to escape from prison, 500; love, III. 12, 25; evil minds, 370 the philosophic nature, 429; calumny, 438 nature, 429 sophists, 445 those who desire wisdom, 450; different races of men, 453; in accord with St Augustin. 519. and Theodorus, 594; the only valuable philosophy, 641 faith in good men, 663; consulted a witch, 690; on few wants, IV. 220; Plato on, 383; contempt for philosophers, 549 ; opposition to the populace, 660 ; fate of a just man, 661; worldly wisdom, 671; the multitude, 890.
SOISSONS, council of, III. 979; number of persons massacred in, IV. 807; destruction of abbeys and works of art, 845.
SOLDIERS propagate the Gospel, II. 255; duties of, III. 1005; described by Peter of Blois, 1007.
SOLEURE, and its surroundings, I. 895.
SOLITUDE, noble things done in, IV. 59; delight of, 60.
SONGS and hymns, rustic, I. 511.
SOULS, feast of all, when first celebrated, IV. 154.
SOPHISTS, public opinion wielded by, I. 276; reply of a young sophist to his father, 322; modern, 503 ; III. 445, 454, 572.
SOPHOCLES accused of neglecting family affairs, IV. 361.
SORBON, Robert de, III. 465.
SORBONNE. the, founded for the poor, I. 630 ; chairs of theology founded in, 635 ; III. 463 ; Michelet's eulogy of, 466.
SORCERERS, doings of, III. 706, 707 ; Sabbat of represented in a cornice of the cathedral of Strasburg, 706.
SORCERY, English statute against, III. 684; in France, 699; strange story of, 710.
SORROW of the people on the death of certain kings, I. 259; and mourning incident to human life, 656; accepted a blessing, 674; calm when deep, 689
SOUL the, I. 124 ; building and adorning the temple of, 437; its need of a divine object, II. 20 ; susceptibilities of, III. 374 ; Louis of Blois on, 376 ; beauty of, 378 ; St. Augustin on, 567 ; Hugo of St. Victor on, 775; progress of, 776.
SPAIN, pious kings of, I. 256 ; splendor of [redacted]

402 ; great prelates in, 545 ; adopts the Roman Ritual, II. 35; tribute to, 329; early kings of, 334; characteristics of its people, 339, 340; social and domestic life in, 341; bishops of, 452, 472; beggars, few in, III. 239 ; honored learned men, 471 ; a convent in, described, IV. 51; virgin martyrs of, 577.
SPANIARDS, Savedra's portrait of, II. 560.
SPANISH princes, a custom of, I. 175 ; literature, Arabic influence on, I. 513; care of servants, II. 358; dwellings, 360 ; love of science, III. 460; hospitality, 470.
SPARTA, preference for its institutions, I. 224 ; erected a statue to laughter, I. 539.
SPARTAN YOUTH, self-denial practiced by, I. 51; ridicule indulged in, 169; notions of liberty, 266.
SPATHIS, Guido de, II. 531.
SPEAKING in church censured, II. 311.
SPELMAN, Sir Henry, punishment of sacrilege, I. 62 ; on throwing church bells into the sea, 443.
SPENSER, an act of courtesy described, I. 178; portrait of a matron, II. 392; describes a charitable person, III. 245.
SPERONI, physician and astronomer, I. 598.
SPEZZIA, gulf of, I. 844.
SPHYNXES, why placed before Egyptian temples, II. 64.
SPINNING an occupation of women, II. 408.
SPINOLA, Father Charles, IV. 625.
SPINOSA, III. 509.
SPINULA, Ulberto, II. 354.
SPIRAL staircase at Salamanca, IV. 111.
SPIRIDION, Bishop of Cypress, II. 468.
SPIRITUAL, above the civil power, I. 209 ; state interference in, III. 136.
ST. AMOUR, Guillaume de, IV. 440.
STABAT MATER, author of, II. 33 ; first sung, III. 849.
STABILITY of catholic states, III. 402.
STAIRCASE of the hall of Pilate, I. 362.
STANDING in church, II. 111.
STANISLAS, Bishop of Cracow, IV. 648.
STANISLAUS St., I. 373 ; IV. 663.
STATES, present condition of, I. 293; advantages of small, 354; catholic, stability of, III. 402.
STATIONS of the Cross, their institution, I. 507 ; why and where erected, 508.
STATUES in the middle ages, I. 363.
STAUDENMEIR, christian philosophy, III. 515 ; universality of the Church, 616; mysticism, 618 ; theologians of the middle ages, 739.
STEINBACH, Sabine, II. 388.
STELLA, Diego de, on riches and poverty I. 50 ; on worldly men, 77 IV. 40.
STEPHEN St., Abbot of Citeaux, IV. 208, 837.
STEPHEN, King, lesson to his brother, II. 171; IV. 589, 727.
STEPHEN, King of Hungary, marriage of, II. 409.
STEPHEN, Count of Blois, III. 964.
STEPHEN, Abbot of Obazina, III. 1105; IV. 369.
STEPHEN, Pope, I. 201.
STEPHEN V Pope, and the emperor Louis, I. 203.
STEPHEN VII. Pope, I. 204.
STEPHEN Bishop of Paris, II. 467.
STEPHEN, Bishop of Meaux, IV. 749.
STERNBACH, Erwin von, II. 670.
ST. FARGEAN, Petition de, IV. 840.
STILICUS, burns the Sybilline books, I. 449.
STOICISM, III. 509.
STOICS, II. 572.
STOLBERG count, IV. 69, 430.
STONES, precious, treatise on, II. 83.
STRABO on the Rhodians, I. 241.
STRABO, Walafrid, 63 ecclesiastical and civil power, 209 ; praying towards the East, 438 ; symbolism of the Church, 439 ; use of images, 478 ; holy places, 506; the priests vestments, II. 70, III. 35, poems of, IV. 371
STRANGERS in Catholic cities, I. 336.
STREETS of old cities, 366.
STRYPE on the preaching of the reformers, II. 536.
STUDENTS, remarkable piety of, IV. 208.
STUDIES modern and medieval compared, I. 634.
STURM St., IV. 83, 834.
STYLE of the first prose writers of Greece, I. 566.
SUAREZ on the people, I. 270.
SUBIACO, hospitality of, IV. 117.
SUFIELD, Walter de, III. 267.
SUGER, modesty of, I. 171 ; regent of France, 227 ; wise economy of, 243; duty of kings, 256; rebuilt the abbey of St. Denis, 406; humility and self-denial of, 415 ; placed in the church of St. Denis a crucifix of exquisite workmanship, 470 ; death of, 789 ; conversion of, II. 268, 470; influence of, 473; letter to the king, 475 ; presents a bible, III. 751 ; complains of some of the wicked barons of his day, 807; a crusader, 1017 ; elected abbot of St. Denis, IV. 24; on splendor of divine worship, 143 ; habits of, 143, 147; early life and conversion, 236 ; on love of friends, 412.
SUICIDE rare in the middle ages, I. 666; in the sixteenth century, 667.
SULTAN'S, the, daughter converted, II 255.
SUNDAY, institution of, II. 172; observance of, 173; curious instance regarding, 175.
SUPERSTITION, defined, I. 480; De Foo's account of, III. 678; Chaucer on, 678; denounced by St. Owen, 680; extirpated by the Benedictines, 681; of English tribunals, 678; forbidden, 681, 682, 685, 687, 722; in protestant countries, 702; guarded against, 721 ; foreign to genuine piety, 723.
SUSO, Henry, II. 347, 692; adopts his mother's name, IV. 407.
SWAN, dying chant of, I. 800.
SWICHARD JOHN, Archbishop of Mayence, III. 938.
SWIMMING baths in monastic schools, I. 634.
SWINE-for use in monasteries, IV. 105.
SWITHIN St., humility of, I. 436.
SWITZERLAND, thoughts upon, I. 498; intolerance in, III. 201; war, customs of, 1000.
SYBARITES banish cocks from their city, II. 151.
SYBILLE, beauty and courage of, II. 399.
SYBILLINE poems, I. 449, 450.
SYBILS, predictions of, I. 448, 449.
SYDONIUS, a ransomed captive, III. 107.
SYLVESTER Brother, III. 1112.
SYLVESTER II. Pope, I. 542; III. 477; IV. 195.
SYLVESTER, legend of the grave of, IV. 170.
SYLVIO, Pellico in prison, III. 66, 86, 225; on modern want of truth, II. 294; men of the middle ages, 547; confession, 587.
SYLVIUS, I. 598.
SYMBOLIC instruction, value of, II. 66.
SYMBOLISM of religious articles, II. 41, 66, 71; of the Church, 229.
SYMBOLS, use of, II. 64; pagan use of, 65; Pythagorean, 65; ecclesiastical works on, 70; dissimilar, 77.
SYMMACHUS, argument of, II. 274.
SYMPHORIAN, IV. 573
SYNOI at Reis, II. 69, 137; of Teudo, 951.
SYNOD of Teudo, IV 244.
SYNODS, II. 33.
TACITUS on a good politician, I. 246; on nobility and honors in Rome, 303, his works, 554; on the Roman soldiers, IV. 874.
TAGERNSEE, abbey of, IV. 200.
TALMUD the, III. 93.
TALVAS, family of, III. 1031.
TANCONA, missionary, IV 622.
TAPIA Peter de, III. 242, 266, 299, 356.
TARTARS advance to Breslau, III. 197.
TASSE, Magdalen, sister of St Francis Xavier, II. 383.
TASSILO Duke of Bavaria, V 94
TASSO, imprecation on riches. I 45; on courage, 87; quotation from, 115, lines of Byron on, 153, 134; loyalty of, 225; describes Germando, 303; on Dante,

534; complains to Aldus, 566; on sorrow, 666; on entering Jerusalem, 735; death of Dudon, 807; describes a procession, II. 87; spiritual experience of, 130; on neutrality, 275; rebellion, 642; forgiveness through Christ, 700; burial place of, IV. 170; death of, 280.
TAULERUS, ohn his conversion, IV. 328.
TAURIEN St., Bishop of Evreux, IV. 515.
TAVISTOCK, abbey of, I. 550.
TAXES in early France, II. 330.
TAYON, a priest of Saragozza, I. 584.
TEARS that are blessed, .. 844.
TELEMACHUS, I. 116. 650 . II. 342.
TELESCOPES invented in the 11th century, I. 14.
TELESIUS, Bernardinus, III. 549.
TEMPLARS, III. 1022, 1023.
TEMPLE, Sir William on natural philosophy, III. 643.
TEMPLE, Sir William on the early monks, IV. 840.
TEMPLE of Bacchus, now church of St. Urban, I. 432.
TEMPORAL power of the popes, II. 445 subject to the spiritual, III. 946.
TEMPORAL usurpation of spiritual power, II. 633.
TENDILLA, Count de, I. 319.
TENNEMAN, on Duns Scotus, III. 497 ; on study of natural science, 549.
TENNIS, revenue from given to an hospital, III. 356.
TENON on hospitality, III. 360.
TENTHS given to the poor, III. 278.
TERESA St., see Therese St.
TERTULLIAN, .. 698 ; II. 414 ; III. 142, 523, 624, 704, 736, 744, 879, 886.
TEUTONIC knights, I. 353, 495; II. 477; III. 195, 196, 197.
THAULERIUS, John, II. 507.
THEANNA, the Pythagorean, II. 387.
THEATRE, the, and the Church, I. 536.
THEATRES of Madrid, II. 577 ; revenue from given to hospitals, III. 356 ; Benedict XIV. on, 416.
THEMISTOCLES, his horrible sacrifice, III. 488.
THEOBALD, Archbishop of Canterbury, II. 46.
THEODEGISILUS, I. 200.
THEODORIC, Archbishop of Treves, III. 1049.
THEODORIC, Abbot, III. 1050.
THEODORIC, his love of learned men, I. 557 ; code of, 610.
THEODORIC, Abbot of Ouches, IV. 217.
THEODORIC, Abbot of Corby, IV. 423.
THEODORIC and Theodobert, IV. 272
THEODOSIUS the younger and the synod of Ephesus, I. 209 ; enters the church unarmed, II. 114; III. 51.
THEODULF, Bishop of Orleans, . 230 ; II. 74.
THEOLOGICAL virtues, III. 16.
THEOLOGY, first treatise on, I. 585 scholastic, what it embraced, 586; how understood in the middle ages, III. 512; relation of to other sciences, 513 ; its end, 586.
THERESE St., extract from a letter of, I. 47 on false notions of honor, 82 ; her works, 97 ; helped by a young man, 119; on melancholy, 138; tranquility of soul, 141; the cabinet of the uchess of Alba, 143 ; humility of, 143; an affecting restraint, 149; on obedience, 83 ; compares the soul to a castle, 317; and the hermit, 323; her uncle, Don Sancho, 328· early inspiration of, 328; answer to a merchant, 680; evil of sin, 695; on death, 757; first night at Salamanca, II. 64; on those who prophecy evil from good actions, 276; parental home of, 365; youth and life of, 369 ; when travelling, 373 ; III. 33; her father's tenderness, 101; prayer for sinners, 153; love of God, 393 ; God and one's self, 639; the scriptures, 753; God's presence, 766 ; her convents, IV. 113; house in which reform of the order was begun, 113; fine conventual buildings, 113, 145; the Carmelite order, 215; and her brother, 579; opposition to her reforms, 676.
THEUTHER, provost of St. Medard, IV. 492.
THIBAUD, Count of Blois, IV. 480.
THIBAUD, the Great, III. 282; IV. 169.
THIBAUD, Count of Campagne, III. 232, 964
THIERRI, Abbot of Evroul, IV. 25, 64.
THIERRY, defence of liberty in France, III. 955.
THIRD orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis, IV. 697.
THIRST for worldly things, II. 19.
THOMAS of Bradwardin, III. 506.
THOMAS, St., of Canterbury, chapel, bearing his name, I. 480; II. 473, 614; III. 267, 1073; V. 279; characteristic letters of, 549, 550 ; desire of tyrants to oppress the Church, 696; and Henry, II. 698, 702, 706; to Pope Alexander, II. 706; to Conrad, Archbishop of Mayence, 709 ; sympathy with, 711 ; letter to the pope in behalf of, 711; his character, 715; apparently abandoned by his friends, 716; returns from exile, 717; to the pope, 721; assassination of, 734; on the arms of the Church, 727; assassins of, 728; persecuted by bishops, 730; etter to his suffragans, 738; reproof of the Bishop of Hereford, 739 ; to the people of England, 743 ; to Pope Alexander, 744, 750, 751; to Henry, II. 764 769 ; to the Bishop of Winchester, 768; to the Pope, 770; to the Bishop of London. 770; to Bernard, 771; to the Bishop of Worcester, 771 ; to Cardinal Albert, 771 ; to the Pope, 772 ; goes to England, 772; bishops who adhered to him, 773; compliance with the king's demand, 775; humility of, 778; persecution of his friends, 785 ; his martyrdom, 791
THOMAS St. Aquinas, remark on the Summa of, I. 33 ; happiness of holy souls even in this world, 137; faith and will, 188 ; true religion, 223 ; peace of the Church, 225; democracy, 235: rule of a tyrant, 239; happy princes, 247; reward of good kings, 257; who have the right to make laws, 270; at the table of the king of France, 322; as naturalist, 582; on mourning, 677; absolution, II. 602; interest on loans, 668; meritorious acts, 681; to his sister, 681; slavery, III. 101; his work, *contra gentes*, 174; producing the roses, 281; holiness 371; the passions, 373, 374; sin, 380: actors, 416: sketch of, 490; theology, 514; greatness of, 536; defines reason, 543; experimental knowledge, 547; human souls, 552; natural and supernatural state, 554; faith, 555 ; false judgments, 562; faith and reason, 564; goodness of the human will, 568; eminence of, 600; imagination, 605; unity, 609; and Scotus, 615; value of study, 619; first angel sinning, 627; writings of, 629; material things, 645 a superior cause, 657; miracles, 661; power of demons, 710; apparition of his sister, 730; studied pagan writers, 734; exposition of scriptures, 750; debt to the scriptures, 753; source of his wonderful light, 768; evil, 957; prayer of, 884; peace, 926; tyranny, 955; love of country, 963· what constitutes a just war, 994 ; merits of a peaceful king, 1061; at the monastery of St. Dominic, Naples, IV. 197; his illness and death, 277; on the speculative intelligence, 360; in ecstasy, 392; gentleness of, 440; answer to Guillaume de St. Amour, 441; on hermits, 539; persecuted by his relatives, 663; conditions of men, 894.
THOMAS, prior of St. Victor, IV. 666.
THOMAS, Abbot of Croyland, IV. 418.
THOMASSINUS on temporal gifts to the Church, I. 62 ; on abuses, II. 460
THOMASUSCIAS, IV. 357, 874.
THOU de, simple life of, II. 342; forgiving spirit of, III. 217
THUCYDIDES on the plague of Athens, III. 350.
THURSTAN, Archbishop of York, IV. 675.
TIECK on riches and poverty, III. 230.
TIEDMAN'S self contradiction, III. 529.
TILPIN, Archbishop, I. 374; II. 470.
TIPTAFT, John, Earl of Worcester, I. 558.
TITELMAN, Francis, III. 3.3.
TITHES established by Charlemagne, I. 61; freely offered,

63; division of, 64; council of Paris on, 64; St. Thomas on, II. 434.
TITIAN, a last supper of, IV. 121.
TITLES of books in the middle ages, I. 96; III. 537.
TITLES of distinction despised, I. 96.
TOGGENBERGERS return to the faith, IV. 895.
TOLEDO, fourth council of, I. 212, 232 third council of 248 · luxury of the Moors in, II. 360 ; Archbishop of 473 · clergy imprisoned, IV. 858
TOLERANCE catholic and protestant, III. 204.
TOLERATION, Ives de Chartres on, III. 177.
TOMB of Pope Gregory VII., I. 829 : of Helen Cornaro 830; Piers Shoonks, 833 of Ratbod Frisius, II. 702.
TOMBS, burning lamps in I 811 : emblems upon, 832 · tomb of Michael Scot, 811 ; of the early martyrs, 826; · Pisa, 829 · at Padua, 829; of many remarkable persons, 830. 831 · of Henry, VII. 832: Henry, V. 832 ; of Louis, XII. 833 of knights slain at Poictiers, 836; christian inscriptions on, II. 701, 702; commemorative of charity, II. 279 · of remarkable persons in monasteries, IV. 153, 160; and epitaphs in abbeys, 163 ; of Palmers, 63 : lessons of, 164 ; of kings, 166; in the abbey of St. Remy 167 ; in the abbey of Einseideln, 168, monastic founders, 68
TONGUE, evils of the, III. 30.
TONSURE, origin of II. 426.
TOROS de Guisando, IV. 70.
TORQUEMADA, Cardinal de, III. 264.
TORQUEMADE, Thomas de, III. 181
TORQUEMADE'S interesting story, I. 383 ; narrative illustrative of free will, II. 684.
TORTURE, a pagan custom, III. 59.
TOSTETUS, Alphonse, . 568.
TOTILA and Cassianus, III. 38 ; and St. Benedict, 69; IV. 452.
TOUL, Bishop of engaged learned men from Ireland, I. 607.
TOURNAMENT place selected for in days of chivalry, I. 123.
TOURNAMENTS denounced, III. 1080 ; decrees of the Church against, 1081 ; christian burial refused to a knight killed in one, 1081.
TOURON'S Life of St. Thomas, IV. 433.
TOURS, battle of, III. 1017.
TOWNS converted, I. 352 ; origin of many, 352; christianity increased the number of, 352; which derived their name from monks, IV. 100.
TRADES which formed privileged corporations, I 338.
TRADITION, respect for, I. 314 ; value of, III. 735, 736.
TRAVEL, difficulties of in the middle ages, I. 722 ; on foot, advantages of, 724 ; in modern and medieval times contrasted, 725.
TRAVELLERS, modern, insipidity of, I. 741.
TRAVELS of our Lord, I 723.
TRAVERSARI, Ambiogio, IV. 654.
TRAVET, Peter, IV. 479.
TREASURES of principal English shrines, I. 454, 455.
TREATIES with infidels must be observed, I. 250.
TREATY of Constance, III. 956.
TREE OF BATTLES, by Honoré Bonnor, III. 798, 1002.
TRENT, council of, on the goods of the Church, I. 67.
TREVET Nicholas, III. 749.
TRIAL by ordeal condemned by several popes, III. 720 ; prohibited by St. Louis, 720; abolished in the 13th century, 720.
TRIBUR, council of, III. 1075.
TRIER, Charles, grave of, I. 812.
TRILIA, Bernard de, III. 905.
TRINITARIANS, order of, III. 109; IV. 627.
TRINITY, Holy, festival of, II. 160; III. 578 ; perfection of love in, 629.
TRISMAGISTUS, Hermes, on last judgment, IV. 894.
TRITHEMIUS, I. 99; III. 694, 916; IV. 177, 402.
TROBERT St., IV. 63.
TROUBADOURS, I. 545; II. 304.
TROYES, Hugues, count of, I. 61.
TROYES Henry, count of, III. 315.
TRUCE of God, III. 979, 1002.
TRUTH, how presented in this work, I. 29; lawful sometimes to dissemble, 86; force of, 237; Dante on, II. 630 of life and manners, III. 428; Plato on, 434, 882; simplicity of 598; gives peace, 866.
TUDERTINUS Petrus, III. 88
TURCO Thomas, III. 77.
TURKETAL, Abbot of Crowland, I. 776; IV. 295
TURKISH horror of paintings, I. 478.
TURKS, first to have military colleges, . 612.
TURPIN, II. 470.
TURRE, Napus de la, III. 836.
TURSTIN, Archbishop of York, IV. 447.
TUTILLO, his astronomical table, III. 650; IV. 106, 371, 375, 376.
TYNDARUS' reply to his master, I. 547.
TYRANICAL government unjust, I. 720.
TYRANY. St Thomas on, III. 555.
TYROL, engaging manners of its poor, I. 167 ; life in, 350 piety of its people, II. 171.
TYRTAEUSS. III 958
UBERT Abbot of St. Michael, IV. 26.
UGO of St. Juliana, III. 90.
ULRICH, Count and his wife Wendelgard, II. 379.
ULRICH, a hermit of Switzerland, . V. 510.
ULYSSES, portrayed by Homer, IV. 218.
UMILIATI, society of, I. 333.
UNBELIEF modern, evils of, II. 645.
UNBELIEVERS, ordinary conversation of, III. 145; intimacy with dangerous, 147 ; charity towards, 158.
UNGRESPERCH, Daniel e, IV. 300.
UNITY in a state, importance of, I. 266 ; in catholic states, 266 ; necessity of, III. 118 : principle of, 543, 544 : worth of, 609 ; spiritual versus material, 614 ; of christian society, 981; hrough faith, 985
UNIVERSITIES, learned men of. I. 567 ; poets and orators of. 568 · origin of, 607 : meaning of. 608 ; of Spain, 608 : degrees of, 611 : founded in France during the 15th century. 611 . owe their origin to religious faith, 629; regulations in favor of the poor, 630; influence of in France, II. 330; before the reformation, III. 464 when founded 464 ; why founded, 464 ; produce pagan spirit, IV. 209.
UNIVERSITY of Paris, privileges of its students, I. 298 ; number of students, 608 of Bologna, 608 ; of Salamanca, 608 ; of Rheims, 611; jurisdiction. 610 ; customs in Spain, 633 ; exercises and recreations, 633; of Paris, origin of, III. 463 ; of Bologna, 464 ; of Paris, reform in, 465 ; of Paris, privileges of its scholars, 467.
UNJUST MEN, evil done by, IV. 862.
URBAN, Pope, son of a shoemaker, I. 171.
URBAN II. Pope, spoke to nations not to kings, I. 48 ; at Cava, IV. 139; sufferings of, IV. 783.
URBAN III. Pope, dies of grief, I. 695.
URBAN IV. Pope, forgives a grievous injury, III. 213 ; zeal for science, 459; to cardinal de Bria, 1090 ; announcing his own election, IV. 241 ; on the Franciscans, 260.
URBAN St., V. Pope, supported more than a thousand students, I. 629; death of, 781; urges the employment of laymen in the council of Edward, III.
URBAN VIII. Pope, secures Campenella's release, III. 84.
URBANITY, I. 164.
URSEOLUS, Petrus, II. 253; becoming a Monk, IV. 313.
URSINO, Camillus, IV. 678.
URSINS, Maria Felice de, II. 394.
URSULA St., painting of, III. 320.
USURERS, III. 666; IV. 633.
UTILITY, should be secondary, II. 564.
UZANA, Nicholas, III. 950.
VACHER, martyrdom of, IV. 6

VAIN glory. St. John Climacus on, III. 466.
VALADOLID, English students for, I. 116.
VALENTINE, Apostle of Passau, II. 49a.
VALERIUS, a hermit IV. 516.
VALERY St. reproves improper language, II. 487.
VALLOMBROSA IV 76, 214, 506.
VALOIS, St. Felix, his youth, I. 15; became a priest to avoid a crown 115.
VALOIS, Jane de, III 1073.
VALVERDA, Vincent, III. 117.
VANDERBURCH Archbishop of Canbray, III. 359.
VANITY of earthly things. I. 11; IV. 891.
VAUQUELIN'S address to princes, I. 488.
VARILA. Sire de, III. 1013.
VARRO II. 639.
VASARI on painters and painting, III. 422; visit to Camaldoli IV 281.
VASEUS, John, III. 470.
VASOR monastery of, IV. 93, 94.
VASSOUR St John, student of Douai, I. 623.
VATICAN, palace of, I. 318.
VAUCLUSE, fountain of, I. 502.
VAUDOIS, the. III 876.
VAVASOUR. Sir William, III. 278; IV. 470.
VECTIUS, [illegible] 885, 1010.
VEITH on God's providence, IV. 607.
VELASCO, Pedro, III. 346.
VENDEE La, peasants and nobles of, I. 320.
VENERIUS, a senator of Venice, III. 53.
VENI, Sancte spiritus, authorship of, II. 33.
VENICE Nicole on, I. 268; fair of, 390; ology on, II. 272, 635; duration of the republic, 329; greatness of, 547; great men of, 548; a remarkable occurrence in, III. 52; plague in, 296; character of its government. 969; refuses aid from the Turks, 968; and Genoa, 990.
VENTURA of Bergamo, III. 1117.
VENTURA on the effect of Catholic traditions, I. 264; on our times, I. 572; on unity. III. 543; on Luther, 558.
VEREMUNDUS resigns his throne, II. 472.
VESELIUS. I. 598.
VESPER HOUR, Cardinal Bona on, II. 57.
VESPERS in a mountain cell, IV. 149.
VESTMENTS of great beauty and richness, II. 82, 83; care o , 114.
VICE assumes appearance of virtue, II. 649.
VICO'S designation of the middle ages, II. 29.
VICTOR St., on the middle ages, I. 15; influence of the christian religion, 263; IV. 519.
VICTOR, Pope, on the paschal festival, I. 201.
VICTOR III Pope, IV. 519.
VICTOR St., hermit, sketch of, I. 394.
VICTORIA, Francis de, III. 116.
VICTORY. how celebrated, III. 829.
VICTRICE St., Archbishop of Rouen, I. 334, 417.
VIENNE, John de, 1. 228.
VIGILANTIUS and St. Jerome, IV. 438.
VIGILS, advantages of II. 46; how and why kept, 165.
VIGNAROD, Maria de, II. 392.
VIGNOSU Simon, II. 326.
VILLA Richardus de Maria, III. 491.
VILLARDOUIN Geoffry de, II. 577.
VILLARS at the battle of Malplaquet, I. 786.
VILLEHARDOUIN Geoffrey de, III. 91.
VILLENEUVE Arnold de, I. 597.
VILLENEUVE robbed the diligence, III. 1031.
VILLIBALD St. IV. 117.
VILLIERS monastery of, IV. 293
VILLON, Immoral poet, I. 535.
VILMERCATI. family of, III. 286.
VINALDUS, Francis, II. 552.
VINCENT of Beauvais on invalidity of laws against ecclesiastical liberty, I. 210; on the best security for kings, 241; on architecture, 404; influence of sensible form, 445; superstition, 480; on a good student, 565; works of, 571, 583; charity, III. 11; on visiting prisoners, 89; purity of heart, 384, 385; sensuality, 429; work on science and philosophy, 489; physical parts of his work. 653; derivation, 683; story of a witch, 705; scriptural studies, 751; evils incident to human natnre, 863; peace of heart, 864; evil peace, 877; the Roman empire, 949; evils of war, 992; on monks, IV. 19
VINCENT St. Ferrer before his death, II. 525; III. 59; converts Jews, 184; established peace wherever he went, 1117; IV. 195, and St. Bernardine of Sienna, 434; followed by crowds, 462; growth of heresy, 657.
VINCENT of Lerins on progress, I. 293; on propagators of heresy, I. 575.
VINCENT St. of Paul, translation of his body, I. 464; his first Mass, 502; at the death bed of Louis XIII., I. 783; III. 240, 358.
VINCENT, John, IV. 501.
VINCENTIA St., III. 730.
VINCENTIUS St., on God and the world, I. 688; on preaching, II. 536.
VINEIS, Peter de, IV. 246.
VINEYARDS attached to monasteries, IV. 369.
VINEBAULD St., and King Clotaire, III. 78.
VIRGIL, Bishop of Salzburg, III. 558.
VIRGIL'S works, I. 551; III. 659.
VIRGILIUS, a holy priest from Ireland, II. 246, 494.
VIRGIN martyrs of Spain, IV. 577.
VIRGINITY, influence of, on woman's condition, II. 388.
VIRTUE always supreme, II. 474; cannot be communicated by instruction only, 500; views of ancient philosophers on, 668; defined, III. 11; produces works that endure, 403; value of, 577; its very name displeasing to some, IV. 661.
VIRTUES, II. 259.
VISCHERING, Droste de, IV. 559, 858.
VISCONTI, Lord of Milan, III. 967, 968, 1064; IV. 493.
VISIGOTHS of Spain, code of, II. 325; authority given by to the clergy, 473; laws respecting their rulers, 641.
VISION of Alberico, I. 769; of St. Drithelin, 769; of a monk of Cluny, 770; III. 674, 725, 767, 772, 773.
VISIONS of monks and others, IV. 392—8.
VISKATEL, Abbot of Croyland, IV. 157.
VITAL, the hermit, III. 1102.
VITAL, preaching of, IV. 454.
VITALIS, a slave, III. 100.
VITALIS, Orderic on his monastic life. IV. 411.
VIVIAN refuses a bribe from Henry II., IV. 746.
VOCABULARIUM Salomonis, III. 645.
VOIGT, his observations on history, I. 19; on Henry V. of Germany, 213; remarks on, II. 499; the Teutonic knights, III. 198.
VOLMANSTEYN, Godiscald de, IV. 317.
VOLTAIRE, his desire to see a miracle, III. 666; tributs to monks, IV. 252.
VOTIVE churches and chapels, I. 407.
VORAGINE, James de, III. 1095, 1099.
VOTUS becomes a hermit, IV. 528.
VUANUS, Archbishop of Hamburg, I. 67.
VULGAR tongue, praying in, II. 497.
VULGATE, Gesner on, II. 63
VULGRIN flys from honors, II. 448.
WADDING on the Franciscans and Dominicans, IV. 434.
WAGNER on just notions of things, III. 621.
WALA, Abbot, in his prison cell, IV. 594.
WALA, youth of, I. 128; soliloquy of, 689; II. 476, 492.
WALDENSES error of, III. 57; IV. 798.
WALDEVE, Count, II. 156.
WALLERS John, IV. 161.
WALRAM, Count, II. 362.
WALSINGHAM, description of, I. 719.
WALSTEIN in his castle of Prague, I. 318.
WALTER, Archbishop of Canterbury, III. 1092.

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